

A NARRATIVE OF THE TRANSACTIONS
IN BENGAL

A NARRATIVE OF THE TRANSACTIONS IN BENGAL 1760-1764

HENRY VANSITTART

Edited by

ANIL CHANDRA BANERJEE, M A , PH D

*Formerly Centenary Professor of International
Relations, Calcutta University, and Guru Nanak
Professor of Indian History, Jadavpur University*

and

BIMAL KANTI GHOSH, M A

Lecturer in History, Jadavpur University

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

Vansittart's *Narrative* was originally published in three volumes in London in 1766. It is a work of outstanding importance for all students of the history of the rise of the British power in India. Although it deals with political and economic developments in Bengal during the transitional period following the battle of Plassey, it supplies the historical background of the establishment of the Company's protection over the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam, the extension of its political and economic influence to Oudh, and its assumption of the Diwani of Bengal-Bihar-Orissa which led within a few years to direct British rule in these provinces. It is not merely a descriptive account, it contains an enormous quantity of primary materials in the form of official correspondence, Council resolutions, minutes etc. It is an indispensable source-book.

As copies of the book have long been too scarce, we have reprinted the three volumes in a single volume without any omission or abridgement. We are grateful to the Editors who have added substantially to the value of the book by contributing an explanatory and critical Introduction as also notes, glossary, bibliography, etc. A map has been supplied to illustrate the geographical background. We hope this edition would be helpful for all scholars interested in modern Indian history.

INTRODUCTION

In June 1757 the East India Company's Council at Calcutta concluded a secret treaty with Mir Jafar, Nawab Siraj-ud-daulah's general, promising to place him on the *masnad* at Murshidabad on certain conditions including the following: an alliance, offensive and defensive, the admission of all rights granted by Farrukh-siyar's *farman* of 1716,¹ liberty to fortify the factories at Cossimbazar and Dacca, the recognition of English sovereignty within the bounds of Calcutta, renunciation of the Nawab's right to erect fortifications below the river Hooghly, the grant by the Nawab of territories for the maintenance of an adequate military force by the Company, undertaking on the part of the Nawab to pay the extraordinary expenses of the Company's troops engaged in fighting for him, and acceptance at the Nawab's *darbar* of a servant of the Company. 'This treaty turned the subahdar of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa² into a mediated Indian ruler, subject to British control, exactly of the type created by the subsidiary alliance system ascribed to Wellesley, with two differences, (a) no land was politically ceded for the maintenance of a subsidiary contingent, and (b) no bar was explicitly placed on the employment of European servants by the Nawab'.

Within less than three weeks Clive overthrew Siraj-ud-daulah in the battle of Plassey (23 June 1757) which cost the Company only 3 Europeans and 16 sepoys killed, and 13 Euro-

See *Narrative*, pp. 2-5

At the beginning of the eighteenth century Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa were three separate *subahs* (provinces). The three provinces came under the rule of a single *subahdar* in 1733. Nawab Alivardi Khan ceded Orissa to the Bhonsle Raja of Nagpur by a treaty in May 1751, by which the river Subarnarekha (near Jalesar) was recognized as the boundary of Bengal. Henceforth the expression 'Bengal, Bihar and Orissa' remained a legal fiction so far as Orissa was concerned. The Bhonsle Raja ceded Orissa to the Company by the treaty of Deogaon (1803).

Sir J. N. Sarkar, *History of Bengal* (Dacca University), Vol. II, p. 486

peans and 36 sepoy's wounded Mir Jafar reached Murshidabad on 24 June, but even after the defeated Nawab's flight from Plassey and, immediately afterwards, from the capital, he confined himself to his house instead of assuming power. A few days later Clive entered the capital (29 June) and, on the same day, fulfilled the Company's part of the contract. At the palace of Hirajhil, 'in the presence of all the Rajahs and great men of the Court, he led Jafar Ali Khan by the hand to the royal seat (masnad), seated him on it, and saluted him as the Nawab of the three Subahs'.⁴ This ceremony was a public demonstration of the new Nawab's dependence on the Company. Vansittart's assessment of this change of rulers is precise and correct. 'We had now a Nabob of our own making and absolutely dependent upon us for his establishment and future security'.⁵

Weak and irresolute, Mir Jafar succumbed to increasing pressure for concessions which were not warranted by the terms of the pre-Plassey treaty. He granted to the Company Zamindari rights in 'all the land lying to the south of Calcutta as far as Culpee' (i.e. the district of Twenty-four Parganas). This was done in face of the opposition of the tenants and proprietors; they were 'averse to the introduction of new masters who being merchants might wish to appropriate' to themselves the salt trade of that area.⁶ In 1758 the Nawab had to assign to the Company portions of the revenues of Burdwan and Nadia. Two years later (1760) Vansittart demanded Sylhet and Chittagong, this was the last straw on the camel's back, and Mir Jafar refused to yield.⁷

As regards trade, Vansittart says 'By our influence in the country the Company's trade was freed from the impositions it was before liable to, and they enjoyed the benefit of the Firman⁸ in its full extent'. But although the Company did not ask for 'new privileges', some of the Company's servants practised 'many innovations', such as 'trade in the articles which were before prohibited'. What was worse, they began 'to interfere in the affairs of the country'. The Nawab 'complained

⁴ S. C. Hill, *Bengal in 1756-57*, Vol. II, p. 437.

⁵ *Narrative*, p. 6.

⁶ Orme, *Indostan*, Vol. II, p. 188.

⁷ *Narrative*, pp. 14-16, 35.

⁸ *Farman* of Farrukh-siyar, 1716. See *Narrative*, pp. 2-5.

very frequently to the English resident at his court, and the governor of Calcutta, insisting particularly, that no one should be permitted to trade in salt and beetle-nut' Needless to say, these complaints brought no relief On the other hand, Governor Holwell asked 'on what pretence we are prohibited trading in the two articles of salt and betel-nut' ⁹

Several instalments of the monetary compensation promised by Mir Jafar to the Company were paid within three months of his accession (7,271,666 *sicca* rupees in July, 1,655,358 *sicca* rupees in August, cash, gold and jewels worth 1,599,737 *sicca* rupees in August)¹⁰ In addition, the members of the Council at Calcutta were rewarded with pecuniary presents Scrafton's voice echoes the exultation of the plunderers. 'These glorious successes have brought near three millions of money to the nation; for, properly speaking, almost the whole of the immense sums received from the Subah finally centres in England' The amount which fell into the Company's hands (he says) was large enough to enable it to 'carry on the whole trade of India (China excepted) for three years together, without sending out one ounce of bullion Vast sums have been also remitted through the hands of foreign companies, which weigh in the balance of trade to their amount in our favour with such foreign nations' ¹¹ This was the beginning of an economic drain which seriously crippled the resources of Bengal The Company's control over the wealth of Bengal contributed largely to its military successes against the French, the Marathas and Mysore in subsequent years

Mir Jafar alienated influential officers like Ramnarain, deputy governor of Bihar, and Rai Durlabh, a former *diwan*, and forced them to depend for their personal security upon the protection of the English Clive¹² took up the role of mediator

⁹ *Narrative*, pp 6, 9-12

¹⁰ Orme, *Indostan*, Vol II, pp 187-188

¹¹ Scrafton, *Reflections*, p 101

¹² Till the end of 1758 Clive was in an anomalous position When he won the battle of Plassey he was a servant of the Governor and Council of Madras He had no *legal* control over affairs in Bengal till June 1758 when the Calcutta Council installed him as Governor pending arrival of orders from the Court of Directors. These orders, confirming the existing arrangement, came later in the year

and succeeded in 'forging a party in his (*i.e.* Mir Jafar's) court to be a continued check upon him'¹³ The Nawab's dependence upon Clive increased as a result of the latter's role in resisting Shah Alam's first invasion of Bihar (1759)¹⁴ Mir Jafar, 'either out of gratitude, or as a means for securing or confirming Clive's fidelity, bestowed upon him the Jagir of the lands known as the Twenty-four Parganas' The annual revenue payable by the Company to the Nawab for its Zamindari right in the district, amounting to Rs 2,22,958, was henceforth payable to Clive This arrangement was confirmed, and extended for ten years from May 1764, by a *sanad* from the Nawab and a *farman* from the Emperor, both issued in June 1765¹⁵

Shah Alam's second invasion of Bihar took place in 1759-60. By that time his father had been murdered and he had proclaimed himself Emperor Once again Clive played the saviour's role, he sent an English force under the command of Cailliaud to oppose the invader

The threat from Shah Alam brought to prominence Mir Jafar's dependence upon the Company's military support

Meanwhile Clive had successfully met the Dutch challenge at Bidara (November 1759) This Anglo-Dutch contest had a two-fold significance From the contemporary English point of view, it was an attempt to cripple Mir Jafar's 'desire to reduce our power, instead of augmenting it'¹⁶ There is, however, no definite evidence indicating any active attempt on his part to use the Dutch against the English Secondly, the elimination of Dutch rivalry was complementary to the elimination of French rivalry Bengal was to be the English Company's

¹³ Sraffton, *Reflections*, p. 104

¹⁴ *Narrative*, p. 13 Ali Gauhar, better known as Shah Alam, was the eldest son of the nominal Mughal Emperor, Alamgir II Compelled to leave Delhi in May 1758 due to the hostility of the imperial *wazir*, Imad-ul-Mulk, he became a wanderer and tried to establish a territorial base in Bihar with the aid of Shuja-ud-daulah, *subahdar* of Oudh, and Muhammad Quli Khan, *subahdar* of Allahabad

¹⁵ Firminger, *Historical Introduction to the Bengal Portion of 'Fifth Report*, p. cxii

¹⁶ *Narrative*. p. 15

exclusive sphere, if not in trade, at least in politics. 'Had the event been different', wrote Clive, 'it would have threatened us in its consequences with utter destruction'

A more regular and stable political settlement in Bengal was already in contemplation. In 1758 the imperial court in Delhi was 'extremely desirous' of appointing the President of the Calcutta Council as 'the King's Duan', but the President and Council were afraid to cause the Nawab 'any dissatisfaction at a time when our small force is engaged another way'. In January 1759 Clive, writing to Pitt, mentioned the same objection and added 'so large a sovereignty may possibly be an object too extensive for a mercantile company, and it is to be feared that they are not of themselves able, without the nation's assistance to maintain so wide a dominion'. So he asked 'whether the execution of a design, that may hereafter be still carried to greater lengths, be worthy of the Government's taking it into hand'. Pitt's reply stressed the point that 'such revenue would endanger our liberties'. He also apprehended that although 'the difficulty of effecting the affair was not greater under such a genus as Colonel Clive', it would not be easy to 'sustain it' because 'it was not probable that he would be succeeded by persons equal to the task'¹⁷

Clive's reaction to the offer of *Diwani* from the imperial court in 1758 is a clear indication of a definite trend towards the acquisition of political power. The Company was no longer satisfied with the *de facto* ascendancy which it had secured in the administration of Bengal and the increasing commercial privileges enjoyed by it¹⁸ as also by its servants. Two years had not yet elapsed since the battle of Plassey, Clive's programme was already taking new complexion and he was using words such as 'sovereignty' and 'dominion'

Clive embarked for England in February 1760, leaving Holwell in temporary charge of Bengal. He was relieved by Henry Vansittart on 27 July 1760.

¹⁷ *Firminger*, pp. cliv-clvi

¹⁸ Clive secured from Mir Jafar the monopoly of salt petre manufacture in Bihar.

II

Vansittart's *Narrative* begins really with his account of the situation which he found on his assumption of office¹⁹ He stresses five points the clamours of the Nawab's troops for payment of arrears, the rebellious attitude of some zamindars, the desperate financial position of the Company, the Nawab's suspected connection with the Dutch, and the political vacuum created by the sudden death of the heir-apparent, Miran, on 3 July 1760

Holwell did not possess Clive's strength of character and political capacity, nor could he claim the authority vested in a permanent governor He could not control the political situation which he had inherited from Clive He held Mir Jafar responsible for all troubles and advocated his removal from the *masnad*,²⁰ but Caillaud, who commanded the Company's troops, and Warren Hastings, Resident at the *darbar*, opposed this project These developments took place before Miran's death After that incident Holwell changed his plan and asked the Nawab to accept his son-in-law, Mir Qasim, as his partner in government and heir-apparent According to Vansittart, 'the whole province seemed to turn their eyes' on Mir Qasim, the husband of Mir Jafar's 'only surviving legitimate child', he 'was esteemed a capable man in business, and had been the means of preserving the city (Murshidabad) from plunder and the Nawab from destruction' by satisfying the rebellious troops' demand for arrears This assessment of Mir Qasim's ability Vansittart must have borrowed from Holwell, being a new comer from Madras, he did not know personally the leading political figures in Bengal Holwell's choice of Mir Qasim appears to have been based more on the latter's 'material argument' than on political expediency²¹

Things moved fast during the month of July 1760 The Nawab received two contradictory proposals · one from Holwell and the Select Committee, recommending Mir Qasim, another from Amyatt and Caillaud, recommending Miran's infant son

¹⁹ *Narrative*, pp 13-17

²⁰ *Ibid*, pp 19-26

²¹ *Cambridge History of India*, Vol V, p 168

with Raja Rajballabh as his guardian Mir Jafar 'continued wavering in his choice, in such a manner, as shewed, that the encrease of the English influence was the event that he most dreaded in the appointment of either'

Vansittart accepted Holwell's plan and allowed him to finalise arrangements with Mir Qasim. The result was the treaty of 27 September 1760²². The chief objects of the Select Committee in concluding this treaty was 'to secure the Company a revenue proportionable to the increased military expenses, brought upon them by their connections with the Nabob,'²³ which the assignment made by him, besides the uncertainty of the payment, was by means equal to'. Vansittart reproduces 'authentic papers' to justify the treaty. The settlement with Mir Qasim was, according to him, 'the only means of evading the dangers, which threatened the very existence of the Company, of removing the war from the country and remedying the disorders of the government'

The essence of the settlement was to maintain Mir Jafar 'in the possession of his dignities' while vesting the actual authority in the 'Neabut', i.e. deputy subahdarship, conferred on Mir Qasim. Vansittart and Caillaud reached Murshidabad on 14 October 1760 with instructions from the Select Committee to carry the agreement into effect. Mir Jafar could not be prevailed upon to endorse the proposed arrangement. Then Caillaud's troops occupied his palace, and the Nawab, realising his helplessness, resigned his office. Mir Qasim was proclaimed Nawab, Mir Jafar left for Calcutta to live under the Company's protection.

The Select Committee's instructions did not empower Vansittart and Caillaud to replace Mir Jafar by Mir Qasim; they were given 'full powers' to keep the latter 'firm to the agreement he has entered into' and 'to support him so strongly as to enable him to over-rule the Nabob and all his present

²² *Narrative*, pp 44-45

²³ This refers to the necessity of defending the Nawab's dominions against the invasions of Shah Alam as also to the 'well-known designs of the two principal European powers', i.e. the French and the Dutch. (*Narrative*, pp 36-38)

advisers' But there was a general clause 'impowering you to act according to your own discretion in all circumstances that may occur' It was anticipated that 'the Nabob will be extremely alarmed', but the possibility of his total refusal to accept the change was not taken into consideration The military argument used by Vansittart and Caillaud had a somewhat unexpected result, the Nawab, instead of 'making what resistance he could' (as he contemplated doing when he found Caillaud's troops in the court-yard of his palace), swayed to the other extreme and informed Mir Qasim that 'he was ready to send him the seals, and all the ensigns of dignity'²⁴ Having regard to the Nawab's bitterness towards, and suspicion of his son-in-law, his total elimination from the political scene and migration to Calcutta constituted a far better solution of the Company's problems than the Mayor-of-the-Palace system devised by the Select Committee A nominal Nawab residing at Murshidabad would have, willingly or unwillingly, attracted conspirators against the English-sponsored deputy subahdar's regime Even after Mir Qasim's accession Rajballabh continued to plead for Mir Jafar's restoration

In Vansittart's opinion, 'indolence and weakness' were not the 'only faults' in Mir Jafar's character; he 'found a general disaffection against his government, and a detestation of his person and principles amongst all ranks and degrees of people' This was due not only to 'the extortions and oppressions of his ministers' but also to 'the many murders with which his short administration had been sullied, especially, the horrid massacre perpetrated by his order at Dacca'²⁵ Politically he was considered untrustworthy; it was suspected that he was guilty of intrigues with the Dutch as also with Shah Alam²⁶ Vansittart appears to have swallowed stories concocted by Holwell and Scrafton

Mir Jafar's incompetence was of course beyond question, but the English had neither the generosity nor the foresight to

²⁴ *Narrative*, pp 46-47

²⁵ *Ibid*, pp 43, 67-68 In 1765 Clive and the Select Committee stated that the 'aspersions' on Mir Jafar's character contained in Holwell's *Address to the Proprietors of the East India Stock* had 'not the least foundation in truth' (Firminger, pp cxiii-cxiv)

²⁶ *Narrative*, pp 15, 38-39, 73

allow him a fair chance to exercise his functions under reasonable conditions. They provided protection for his powerful servants whom he did not trust. In shaking the pagoda tree they did not care if its roots were pulled out. 'The grant of the Chittagong province, in farm to the Company', was regarded by Vansittart as 'a small favour', the Nawab's refusal offended him²⁷. As regards loyalty, the English had made full use of Mir Jafar's treachery towards Siraj-ud-daulah, they had no reason to expect a traitor to be firm in his allegiance to his new masters.

The real issue was neither Mir Jafar's incompetence nor his alleged anxiety to escape from the restraints imposed upon him. Mir Qasim's efficiency could not save him, even if he had been more tactful and circumspect, a collusion would have come at some stage or other. The crux of the problem lay in the unworkability of the political system which had emerged after Plassey. From the standpoint of the Mughal system the Nawab, free from even the shadow of imperial control, was a completely independent ruler. But his independence was crippled by his dependence on the armed forces of the Company as also by the increasing pressure on his financial resources in the interest of the Company and its hungry servants. The invasions of Shah Alam, the activities of the Dutch and the continuation of the Anglo-French War in South India complicated the situation. There was a fundamental divergence between the interests of the Company and those of the Nawab, it could not be removed or even adjusted by give-and-take experiments from time to time.

The 'revolution'²⁸ of 1760 was really no 'revolution', for it involved no new principle—not even a new political approach. It was a change of rulers. In 1757 a change was brought about by fighting; in 1760 threat of force was enough. The difference in method reflected a change in the Company's position, in 1760 it was stronger than it had been in 1757. In both cases the prospective rulers had to agree in advance to make substantial concessions to the English in order to achieve a common

²⁷ *Narrative*, pp 15-16

²⁸ The word was used by Vansittart and it has been accepted by modern writers

objective, viz the overthrow of the existing ruler. There was no formal division of power, and so far as the Company was concerned, there were only rights and privileges divorced from responsibilities.

III

Vansittart, it has been said, 'merits the severest criticism' for having 'adopted' a settlement with Mir Qasim which was 'most unsatisfactory' because it was not 'so full and explicit as to exclude future causes of misunderstanding'.²⁹ Whatever the defects of the settlement might be, it was the work of the entire Select Committee and not of Vansittart only. After the 'revolution' the Select Committee 'most heartily congratulated' Vansittart and Caillaud 'on your having amply effected the intended purposes, without the effusion of blood, or any disturbance'. Similar 'approbation' came from Ellis who subsequently 'engaged in the opposition' against Vansittart.³⁰ Two members of the Council, Verelst and Smyth, who were not members of the Select Committee³¹, complained that they had been 'kept entirely ignorant of the proceedings of the Select Committee', and 'made a cypher of, in so critical a concern'. Vansittart replied that the Council was not informed earlier because 'it was an affair that absolutely required secrecy'.³²

The three most important, and immediately effective, clauses of the treaty of 27 September 1760 were the assignment of 'the lands of Burdwan, Midnapoor, and Chittagong to the Company', payment of 'the former tuncaws according to the kistbundee agreed upon', and joint efforts to ensure that Shah Alam 'be

²⁹ *Cambridge History of India*, Vol V, p. 168.

³⁰ *Narrative*, pp. 63-64, 77.

³¹ In 1756 the Court of Directors felt that a body smaller in size than the Council was required to deal promptly and energetically with the French menace. So it ordered the constitution of a Select Committee with the President *ex officio* and four other members. In 1757 its composition was modified. Among its responsibilities was the transaction of 'affairs with the country government', it was empowered 'in general to take such measures as shall best conduce to the protection and preservation of the Company's rights and privileges in Bengal'.

³² *Narrative*, pp. 64-66.

removed from this country, nor suffered to get any footing in it'. These conditions were fulfilled. In January 1761 Henry Verelst took charge as Chief of Chittagong. John Johnstone took charge of Midnapur and resisted an attack of the Marathas from Cuttack. Midnapur replaced Balasore as the Company's commercial headquarters in that part of the country. In December 1760 a settlement was made with the Raja of Burdwan regarding his future payments³³. As regards 'the former tuncaws' Mir Qasim paid several lakhs out of which the Calcutta Council was able to make contributions to Madras³⁴.

Shah Alam invaded Bihar for the third time on the expiry of the rainy season of 1760. He was accompanied by Jean Law and his French followers. Mir Qasim took the field in December 1760. Carnac defeated the Emperor on 15 January 1761, his French friends were captured. He was 'reduced so low as to be much more an object of pity than of fear'³⁵. Taken to Patna by Carnac, Shah Alam was met by Mir Qasim. The 'revolution' was legalized, Mir Qasim's accession to the *subahdari* was confirmed and the payment of an annual tribute of 24 lakhs was agreed upon (March 1761). In April 1761 Shah Alam left Patna, lured by Shuja-ud-daulah's assurances of help for the recovery of Delhi.

Carnac was in charge of a detachment which was directed to escort Shah Alam 'to the limits of the province'. During the march he 'applied' to the Emperor 'for a confirmation of the Company's grants and privileges'. This was refused, but at the same time Shah Alam 'made a voluntary offer of the Dewannee of the three provinces upon the same conditions'. This is Vansittart's version. He thought that the Emperor's offer was 'voluntary' - 'it nowhere appears that it was solicited, nor had Major Carnac any authority or orders to solicit such a grant which could have only served to render the breach between the Nabob and the Company still more irreparable'³⁶. However, Vansittart and the Council 'were sensible that their acceptance of the post would cause jealousy and ill-will between them and

³³ *Narrative*, p. 74

³⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 75, 79

³⁵ *Ibid*, p. 82

³⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 113-117

the Nabob' and 'they thought it more prudent to decline it' The Court of Directors approved the 'refusal' of the *Diwani* and stated 'we are by no means desirous of making further acquisitions unless the most absolute necessity should require it'³⁷

A proposal to assist Shah Alam in marching to Delhi and establishing himself as Emperor appears to have been agreed upon by the Select Committee and Mir Qasim on the eve of the 'revolution', but it became ineffective later on account of Mir Qasim's 'persistent, though half-concealed opposition' Apparently the new Nawab was suspicious that a political understanding between the English and the Emperor would endanger his position Just before the 'revolution' Shah Alam's removal to Delhi might have appeared to him desirable as a strategic move to divert the Emperor's attention from Bengal But the situation changed when Carnac asked for imperial confirmation of the Company's privileges in Bengal and the Emperor made a 'voluntary' offer of *Diwani* to the Company The matter was discussed in the Council Reports must have reached the Nawab's ears and alarmed him

Despite Mir Qasim's opposition the English authorities at Calcutta in his time—as also in later years—toyed with the project A promise to escort Shah Alam to Delhi was given in May 1761, it was repeated year after year even when Vansittart was no longer at the helm of affairs³⁸ In this 'design' Dodwell finds a proof of Vansittart's 'political imbecility',³⁹ although Clive pursued the same track Even Vansittart's political opponents (Coote, Amyatt, Carnac, Ellis and Verelst) were at least partly guilty of this 'political imbecility', they urged the Court of Directors in March 1762 either to accept Shah Alam's offer of *Diwani* or to sanction an expedition to Delhi to support him⁴⁰

It would have been 'the height of folly' for the English, argues Dodwell, to dissipate their unconsolidated power for in-

³⁷ Auber, *Rise and Progress of the British Power in India*, Vol I, p 83

³⁸ Sir J N Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol II, p 401

³⁹ *Cambridge History of India*, Vol V, p 169

⁴⁰ Firminger, p clvi

terfering in the affairs of Upper India'. This argument applies with greater force to the post-Vansittart period when the Marathas were recovering their power in Upper India. In 1761 the Maratha power appeared to be completely broken in the Punjab, in the Doab, in Central India and in Rajputana, Ahmad Shah Abdali nominated Shah Alam as Emperor and wrote to him to return to the capital, Delhi was in charge of the Afghan conqueror's loyal deputy, Najib-ud-daulah⁴¹. Presumably the risk involved in escorting the Emperor to Delhi in 1761, or at any time before the recovery of Maratha power, would not have been considerable. Had Shah Alam been able to go to Delhi he would not have lent the prestige of his name to Mir Qasim's alliance with Shuja-ud-daulah against the Company. Moreover, it was politically necessary for the English to secure imperial approval of their nominees' installation on the *masnad* of Bengal, and for this purpose direct influence on the Emperor was an objective worth seeking.

The question of *Diwani*, initiated by Clive, acquired fresh momentum during the administration of Vansittart. The primary impediment to its acceptance was the desire to avoid offence to the Nawab. Holwell thought that the objections against the acceptance of *Diwani* were 'strong and unanswerable, unless we could have been invested with the Soubadarry as well'⁴². The political turmoil and the people's suffering during the period 1761-72 would have been avoided if both *Diwani* and *Subahdari* had been sought when the Emperor was 'much more an object of pity than of fear'. But the Court of Directors was not prepared to go beyond a limited objective, viz to 'secure our present possessions and privileges in Bengal'⁴³. Moreover, as Clive realised and stated in 1767, the French, Dutch or Danes would not 'readily acknowledge the Company's Soubahship'⁴⁴.

Vansittart's refusal to accept *Diwani* was an essential feature of his policy towards the Nawab. He was anxious to avoid any

⁴¹ In October 1765 Najib asked Shah Alam to come to Delhi (Sarkar, p. 402).

⁴² Firminger, p. clvii.

⁴³ Auber, Vol I, p. 83.

⁴⁴ A. C. Banerjee, *Indian Constitutional Documents* Vol I, p. 11.

measure which was likely to be taken amiss by Mir Qasim. What is more important, he wanted the Nawab to be a strong ruler. In March 1761 the Select Committee instructed Carnac to 'give him the assistance he may apply for, to reduce to obedience ('disaffected') Zemindars to collect the revenues,' and to deal with Rajballabh and others who had 'accounts to settle with the government'⁴⁵ According to Clive, 'this was the error of Mr Vansittart's conduct' 'he advised the Nawab to regulate his treasury, save money, to form and discipline an excellent army, and pay them well and regularly contrary to the practice of all the princes of India. By following this advice punctually, Kasim Ali, in two years, thought himself in a condition to bid us defiance, and was near being so'⁴⁶

The only alternative to this 'error' would have been a policy of weakening the Nawab, of clipping his wings in such a manner that he could not 'think himself in a condition to bid us defiance' But such a Nawab could not be expected to collect revenues which would be adequate for meeting the Company's demands. The Nawab could be reduced to a political phantom only when the Company had direct control over the collection of revenues, not only in the 'Ceded Districts' but throughout the province. Thus the acquisition of the *Diwani* was a necessity if the political power of the Company was to be beyond the possibility of challenge from the Nawab. This is what Clive did after Buxar. The treaty with Najm-ud-daulah (February 1765), the *farman* of Shah Alam (August 1765) and the treaty with Saif-ud-daulah (1766) created a situation in which (as Clive said) 'the power formerly belonging to the *Soubah* of these provinces is totally in fact vested in the East India Company'⁴⁷ In 1775 Warren Hastings insisted that 'the Nabob is a mere pageant without so much as the pageant of authority' In the same year Justice Lemaître of the Supreme Court, in the case of Rai Radhacharan, described Nawab Mubarak-ud-daulah as 'this phantom, this man of straw'⁴⁸

⁴⁵ *Narrative*, p. 81

⁴⁶ *Indian Constitutional Documents*, Vol. I, p. 5

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 3-4, 8-10

⁴⁸ Fuminger, pp. xiii-xviii

In Vansittart's days the Company was not prepared to assume responsibilities vested under the Mughal system in the twin offices of *Nazim* and *Diwan*. It was necessary to recognize a Nawab he might (like Mir Jafar) fail to satisfy the Company's demands, or he might (like Mir Qasim) challenge the Company in the field. After the failure of the experiment with Mir Jafar the alleged 'error' of Vansittart was unavoidable.

IV

Within three months of Mir Qasim's installation Vansittart discovered the first symptoms of the rise of a party 'with their Protests and Objections against the Revolution'. For this unforeseen development he assigns two reasons. 'My coming to Bengal', he says, 'in so advanced a station, gave occasion for complaint to all the senior servants of that settlement, and particularly to Mr Amyatt, who was the next to the chair'. Although he had served with credit in Madras for about fourteen years and had been recommended by Clive for appointment as Governor of Bengal, he was looked upon as an outsider by the Company's senior servants in Bengal who resented the loss of their prospect of elevation to the prize post in the Presidency. The atmosphere was not congenial for co-operation; jealousy and a desire to discredit the intruder marked the proceedings of those on whose support Vansittart was entitled to count. Apart from the senior servants' general resentment of supersession, there were personal grievances. Ellis considered himself 'injured' because Vansittart declined to entertain his application for the Chiefship of Patna to which M'Gwire had been appointed two months before. Carnac was 'violently offended' because Vansittart wanted Caillaud (whom Carnac had succeeded as commander of the forces) to remain in command at Patna till a settlement with, or 'a decisive action' against, Shah Alam.⁴⁹ Vansittart regrets that he 'had some unhappy tempers to deal with'; and there were 'mischievous people in the settlement, who were busy in improving every circumstance to inflame disputes'.⁵⁰ The position did not

⁴⁹ Vansittart's *Narrative* contains many references to his bitterness against Carnac. See pp 80-89, 111-128.

⁵⁰ *Narrative*, pp 70-71.

change when Coote came from Madras (April 1761) and took over the command from Carnac. He engaged as his *diwan* Nanda Kumar who favoured the restoration of Mir Jafar and was naturally a suspect in Mir Qasim's eyes.

These difficulties were serious enough to impede the formulation and enforcement of a strong and consistent policy. We know how Warren Hastings found his hands tied by persistent opposition in his Council. Vansittart did not possess that extraordinary political capacity and strength of will which enabled Hastings to cross a stormy sea. 'He was one of that large body of men who can execute the orders of their superiors much better than they can frame a policy of their own'.⁵¹ Incapable of sternly imposing his will upon recalcitrant colleagues and subordinates, and of seeing clearly through the enveloping political mist, he got himself entangled in the ramifications of a policy which exposed the Company's ascendancy in Bengal to grave peril.

The first serious warning was given by Amyatt's Minute of 8 January 1761 which was assented to by Ellis and Smyth.⁵² They 'dissented to the whole transaction', i.e. the replacement of Mir Jafar by Mir Qasim, on three grounds. The new Nawab, it was alleged, was guilty of the 'same severities' as had been perpetrated by the old Nawab, 'he has shewn marks of favour to those ministers who saw with an evil eye the influence of the Company', his treachery to his father-in-law 'leaves us very little hopes of his attachment to our interest'. Moreover, the reasons given for 'deposing' Mir Jafar were 'far from being sufficient to convict him of breach of faith', so 'the whole odium of such proceedings must retort upon ourselves'. The Select Committee recorded its reply on 12 January 1761. But dissent became wider. Ellis wrote a Minute (16 January 1761) stating that his 'complimentary congratulation' of 24 November,⁵³ could not be 'construed as an approbation of the design'.⁵⁴

⁵¹ *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. V, p. 168.

⁵² *Narrative* pp. 71-77.

⁵³ See above, p. x.

⁵⁴ *Narrative*, pp. 77-78.

The opposition turned its batteries directly at Mir Qasim in connection with the affairs of Ramnarain. The shrewd deputy governor of Bihar had grasped the true significance of Plassey. He had defied his formal master, Mir Jafar, and secured the patronage of Clive. He defied Mir Qasim too in connection with submission of accounts. As he was well-known as a friend of the English, Vansittart could not place him at the mercy of the Nawab, at the same time he recognized the Nawab's right to call for accounts with a view to improving his financial arrangements. There was no immediate deviation from Clive's policy. Carnac was instructed on 9 February 1761 'to protect Ramnarayan against all violence and injustice that may be offered to his person, honor, or fortune'. As regards Rajballabh there could be 'no reasonable objection to a fair examination of his accounts by the Nawab', 'in this' Carnac was asked to give the Nawab 'all the necessary assistance'. Carnac's reply of 24 February 1761 was couched in words which (as Vansittart rightly says) showed 'the prejudices which he had entertained against the Nabob, and his eagerness to enter into disputes with the board'⁵⁵

Carnac's 'prejudices against the Nabob' led him to treat Mir Qasim with 'slights' in an interview at Patna in March 1761. The Select Committee commented that the incident would 'hurt both parties in the eyes of the world'⁵⁶. Matters did not improve after Coote's arrival at Patna in April 1761. Carnac continued to stay there, Ramnarain and Rajballabh were present, so was the Nawab. Three points emerge clearly from the maze of allegations and counter-allegations. First, Carnac defied the orders of the Council and stated openly that 'he would be judge of what orders he might receive from the Board'. Vansittart observed on 22 September 1761 that 'no service can be carried on, where there is more than one authority, if an officer is to be the judge of the orders he receives from the Board, the execution of these orders will depend on his judgment, and not on the judgment of the Board'. Secondly, 'Ramnarain had sought, with too much success, to engage such as he knew to

⁵⁵ *Narrative*, pp 80-81

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, pp 81-84

be already biassed against the Nabob, to support him in refusing or evading the rendering of an account of his administration'. A speedy settlement of the matter was necessary in the Company's interest, for (as the Select Committee wrote to Coote on 18 June 1761) 'our only dependence for supplying the army with money is from the Nabob's balance of about eight lacks, which we have desired him to pay to the chief and council at Patna'⁵⁷

Far more serious was the open confrontation between Coote and Mir Qasim. The Colonel prevented the Nawab from asking Shah Alam for a *sanad* confirming his accession to the *masnad*. On 17 June 1761, relying on Ramnaram's report that the Nawab had got his troops in readiness to attack the fort, Coote entered the Nawab's tent 'with his horsemen, Peons, Seepoys and others, with a cocked pistol in each hand'. M'Gwire, the Chief at Patna, wrote to Vansittart on the same day 'either immediately to have Ramnaram dismissed, or to come yourself to settle matters here, otherwise the poor Nabob must fall'. Coote's version of the incident was that he went with his 'usual attendants to speak with' the Nawab. In this incident, as Vansittart wrote, 'the Nabob had too striking an example of the dangers he had to apprehend, from the violence of the party formed against him'. Carnac and Coote had made 'frequent representations' to the Board about the worthlessness of the Nawab's troops, his inability even to call an ordinary zamindar into account without the aid of English troops, as also his dependence on them for the defence not only of the city of Patna but 'all the rest of the frontiers' of his dominions (Birbhum, Midnapur and Chittagong). No wonder Vansittart found it 'almost impossible' to believe that Coote 'could really think the Nabob had a design to assault the city'⁵⁸

By the middle of the year 1761 the lack of union among the Company's top-ranking servants became the most disturbing factor in the affairs of the Presidency. By a strange coincidence Vansittart's chances of controlling the situation were seriously affected by changes in the composition of the Council. Sumner,

⁵⁷ *Narrative*, pp. 127, 102, 91.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 96-67, 103-104, 107, 111.

M'Gwire and Playdell were dismissed in August 1761 under orders of the Court of Directors, soon afterwards Smyth resigned. The vacancies were filled up by Cartier, Hastings, Johnstone and Hay. Vansittart found himself in a minority. There was an 'additional misfortune' ⁵⁹ Ellis became Chief of Patna.

The new Council could not agree on the instructions to be issued to Ellis, and Vansittart's casting vote decided the issue. He was enjoined 'not to interfere, directly or indirectly in any affairs of the country government, or with the people belonging to it'. Conflict with the Nawab was to be avoided. 'nothing but jealousy and ill-will, between the Nabob and the Company, can be the consequence of our interfering in the support of any Zamindar, or other person holding office, grant, or authority under the government. It is especially contrary to our engagement with the Nabob.' It appears that there was no dispute in the Council on this point, the differences related to the procedure to be adopted in regard to the Nawab's request for the assistance of the Company's troops ⁶⁰.

Ellis took charge at Patna in November 1761. He violated the above instructions by ordering the arrest of two officers of the Nawab and by sending a detachment of sepoys to search the fort of Monghyr for deserters. Mir Qasim took serious offence and 'renounced all correspondence' with Ellis. He wrote to Vansittart on 26 March 1762. 'Mr Ellis commits open acts of hostility against me, raises calumnies against me, corresponds with my enemies, and instead of a single letter (about deserters at Monghyr) sends two hundred sepoys.' While Ellis complained of 'the general disregard shewn to the English dustucks throughout the country', Mir Qasim wrote 'every man with a Company's dustuck in his hands regards himself as not less than the Company' ⁶¹.

Ellis was fully conscious of the source of his strength, viz support from some members of the Council. The style of his letters, says Vansittart, 'was evidently calculated to inflame the

⁵⁹ *Narrative*, p. 129.

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 129-130.

⁶¹ *Ibid*, pp. 150, 141, 149.

minds of such of the members of the Board, as had taken up the same prejudices against the Nabob with himself, and were ready to second his views' He was not disappointed whenever representations were received from him 'some one (in the Council) was always ready to propose the most violent measures' Anxious to prevent an 'irreparable breach' with the Nawab, Vansittart tried, 'by moderation, to abate this violent spirit', but he 'had not even one to support' him On the other side the Nawab 'was made extremely uneasy by these continual insults', and he knew that Vansittart's 'power was not sufficient' to protect him Pains were 'taken to sow dissensions and jealousies on both sides' and 'many reports were spread about of an approaching rupture'⁶²

The Council agreed, at Vansittart's suggestion, to depute Warren Hastings to the Nawab to counteract the effects of 'the false reports and representations of mischievous persons'⁶³ But the mission was foredoomed to failure On Amyatt's proposal a clause was inserted in the instructions to Hastings to demand from Mir Qasim payment of twenty lakhs which he had offered to the members of the Select Committee (Vansittart, Holwell, Caillaud, Sumner and M'Gwire) at the time of concluding the treaty of 27 September 1760 Vansittart, opposing the proposal, pointed out that the offer had been refused at the time by all the five members, but he was outvoted

On this occasion Amyatt put forward several charges against Mir Qasim to refute Vansittart's view that he was well disposed towards the English He was 'keeping up, and daily increasing a rabble of an army at an immense expense' obviously with a view to making himself 'independent of us' He had 'determined on removing the seat of his government to Rajemahl' in order 'to be at a great distance from our settlements' He committed 'the most unheard of exactions and oppressions more particularly against such as were our avowed friends, Ramnarayan, for instance.'⁶⁴

It is true that Mir Qasim had his arm

⁶² Ibid, pp 152-155

⁶³ Ibid, p 157

⁶⁴ Ibid, pp 164-165

through Gurgin Khan and Muhammad Taqi Khan, several Europeans (Sumroo, Gentil, Mascot, Arratoon) were admitted into the army and arrangements were made for manufacture of arms and ammunition at Monghyr⁶⁵ His revenue measures were strict and harsh Francis wrote later 'partly from the direct produce of the lands, and partly by fines and confiscations, it is believed that for two years, he drew almost double the ancient revenue from the country'.⁶⁶ His policy was to make himself free from those weaknesses which had ruined Mir Jafar Amyait himself provides the best justification for this policy He says 'it is no wonder he should entertain these suspicions as he can have no security that we will keep our faith with him, better than we did with his father-in-law, to whom we were bound by engagement more solemn than those since entered into with him'⁶⁷ As Verelst wrote later, it was 'impossible that Mir Qasim should rest the foundation of his government upon our support'⁶⁸

Hastings arrived at Patna on 2 May 1762 Unable to consult Ellis who was then at a country-house at a distance of several miles from the city, he proceeded to Mir Qasim's camp at Sasaram The Nawab was 'surprised greatly' by the 'unreasonable demand' for twenty lakhs and repeated his complaints against Ellis Hastings reported to Vansittart on 13 May 1762 with regard to Ellis 'his behaviour, in my opinion, has been so imprudent, and his disaffection to the Nawab so manifestly inveterate, that a proper representation of it, cannot fail to draw upon him the severest resentment of the Company' In reply Vansittart asked him 'to conciliate matters between the Nawab and Mr Ellis' 'I love peace and quietness', he wrote, 'and have learnt to make allowances for the different tempers and passions of different men' A few days later Hastings reported that he found it 'an impossible task' to 'reconcile all differences between the Nawab and the English and put an end to all animosities'⁶⁹

⁶⁵ *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin* (Eng trans), Vol II, p 421

⁶⁶ Firminger, p cxv

⁶⁷ *Narrative*, p 165

⁶⁸ *View*, p 47

⁶⁹ *Narrative*, pp 166, 174-176

To this desperate conclusion Hastings was drawn by the efforts of Amyatt, Ellis and Carnac, through their friends in England, 'to procure an order from the Company, to annul the measures taken in favour of Mir Qasim' On 19 June 1761 the Court of Directors wrote that the 'revolution' of 1760 was a 'happy event' and offered its thanks to Vansittart 'for his great services, and disinterested behavior on this occasion' Writing three months later (30 September 1761) the Court of Directors adopted an entirely different tone Stress was laid on 'the great regard the Company have always had to a faithful observance of their agreements' and it was added : 'We could have wished therefore the situation of affairs would have admitted keeping terms with Jaffier Ali Cawn ' The English opponents of Mir Qasim turned this part of the Court's letter to their own purpose They 'published it throughout the country with their own interpretations, and confidently declared, that the next step would be an entire disavowal of his (Mir Qasim's) promotion, with orders in consequence to restore Meer Jaffier' This reached Mir Qasim's ears, 'as no doubt was intended' Hastings, however, was able 'to satisfy him how improbable such an event was' ⁷⁰

V

After Mir Qasim's fall the Court of Directors, as also Clive and his Secret Committee, considered the question of inland trade as 'the foundation of all the bloodshed, massacres, and confusion which have happened of late years in Bengal' ⁷¹ Inland trade was defined by Vansittart as 'trade carried on by private persons, on their own credit and bottom, in commodities produced in the country, and again sold in the same country' According to him, 'The private trade consists of goods not fit for exportation, but which are again sold in the country, or it consists of articles which are funds appropriated, and paid into the exchequer of the country (i.e. the Nawab's) government'. ⁷²

⁷⁰ *Narrative*, pp 176-178

⁷¹ Firminger p cxv

⁷² Quoted in *ibid*

The Company had no direct concern with inland trade although its servants had a vital interest in it. They interpreted Farrukh-siyar's *farman* as conferring on them the right to trade in articles such as salt, betel and tobacco without paying the tolls levied by the 'country government'. The Nawabs from Murshid Quli Khan onwards declined to accept this interpretation. The Court of Directors wrote on 26 April 1765 'Is it possible to suppose that the Court of Dehly, by conferring the privilege of trading free of customs, could mean an inland trade in the commodities of their own country to the detriment of their revenues and the sum of their own merchants? We do not find such a construction was ever heard of until our servants first invented it and afterwards supported it by violence'⁷³ Vansittart wrote 'It never could be intended by the Mogul King that private foreign merchants should be upon a better footing than private native merchants. If any set of foreign merchants could deal in all goods produced in the country, and sold in any part of the same country, free from all duties, while at the same time all duties were paid by the natives, the foreigners must, in consequence, keep the whole trade to themselves, and also the Government of the country must lose the whole of the duties'⁷⁴

Plassey shattered both law and logic. Under pressure from Clive Mir Jafar issued *parwanas* directing his officers 'neither (to) ask nor (to) receive any sum' in respect of 'whatever goods the Company's gumastahs may bring or carry to or from factories, the aurungs or other places, by land or by water, with a dustuck from any of the chiefs of their factories'. It was added 'whoever acts contrary to these orders the English have full power to punish them'⁷⁵

This new system flourished, 'the majority of the Company's servants, from the Governor down to the youngest of the juniors, had become merchants on a large scale, sometimes even forming companies for trade with one another, and employing European agents in frontier districts which, but a few years

⁷³ Verelst, *View*, Appendix no xxx

⁷⁴ Quoted in Firminger, p cxv

⁷⁵ *Cambridge History of India*, Vol V, p 171

before, had been traced on no published map'⁷⁶ The careers of William Bolts⁷⁷ and Richard Barwell provide typical examples 'Vansittart's private trade formed a cause of real embarrassment to him when this matter of inland trade became a burning topic of politics'.⁷⁸

Mir Qasim wrote to Vansittart on 26 March 1762 'the gomastahs and other servants in every district, in every gunge, pergunah and village, carry on a trade in oil, fish, straw, bamboos, rice, paddy, beetle-nut and other things, and every man with a Company's dustuck in his hand, regards himself as not less than the Company' According to Vansittart, 'every struggle made by country people against the oppressions and extortions of the private English Gomastahs, was immediately construed as an attack upon the Company's rights'⁷⁹ Verelst wrote 'A trade was carried on without payment of duties in the prosecution of which infinite oppressions were committed English agents and Gomastahs, not contented with injuring the people, trampled on the authority of government, binding and punishing the Nawab's officers wherever they presumed to interfere'⁸⁰

The Directors tried again and again to prevent this scandalous practice In 1758 they wrote that *dustucks* had been 'scandalously prostituted' In 1760 they regretted that the registers of *dustucks* had not been sent to them since 1755 In 1762 they ordered that no Writer should have 'the benefit or liberty of dustucks' till he attained the rank of Factor But the Company's servants cared little for the injunctions of their distant masters in matters which touched their pockets

Apart from the Company's servants the British 'free merchants' as also some of the 'black merchants' secured the use of dustucks for valuable consideration The network

⁷⁶ Firminger, p cxvi

⁷⁷ For aggressiveness of Bolts see *Narrative*, p 213 He accumulated £ 90,000 in six years

⁷⁸ Firminger, p cxvi

⁷⁹ *Narrative*, pp 148-149, 135

⁸⁰ *View*, p 48

extended to the *gomastas* of the English private traders Hastings wrote to Vansittart on 25 April 1762 that 'oppressions were committed under the sanction of the English name', not only by 'our dependents alone' but 'by people falsely assuming the habits of our sepoyes or calling themselves our gomastahs'⁸¹

Three issues were involved from the standpoint of the Nawab. He lost a large revenue. His administrative authority was exposed to serious encroachment. Mir Qasim wrote to Vansittart on 26 March 1762 'The cause of the country's not being in my hands is this, that from the factory of Calcutta to Cossimbazar, Patna and Dacca, all the English chiefs, with their gomastahs, officers and agents, in every district of the government, act as collectors, renters, zemindars and taalookdars, and setting up the Company's colors, allow no power to my officers'⁸². Thirdly, the Nawab's subjects were forced into an unfair competition in inland trade with the holders of *dustucks*. The sole basis of this oppressive system was Mir Jafar's *Parwana* which was not in any way connected with the treaties made by Mir Jafar and Mir Qasim. Dodwell's curious justification of it⁸³ echoes the sentiments of Ellis, Amyatt and their friends.

In April 1762 Hastings was convinced that unless this 'grievance' was 'duly attended to', it would not be possible 'to create a firm and lasting harmony' between the Nawab and the Company. 'Nothing', he was afraid, 'will reach the root of these evils, till some certain boundary be fixed between the Nawab's authority and our privileges'⁸⁴. The Nawab's complaints are set out in detail in his letter to Vansittart (May 1762)⁸⁵. The matter involved a vital interest of the Company. The Nawab's annual loss amounted (according to him) to twenty-five lakhs. He asked 'how can I keep clear of debts?' How can I provide for the payment of my tribute to the king, and for the expences of my army and my

⁸¹ *Narrative*, pp 182-183

⁸² *Ibid*, p 148

⁸³ *Cambridge History of India*, Vol V, p 172

⁸⁴ *Narrative*, pp 182, 184

⁸⁵ *Ibid*, pp 191-192

household ?⁸⁶ A bankrupt Nawab would be a mill-stone round the Company's neck

In the Council the Nawab's complaints were 'usually construed as forged pretexts to pick up a quarrel' with the English and to 'encroach upon' their 'rights' Vansittart was 'reproached' for the credit which he gave to them, and 'every gentleman who was interested in them' regarded him as 'his personal enemy' During his illness for two months in the rainy season of 1762 'these disputes and struggles between the Nawab's officers and gomastahs were carried to the greatest licentiousness on both sides'⁸⁷

After his recovery Vansittart thought that a visit to Mir Qasim at Monghyr 'would prove an effectual method of re-establishing a confidence between us, putting an end to the disputes' So he started from Calcutta on 20 October 1762, accompanied by Hastings as his 'assistant' This was done with the concurrence of the Council Arriving at Monghyr via Murshidabad (where he had 'many conversations' with the Nawab's *Naub* or deputy, Syed Mahommed Khan) on 30 November 1762, he was received by the Nawab, and 'many conferences followed', on complaints relating chiefly to private inland trade He agreed with the Nawab that the *farman* of Farrukh-siyar 'could not be construed to extend further than the trade in articles imported by shipping, and the manufactures and products of the country for exportation', yet he was 'unwilling to give up an advantage which had been enjoyed by the Company's servants, in a greater or less degree, for five or six years'⁸⁸ As a result of discussions Vansittart and Hastings proposed to the Nawab some 'regulations' which secured for the Company's servants 'a right to trade which had always before been disputed' they were henceforth to participate in inland trade on payment of duties at the rate of 9 per cent on the prime cost 'in lieu of all demands at the chokeys etc'⁸⁹

⁸⁶ *Narrative*, p 192

⁸⁷ *Ibid*, pp 196-197

⁸⁸ *Ibid*, pp 206, 211, 215

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, pp 217-225

Vansittart then proceeded to Patna, met Ellis, and 'found that his animosity against the Nawab had taken root too deep to be moved and was confirmed in the opinion, that a reconciliation was not possible' Returning to Monghyr he 'saw the Nawab, ready to proceed on the expedition to Beteea and Napaul, his army having already crossed the river' He 'crossed the great river in person leaving his family and treasure at Mongheer' This was proof enough to show that he regarded the inland trade question as solved on the basis of Vansittart's proposals and had no intention of taking hostile measures against the English Moreover, in Vansittart's opinion, Mir Qasim's real interest lay in 'the increase and improvement of his revenues, but for war he was totally unfit, from his excessive and known timidity'⁹⁰

Vansittart and Hastings returned to Calcutta on 18 January 1763 Meanwhile Mir Qasim had committed a grave tactical mistake It had been agreed that the 'regulations' should be 'sent from the Council to the different factories, with his orders to his officers', *after* Vansittart's arrival in Calcutta But hardly had Vansittart left Monghyr before the Nawab circulated them to his officers for enforcement, with 'a direction, that all English gomastahs, who refused to comply with them, should be turned out of the country'. The matter was brought to the notice of the Council by the Chief of Dacca who made 'the most aggravated representations of the loss to the private commerce, and of the encroachments upon what they called our privileges'. Vansittart's letter containing the 'regulations' was translated into English by the official Persian translator 'with a pedantick singularity of stile, and an affected precision and positiveness especially in such passages, as were called by the Board an attack upon their rights' Carnac, 'who had no concern, or any right to interfere in such matters, was called upon to join his opinion to that, which the Board thought proper to pass upon these regulations'⁹¹ Members of the Board were called down from the subordinate factories to Calcutta to support the Nawab's opponents, and in this campaign Carnac was the prime mover.

⁹⁰ *Narrative*, pp 230-231

⁹¹ *Ibid*, pp 237, 245-251

It is surprising that Vansittart failed to anticipate these developments. He says . 'It was not till after my arrival in Calcutta, that I suspected any objections could be made to the regulations which I had settled with the Nawab'. It is true (as he says) that 'the Nawab, by his own folly, made the danger more sudden and unavoidable', but the 'danger' was not created by his ill-advised haste to publicise and enforce the 'regulations'. Men like Amyatt, Carnac and Ellis could not be expected to acquiesce in the sudden loss of what Vansittart himself described as 'an advantage which had been enjoyed by the Company's servants, in a greater or less degree, for five or six years'. They did not share Vansittart's view that the 'regulations' were 'entirely agreeable to justice and equity', they attributed to him 'an intention of cutting off the most profitable branches of their trade'.⁹²

The Council, at its meeting held on 17 January 1763, stressed two points. First, Vansittart's letter to Mir Qasim 'assumed a right to which he was no ways authorised', 'the President's issuing out regulations independently of the Council, is an absolute break of their privileges'. Secondly, 'the regulations proposed by him, are dishonorable to us as Englishmen, and tend to the ruin of all public and private trade'. In an elaborate reply (1 February 1763) Vansittart referred to previous orders from the Court of Directors 'that the trade in salt and beetle-nut shall not be carried on to the prejudice of the revenues of the country government', stated that the treaty with Mir Jafar did not grant 'any new privileges of trade' and Clive 'never would grant a dustuck for salt, or any other article of trade, which had not usually been granted by former governors', and asked those members of the Council who opposed his 'regulations' to 'form a better plan'.⁹³

Vansittart was 'much displeased with the Nawab, for his eagerness in making use of my letter as a final agreement, and for the ill judged power, which he had so suddenly put into the hands of his officers before my arrival in Calcutta, or any

⁹² *Narrative*, pp 238-239, 211, 230

⁹³ *Ibid*, pp 251-261

correspondent orders could be sent out on our part' The Nawab's officers 'were for passing at once from one extreme to the other' suddenly freed from the 'yoke' of the *gomastahs*, they in their turn wished to 'rule despotically, and use their authority to unlawful purposes' This gave the Company's subordinate factories 'daily opportunities of making fresh complaints to the Board of the interruption of their business'.⁹⁴ They were directed to carry on their private trade as before, pending further orders from the Council, and the Nawab was informed that the Council would make new 'regulations' Vansittart intended by these interim measures to maintain peace and to ensure proper consideration of the problem.

The Council met on 15 February 1763 Ten members were present, including Vansittart himself As the President (Governor) had no authority to overrule the Council, decisions had to be made by a simple majority of votes if differences could not be settled by discussion. On Amyatt's motion Carnac was summoned to sit as a member of the Council at this meeting, Vansittart opposed, but he was supported by two members only (Hastings and Watts) On Vansittart's motion, the commanding officer, Major Adams, was summoned to sit in the Council 'as it was customary upon all occasions to summon both, when it was necessary to summon either' The proceedings of this twelve-member body were dominated by Amyatt, but the primary driving force was provided (according to Vansittart) by Carnac Vansittart, weakened by lack of support in the Council, and anxious to avoid provocation either to the majority or to the Nawab, 'endeavoured to keep a middle course'. Apart from the question of 'regulations' on private trade a new issue was raised consideration of certain measures adopted by the Nawab which were likely to interfere with the general traffic as also the supply of grains for English troops at Patna. Carnac sought permission to return to Patna to take command of the troops there. Vansittart found in this application 'all the appearance of his wishing to make them (*i.e.* growing disputes) worse, and to be more at hand to act in concert with Mr Ellis to that end'⁹⁵

⁹⁴ *Narrative*, p. 261

⁹⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 265, 268, 270, 275

The Council met again on 19 February 1763 Vansittart recorded his opinion 'as the city (Patna) belongs to the Nawab, and he is answerable for the charge of it, and for the persons and properties of the inhabitants, he has an undoubted right to fortify it in any manner he pleases'⁹⁶ Carnac interpreted the Nawab's measures as intended to strengthen the city against the factory Once again Vansittart was outvoted. Accordingly a letter was sent to the Nawab, asking him to remove all obstructions to traffic, but in regard to arrangements for grain supply 'the whole Board agreed' with Vansittart in disapproving what Ellis was doing

At the next meeting of the Council (22 February 1763) the question of private trade was taken up, and six questions⁹⁷ were formulated The opinions of the Councillors were delivered at the meeting held on 1 March 1763 'The majority declared the extent of the privileges of our private trade to be unlimited, and that the duties which had hitherto been paid to the country government on salt, and some other articles were only a compliment which might be continued or not, as we pleased' In Vansittart's opinion 'this pretention' was 'as unjust as it was new', 'who can suppose the Mogul emperor meant by his firmaun, to give us a right to trade from place to place in the centre of his own country upon a better footing than his own subjects?' Exemption from customs on the Company's 'foreign or shipping trade' stood on a different footing 'because it was attended with the double advantage of giving vent to the manufactures of his dominions, and importing bullion and other useful commodities'⁹⁸

Hastings supported the 'regulations' as they were 'calculated in the best manner to put our trade on a better footing, to distinguish our rights from those of the Nawab, to preserve the English name from reproach, and the officers of the Company from suffering by continual disputes and contentions, in which they had no concern'. He drew a distinction between 'the interest of the Company, and that of individuals', and pointed out that the former would not suffer through the 'regulations'.

⁹⁶ *Narrative*, p 279

⁹⁷ *Ibid*, p 286

⁹⁸ *Ibid*, pp 288-289

To attempt to extend the *dustuck* system 'for the sake of our private advantages, to make this a point of contest with the power in alliance with the Company, would be, in his opinion, 'both a violation of justice, and a breach of the duty which we owe to our employers'. Regarding the scope of the *farman* he asked whether the Mughal Government 'could have been so blind to its own interest, as to have given a privilege to strangers, which would have enabled them to monopolize the whole trade of the country, to impoverish the natural subjects, and exhaust the country of its wealth, without making any adequate return for it' The Company itself could not, at that time, 'dream' of 'making any use' of such extensive privileges 'The commerce in imports and exports ever bounded (as of necessity it must) their concerns in this country'⁹⁹

The arguments of Hastings, supplemented by those of Vansittart, had no effect upon the determination of the majority to protect the interests of the Company's servants in respect of private inland trade. Of the six questions the two principal ones, viz 'whether the Firmaun granted a right to trade in all articles customs-free' and 'whether any customs should be paid on some articles', received ten and seven affirmative votes respectively. In the latter case payment was to be made to the Nawab 'merely as an indulgence', although he had no *right* to demand it. This concession meant, according to Vansittart, 'as if the Council saw at the very time the injustice of their proceeding'¹⁰⁰. The 'indulgence' was to be confined to a duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on salt.

Two other issues were connected with the question of inland trade. One was the extent of the Nawab's authority over the *gomastahs*. In Vansittart's opinion, neither Farrukh-siyar's *farman* nor Mir Jafar's confirmation of the *farman* privileges gave the *gomastahs* 'power to decide their own causes, or make use of any force of their own, but they are to apply to the officers of the Government, and obtain redress through their means'. Hastings criticised the proposal of the majority to 'absolve every person employed in our service from the

⁹⁹ *Narrative*, pp 302-304

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid*, pp 320-326

jurisdiction of the government' It would give the Company's employees 'a full licence of oppressing others' 'Such a system of government cannot fail to create in the minds of the wretched inhabitants an abhorrence of the English name and authority' ¹⁰¹ A 'regulation' was made on 5 March 1763 which, in Vansittart's opinion, 'might answer very well, if all chiefs and residents of the English were disinterested men, would receive complaints against their own *gomastahs* with temper, and decide them with justice and equity, even if their own profits were lessened by it' ¹⁰²

The other issue was the Company's right of coining Watts claimed 'the privilege of coining all the Company's monies, in any of the mints of the three provinces, at two and a quarter per cent which is more than sufficient to défray the charges of coinage' Vansittart thought that the Company's right was subject to certain restrictions, and, in any case, the privilege had become 'unnecessary' because the Company now had a mint of its own 'in which we may coin the rupees of Dacca and Patna, as we do of Moorshedabad' ¹⁰³

VI

Events moved towards a climax during the next three months (March-June 1763) Mir Qasim returned from his unsuccessful expedition to Betia and Nepal, and camped near Patna Vansittart concluded that 'the being nearer at hand to settle the contested points, was the chief reason for his quick return' Mir Qasim wrote bitter letters to Vansittart, expressing surprise that 'not a single person' in the Council had approved the Monghyr agreement, and stating that 'it is out of my power to carry on the business of this subahdaree' if he was to 'have the charge of the expences of the army and management of the country, and his Majesty's revenues' while the *gomastahs* of the English 'oppressed the country' with complete immunity from the authority of his officers A few days later (5 March 1763) he asked Vansittart 'to set me free from the uneasiness

¹⁰¹ *Narrative*, pp 321-322, 336-337

¹⁰² *Ibid*, pp 341-343

¹⁰³ *Ibid*, pp 328, 322

of such an administration, and set up a person for conducting it, whom the Council may better approve'. He did not improve his case by stating that he would 'negotiable' only with the Governor, thereby ignoring or bypassing the authority of the Council¹⁰⁴

Meanwhile the Nawab's orders to his officers and the 'unlimited powers given to the subordinate factories' by the Council 'were productive of daily disturbances, the natural consequence of jealousies inflamed to the highest pitch on both sides' At Dacca there was 'a fray' between the Nawab's officers and the Company's sepoys From Patna came the report that the Nawab's collector had been arrested and kept as a prisoner The Nawab, 'incensed at this outrage, committed almost before his eyes', sent a party of 500 horse, the Company's sepoys resisted, and four of them were killed Ellis, according to Vansittart, 'sought only a pretence to commence open hostilities' But Mir Qasim proceeded to Monghyr, and peace was not disturbed His mind, however, was uneasy Ellis, he wrote on 5 March 1763, 'is at this time taking pains daily to involve me in trouble, parading his companies of seepoys to provoke me, and omitting no opportunity of depreciating me both in this my own country, and to Shuja-ud-Dowla, and other great men at court'¹⁰⁵

On 7 March 1763 the Council decided that one of its members 'should go on a deputation to the Nabob, and treat with him upon the terms of our future alliance' Amyatt 'offered himself for this service, which was unanimously accepted', and 'at his own request Mr Hay was afterwards joined with him' Mir Qasim continued to be in a bitter mood He wrote with his own hand on 15 March 1763: 'Such disturbances as the English have set on foot, were never known in any government, till the time of Jaffier Cawn I can bear them no longer' In his exasperation he abolished all duties for two years He wrote on 22 March 1763 'on account of the oppression of the English gomastahs, there has not so much as a single farthing been collected by way of duties Nay, so

¹⁰⁴ *Narrative*, pp 343, 347, 360, 344

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid*, pp 356, 359

far from it, you form collusions with some of my people, and exact fines from others. And many merchants who ought to pay customs, have carried their goods duty free through your protection. Upon this account I have entirely given up the collection of duties, and removed all chowkeys wherever established'. This was not a hasty demonstration of wounded vanity. Mir Qasim had two objects in view—to eliminate possibilities of 'disturbances' due to clashes between his officers and the *gomastahs*, and to save the money spent on the maintenance of the *chowkeys* which hardly produced any revenue.¹⁰⁶ Moreover, he intended to use the abolition of duties as an experimental measure for a limited period, viz. two years. Firminger completely missed the point when he wrote: 'Mir Qasim stole a passage from the *Arabian Nights* in which a faithful maid, instead of wiping the chalk off her master's door, chalks all the other doors'.¹⁰⁷

The news of the Nawab's entirely unexpected action caused alarm in Calcutta. The Council decided—with Vansittart¹⁰⁸ and Hastings dissenting—that 'this exemption was a breach of the Company's privileges and that the Nawab should be positively required to recall it, and collect duties as before from the country merchants and all other persons who had not the protection of the Company's dustuck'.¹⁰⁹

Johnstone thought that the measure was beyond Mir Qasim's 'authority as a Subah, raised and supported by us, without revocation of our grants, by the King himself'. Watts held the same view. Marriott observed: 'what has cost the Company so great an expence of blood and treasure, is now rendered of no signification'. Hay anticipated that the Nawab would be 'no loser by this measure, for he will undoubtedly, at the end of the two years, make the merchants answerable to him for the duties

¹⁰⁶ *Narrative*, pp. 355, 362, 366, 379, 394.

¹⁰⁷ Firminger, p. cxvii.

¹⁰⁸ Johnstone and Hay alleged that by a 'private agreement' between Vansittart and the Nawab inland trade had been put into Vansittart's hands, 'which the rest of the English were deprived of'. Vansittart stated that 'he was the first to give orders to his agents to pay the duties agreed on' (*Narrative*, pp. 375-376).

¹⁰⁹ Vansittart, *Original Papers*, Vol. II, p. 124. *Narrative*, p. 368.

on the goods, in which they trade in the interim'. Cartier was afraid that the abolition of duties would affect the Company's investment by enhancing the prices and decreasing quantities of commodities available for purchase, 'from the swarm of purchasers this indulgence must necessarily produce' According to Batson, those who argued that the Nawab had a right to do what he pleased in his own country 'would better become his vacckeels, than members of this Board'¹¹⁰

To this condemned category belonged Vansittart and Hastings who delivered a joint 'opinion' The Nawab could not be expected, they remarked, to 'join with us in endeavouring to deprive every merchant of the country of the means of carrying on their business' In such circumstances he could not 'collect enough to pay the expence of the chokey collectors' His right to 'lay trade open' could not be questioned. 'the Nazim of every province has a right to do any thing for the relief of the merchants trading under his protection, without waiting an order from the (imperial) Court', particularly at a time when there was 'no Court nor King'. If Siraj-ud-daulah, Mir Jafar or Mir Qasim had 'a right to give up to us those duties which their predecessors received, or permit us to trade in articles we were before excluded from, of course they have a right also to make regulations in favour of trade in general'.¹¹¹

The majority attached no weight to these arguments and continued to press the Nawab to revoke his order on the abolition of duties The Nawab complained that Ellis had never 'omitted any occasion of perplexing my affairs, and disgracing my officers' The English, he added, 'have sent troops, to beat, bind, confine, and carry off my officers expecting that I would accordingly make some stir, and you might be furnished with a pretence against me'.¹¹² In such an atmosphere small incidents, such as the arrest of a sepoy at Gaya, led to serious developments¹¹³ Johnstone made a list of charges against the Nawab and suggested that the army should be 'held in readi-

¹¹⁰ *Narrative*, pp 368-372

¹¹¹ *Ibid*, pp 372-374

¹¹² *Ibid*, p 380

¹¹³ *Ibid*, pp 380-381

ness to march' Hastings declared his 'entire dissent to so violent a measure' and proposed negotiation. Cartier thought it 'necessary to convince the Nabob, of our having force sufficient to take every satisfaction required, but with no design to use it against his government'. According to Amyatt, it was desirable to ask the Nawab to receive the proposed deputation, if he 'refused so reasonable a demand', the English would be 'justified to the world, in taking the most vigorous and immediate measures for securing the trade and interest' of the Company. Vansittart wrote 'it would be an unprecedented thing to employ force, for the obtaining any point, until a friendly application has been made and rejected'. The Council reiterated its decision to send Amyatt and Hay to the Nawab.¹¹⁴ Armed with elaborate instructions from the Council¹¹⁵ (which represented the views of the majority and from which Vansittart dissented) Amyatt and Hay 'took their leaves of the Board' on 4 April 1763.

Meanwhile the arrest of Mahomed Ali, an officer of the Nawab, by orders of the Council (which had the concurrence of Vansittart) for what Vansittart described as his 'violent and incendiary spirit' had created an explosive situation. A report came from Patna that the Nawab had issued an order to cut down all mulberry trees in order to injure the Company's trade. It was 'publickly talked at the city' that the Nawab was determined to 'get rid of' the English 'one way or other'. The Nawab, on his side, asked Vansittart to 'recall your forces'. The Nawab's officer commanding at Patna 'took extraordinary precautions' for the defence of the city, although, according to Vansittart, 'not a soldier had moved from his quarters'. It was also reported from Patna that 'the disaffected zemindars, and other male-contents, taking the advantage of his (*i.e.* Nawab's) infamous and foolish behaviour, 'are rising up in arms, and threaten destruction to the country'. The Nawab wrote a letter full of 'good sense and temper' on 21 April 1763 and Vansittart 'flattered' himself 'with the hopes of a reconciliation', but at Patna Ellis, 'encouraged by the

¹¹⁴ *Narrative*, pp 385-387, 389, 392, 396

¹¹⁵ *Ibid*, pp 399-404

support afforded him by the Board, continued to widen the breach' ¹¹⁶

Amyatt and Hay, who had meanwhile advanced as far as Cossimbazar, reported that the Jagat Seth brothers had been seized and carried away to the Nawab at Monghyr. This was interpreted as 'a consequence of the Nawab's suspicions that they were concerned in some ill designs' with the English and as 'a breach of the promise' which he had made to Vansittart at the time of his accession. Mir Qasim explained, in a letter dated 2 May 1763, that the Seths had been brought to Monghyr 'not because they were intriguing with English, etc but for the management of such of my affairs, as indispensably required it'. This explanation was not without plausibility, for it was an agreed arrangement that the Seths 'should always attend upon the Nazim, and carry on both the business of the Nizamat, and their own'. But the Nawab could not conceal his real motive, they had done, he wrote, 'all they could, to throw the affairs of the Nizamat into confusion, and treated me as an enemy, an out-law, and refused to come'. How could the treaty be broken, he asked, when 'I summon a man, who is my own dependent'? This letter, says Vansittart, was 'dictated from a sense of the deepest injuries', and 'the provocation was sufficient to draw such a recrimination' ¹¹⁷

Amyatt and Hay met the Nawab several times in the second half of May 1763. They placed their demands and the Nawab sent his replies ¹¹⁸. Each side complained of the 'haughty style' in which each was addressed by the other. Amyatt and Hay 'instead of allowing room for negotiation, or shewing an equal willingness to hear and redress his grievances, persisted only in requiring a determinate answer to their own demands, which might as well have been insisted on by letter from Calcutta' ¹¹⁹. This procedure was not at all consistent with the spirit of the instructions they had received from the Council, particularly clauses 4, 7 and 8 in which they were

¹¹⁶ *Narrative*, pp 406, 409, 418, 408, 428-433

¹¹⁷ *Ibid*, pp 433, 439

¹¹⁸ *Ibid*, pp 445-451

¹¹⁹ *Ibid*, p 442

asked to 'convince' the Nawab, to 'explain personally to him' and to make 'most strenuous endeavours to remove' his suspicion¹²⁰

Destiny had forged a close link between Mir Qasim and Patna where Ellis, strongly supported by the majority in the Calcutta Council, was the presiding deity. In a letter which the Calcutta Council received on 9 May 1763 the Chief and Council at Patna reported the possibility of an attack by the Nawab and observed 'Our safety lies in mastering the city, by a coup de main, before the Nawab gets into it. They sought permission to 'obey nature's first law tho' it may not perfectly coincide with your orders'. Vansittart's acid comment is 'the determination of peace and war, was never known to be left in the hands of any inferior power'.¹²¹ But Ellis twisted the confused circumstances to seize an opportunity which normally did not fall within the scope of 'any inferior power'.

While Amyatt and Hay were carrying on talks with the Nawab, English troops marched to Patna. Vansittart makes it clear that no offensive purpose was involved. The Council had decided to relieve the Patna troops every year by sending a fresh detachment from Calcutta. But the developing crisis, as also the presence of Ellis at Patna, put this routine affair in a different light in Mir Qasim's court. Some boats laden with arms for the Patna troops, passing by Monghyr, were stopped there by the Nawab's guards. Approached by Amyatt and Hay, the Nawab demanded, either the removal of troops from Patna, or the replacement of Ellis by Amyatt, M'Gwire or Hastings as Chief of Patna. His purpose was 'only to prevent the ill use which he knew Mr Ellis would make of those forces'. The Nawab's demands were unacceptable to the Council; and as a result of apprehension about the personal safety of Amyatt and Hay they were asked 'to get themselves out of the Nawab's hands, in case they still judged a rupture unavoidable, and that he designed to detain them'.¹²²

¹²⁰ *Narrative*, pp 400-401

¹²¹ *Ibid*, pp 436-437

¹²² *Ibid*, pp 443-449, 469

This was the situation in the middle of June 1763. Communications from Ellis, as also from Amyatt and Hay, convinced the Council that 'there was the strongest reason to apprehend a rupture' and it was 'necessary to form a plan for the conduct of the war, whenever it should break out'. Necessary resolutions were adopted on 18 June 1763, and two days later the Council considered three questions: arrangement for the government of the country in case of Mir Qasim's removal from *Subahdari*, 'reimbursement to the Company the expence of the impending war', and provision for compensation of 'private merchants' for the losses which they might suffer¹²³

Watts proposed that the government should be entrusted to 'a proper person who has some influence in the country', but there should be a treaty 'fixing the limits of each party's power' and 'setting the liberties of our trade'. In his opinion the Company's military force would not be adequate for 'taking of the government into our own hands, on account of the Company'. The person selected as Mir Qasim's successor should grant to the Company 'for ever'—in lieu of the expenses of war—'all the lands bounded on the west, by the Hooghly river, on the north, by the Jillinguy river, on the east, by the Pudda, and on the south, by the sea'. These areas 'are almost secure against any invasion, and are those in which the greatest part of the Company's goods are manufactured'. Cartier thought that the Company had no 'civil or military body sufficiently large' for the management and protection of 'this immense tract of country', *i.e.* the entire *Subah*. He proposed restoration of Mir Jafar with treaty restrictions on his authority. Mir Jafar was Marriott's choice as well. He wrote 'it certainly can never be the Company's interest to have an enterprizing Nabob: it being so natural for a man, in that station, to endeavour at all rates to render himself independent'

Hastings and Vansittarts were in an extremely embarrassing position. They did not approve of the measures which were leading to war, but they could not dissociate themselves from the coming hostilities. Hastings 'declined' to give his 'opinion

¹²³ *Narrative*, pp. 471-479

with respect to the fittest establishment to take place upon the subversion of the present' Vansittart committed himself to 'use all diligence in forwarding the necessary preparations' for the 'total rupture', but he declared that he would 'quit the chair' as soon as the Company's affairs were 'restored to a state of security and tranquility', for he was not prepared to 'be concerned in a second regulation of the government of these provinces' after the deposition of Mir Qasim

A letter from Amyatt and Hay, dated 14 June 1763, communicated the Nawab's view that peace or war depended on the removal of English troops from Patna. The Nawab, they believed, was led to a 'high opinion of his own force' by 'the Armenian, who is his sole minister, and the only person that influences him to a rupture'. In a letter dated 19 June 1763 Mir Qasim complained 'in the old treaty you have written, that your army shall attend me, and now, when I desire you to remove your forces from Patna, and suffer them to attend me, you make excuses and denials. This is foreign from justice'. Ellis, he added, was 'ready to attack' the *Naib* of Patna. The Nawab released the boats with muskets which had been detained at Monghyr, but Amyatt and Hay told him that there would be no removal of troops from Patna. Exasperated by the military preparations of Ellis as reported by the *Naib* of Patna, the Nawab wrote to Vansittart on 22 June 1763. 'my people are in every respect without remedy, nor is it in my power to use any longer forbearance'¹²⁴

The reports of the Patna *Naib* 'agreed with the general report' and the Calcutta Council 'no longer doubted that hostilities had begun at that place'. On 2 July 1763 orders were given for the army to march. On 4 July, i.e. after the issue of these orders, a letter dated 21 June from Amyatt and Hay was received at Calcutta. They wrote 'We are made prisoners, as far as seizing our boats, and surrounding of us can make us'. Vansittart was 'certain' on 4 July that hostilities had begun at Patna and that 'the breach with the Nawab is irreparable'. There was now a complete change in Vansit-

¹²⁴ *Narrative*, pp 480, 484, 486

tar's attitude. So long he had placed himself between the Nawab and 'the rage of his opponents, till the flame grew too violent to be extinguished, and threatened our own possessions'. In view of this threat, he felt that 'justice must now give place to necessity'. He decided to 'take the part which my station required, in repelling the evils to which the Company and the nation were exposed'¹²⁵

On 4 July 1763 the Council decided by a majority to replace Mir Qasim by Mir Jafar, Vansittart and Hastings remained neutral. This decision was followed by a letter from the factory at Cossimbazar reporting that while Amyatt was passing the city of Murshidabad he, along with 'some other gentlemen', were killed and 'the rest made prisoners'. This 'unexpected attack' was 'judged (by the Council) for certain to be a consequence of hostilities, begun at Patna'. On 7 July war was proclaimed against Mir Qasim for 'having entered upon, and committed acts of open hostility against the English nation, and the interest of the English United East India Company'. By the same Proclamation Mir Jafar was 'proclaimed and acknowledge' as *Subahdar*. There was no reference to the Mughal Emperor, it was stated that the Council 'had come to a resolution of placing' Mir Jafar 'again in the government'¹²⁶

At this stage the course of events at Patna was unfolded to the Council by a letter from Mir Qasim, dated 28 June 1763. The city was, according to Vansittart, 'surprized and taken without resistance' by English troops on the night of 24 June. They behaved in a 'disorderly manner' and were 'intent only on plunder'. The city was 'retaken by a handful of the Nabob's people, the next day at noon; after which loss the gentlemen of the factory, with the scattered remains of the army, retired across the river, and were there all destroyed or taken prisoners'. The Nawab demanded 'the rents for three years', restitution of losses suffered as a result of 'the violences and oppressions exercised by the English gomastahs for several years past', and restoration of 'Burdwan and other lands'¹²⁷. The Cossimbazar factory was threatened

¹²⁵ *Narrative*, p. 495

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 495-496

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

The Company's affairs were now in a very critical stage. The troops at Patna, which consisted of a great part of the entire English force, were 'entirely defeated'. Vansittart felt that 'no appearance of disunion amongst ourselves' should 'hurt the public service'. So he 'resolved to set my name to the declaration of war, and the treaty with Meer Jaffier, in which I had before declared my intention to have no share'. The crisis produced the same reaction in the mind of Hastings. Previously he had decided to resign 'as soon as a war should be declared being unwilling, on the one hand, to join in giving authority to past measures, of which I disapprove, and to a new establishment, which I judged detrimental to the honor and interests of the Company'. But 'a dangerous and troublesome war' was apprehended, it had opened on the part of the Nawab by 'unparalleled acts of barbarity and treachery'. It had 'become the duty of every British subject to unite in the support of the common cause'. Therefore Hastings pledged himself 'to join my endeavors for the good of the service, not only as long as the war shall last, but as long as the troubles consequent from it may endanger either the Company's affairs, or the safety of this colony'¹²⁸

In regard to the proposed treaty with Mir Jafar,¹²⁹ Vansittart and Hastings maintained their consistency by objecting to the second clause which upheld the majority's view on duty-free inland trade. Hastings declared his 'dissent' from the proposed treaty 'if his restoration to his just rights be the point aimed at in it, there is a manifest injustice and inconsistency, in exacting his compliance with new terms, not mentioned in the original agreement with him'. But this theoretical objection was not carried to its logical limit, he confined his practical objections to certain clauses, observing that the others appeared to him 'very proper'.¹³⁰ The treaty was given its final form¹³¹ after considering Mir Jafar's objections.¹³²

¹²⁸ *Narrative*, pp 497-498

¹²⁹ *Ibid*, pp 498-500

¹³⁰ *Ibid*, pp 501-503

¹³¹ *Ibid*, pp 509-512

¹³² *Ibid*, pp 508-509

Three clauses in the final treaty (10 July 1763) related to inland trade. First, the privilege of the English, 'granted them by their firman and several *husbul-hookums*, of carrying on their trade by means of their own *dustucks*, free from all duties, taxes and impositions, in all parts of the country', was recognized. The only exception was salt, on which a duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent was to be levied. Secondly, Mir Qasim's order, 'granting to all merchants the exemption of all duties, for the space of two years', was revoked. Thirdly, 'some regulations' would 'be hereafter settled' between the Nawab and the Company 'for deciding all disputes' between the English agents and *gomastahs* on the one hand and the Nawab's officers on the other.

While the treaty was taking its final form Mir Qasim suffered his first military disaster at Katwa (9 July 1763). There his general, Taqi Khan, expired 'with an unfinished course on the cowardice of his fellow commanders upon his lips'.¹³³ The English forces occupied Murshidabad on 24 July, next morning Major Adams escorted Mir Jafar to the capital. On 2 August Mir Qasim suffered another defeat on the plains of Giria. More serious was his reverse at Udhuanala, a few miles to the south of Rajmahal, in the first week of September.

Mir Qasim proceeded to Patna, *via* Monghyr, carrying his English prisoners with him. At Monghyr, and on the way to Patna, he put some prominent Indians (including the two Jagat Seth brothers, Ramnarain and Rajballabh) to death, on suspicion of their complicity with the English. Major Adams occupied Monghyr on 1 October. On arrival at Patna, Mir Qasim caused a large number of English prisoners—'about fifty Company's servants, civil and military, and other gentlemen, and hundred private men'¹³⁴ to be 'massacred by Samru'. The only person who escaped the 'wretched fate of the rest' was Fullarton, the surgeon of the Patna factory.

This outrage did not help Mir Qasim. The English forces occupied Patna and chased him to the banks of the river.

¹³³ Broome, *Bengal Army*, p. 374.

¹³⁴ *Narrative*, p. 517. Among the victims were Ellis, Hay, and Lushington.

Karamnasa He took shelter in the dominions of the Nawab of Oudh, Shuja-ud-daulah, towards the end of the year 1763 He was able to enlist the support of Shuja-ud-daulah and his protege, Shah Alam II The allied troops marched into Bihar in April 1764. Carnac had already assumed command (March 1764), but he was removed from the Company's service in June 1764 by an order of the Court of Directors His successor, Major Hector Munro, won a decisive victory at Buxar on 23 October 1764 The Emperor joined the English Shuja-ud-daulah, unable to protect his dominions, took refuge in Rohilkhand Mir Qasim wandered from place to place and died miserably in a village near Delhi (6 June 1777), his last *shawl* being sold to pay for his coffin

Vansittart's *Narrative* deals with 'all the material transactions with Meer Cossim, from his advancement to the subahship, till the period in which he was no longer regarded by us as the governor of these provinces'¹³⁵ In course of three brief months—during which the Company's forces occupied Murshidabad, Monghyr and Patna—he lost control over all parts of Bengal and Bihar Apart from 'some particulars' of the 'dreadful catastrophe' at Patna Vansittart gives us no details about the military developments leading to Mir Qasim's flight across the Karamnasa. He himself relinquished charge in July 1764 when the troops of Mir Qasim and his allies were still on the border of Bihar

VII

Vansittart's 'remarks upon Mir Qasim's Administration' were intended primarily to 'justify my own conduct, in opposition to that of the other members of the Council towards him', he did not intend 'to become an advocate' for Mir Qasim¹³⁶ But justification of his 'own conduct' was closely connected with an assessment of Mir Qasim's character and policy Here we have two aspects of a single problem

¹³⁵ *Narrative*, p. 519

¹³⁶ *Ibid*

Vansittart's explanation of his role in the 'revolution' of 1760 (for which he incurred the displeasure of Clive) is simple and straight-forward. After Miran's sudden death Mir Jafar was incapable of managing the affairs of the *Subahdar* without an 'assistant'. Moreover, the problem of succession had to be considered. The person who was generally supposed to be the most competent 'assistant' and heir-apparent was Mir Qasim. 'In this light he was represented' to Vansittart, upon his arrival in Bengal, 'by all the gentlemen of the Select Committee'. Being a stranger to Bengal, he had no reason to question their judgement, nor did Mir Qasim's 'conduct from the beginning, till the war broke out', indicate that this selection was wrong. 'He discharged the Company's debt, and the heavy arrears of his army, retrenched the expenses of his court and secured his own authority over the country, by reducing the power of the zemindars'. He 'could not be taxed with any act of cruelty to his own subjects' ¹³⁷

The real question was not Mir Qasim's efficiency but the expediency of removing Mir Jafar from power. Here Vansittart hastily swallowed the pill prepared for him by Holwell. After his arrival at Calcutta he did not take sufficient time to examine the problem for 'himself'. During the dispute with Mir Qasim he spoke frequently of the Nawab's treaty rights, and in July 1763 he was reluctant to impose a new treaty on Mir Jafar. But he had shown no respect for Mir Jafar's treaty rights when he installed Mir Qasim as Nawab without previous approval of the Council or the Select Committee. In these transactions Vansittart showed no respect for either the Company's treaty obligations or the limits on the Governor's constitutional power. What he did receive the *ex post facto* approval of the Select Committee and the Court of Directors, but it undermined the formal structure which Clive had built up.

Despite Mir Jafar's proved incompetence and suspected intrigues with the Dutch and the Emperor, Clive did not consider it necessary to supplant him at the time of his departure from India. Within a few months Vansittart took an

extreme step In his long *Narrative* he devotes only four pages to explain the reasons behind it Warren Hastings, who supported him during the dispute with Mir Qasim, felt in June 1760 that, even if the Nawab were 'ever so bad', the English 'are bound if not in justice, in honour and policy to support him' Caillaud held the same view¹³⁸ Vansittart appears to have given little weight to this point of view

The 'revolution' introduced a system which was not given a fair trial For this Vansittart puts the entire blame on 'the gentlemen who had formed themselves into a party against him' 'scarce a day passed, but occasion was taken from the most trifling pretences, to trample upon his government, to seize his officers, and to insult them with personal threats and invectives' Vansittart 'was convinced, that whilst we did not encroach upon the Nawab's rights, or disturb his government, he would never wish to quarrel with us' But he was 'irritated and tired out with these continual attacks'¹³⁹

There is much first-hand material in the *Narrative* to support these observations Vansittart realised that it would not be possible to clear Mir Qasim of two charges, viz the murder of Amyatt and the Patna massacre Regarding the first, he says that there were 'many circumstances to extenuate the guilt of it' Regarding the second, he does not seek 'to justify his cruelty', but he offers two explanations First, reduced to a desperate position, 'his temper broke all his former restraints' Secondly, 'he thought it needless to justify himself upon any of the blood that was split after the war was begun'.¹⁴⁰ Whatever posterity's judgment on these incidents might be, it must be admitted that these were not among the causes of the war When the Council decided (4 July 1763) to restore Mir Jafar, Vansittart believed 'from the hircarra's report' that Amyatt was at Patna¹⁴¹ The Patna massacre took place after the battles of Katwa, Giria and Udhuanala

¹³⁸ *Cambridge History of India*, Vol V, p 167 See *Narrative*, p 337.

¹³⁹ *Narrative*, pp 520-521

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid*, pp 521-527, 490 492

¹⁴¹ *Ibid*, pp 490, 492

The main theme of the *Narrative* is to show how the Council—with Vansittart and Hastings dissenting—and two important 'gentlemen', Carnac and Ellis, drove Mir Qasim into desperate measures which made war unavoidable. No clear reason for this persistent hostility is given by Vansittart for the period preceding the emergence of the inland trade question. The *Narrative* gives the impression that it was really the Council's opposition to the Governor which found expression in the hostility to the Nawab supported by him. Vansittart was probably too vocal in upholding Mir Qasim's point of view, and Mir Qasim committed the mistake of corresponding with him in a manner which seemed to show that he attached no importance to the Council. The constitutional niceties of the British system were totally unintelligible to an eighteenth-century Muslim ruler functioning within an autocratic system. An atmosphere of misunderstanding and suspicion developed in connection with comparatively minor issues till the question of inland trade threatened the personal interest of every English 'gentleman' in Bengal. People accustomed to regard 'Plassey plunder' as a legitimate source of income could not be expected to take a dispassionate view of Mir Qasim's administrative and financial difficulties. 'The councillors with the exception of Hastings allowed their material interests to colour and distort their policy'¹⁴² Vansittart's inability to read human character led him to 'assure' himself that his colleagues 'would have so much regard' for the 'public utility' of the regulations 'as to have joined with me heartily in establishing them, even if they should be found in any part to interfere in some measure with their private advantages'¹⁴³

According to Dodwell, 'it was a war of circumstances rather than intentions'¹⁴⁴ The circumstances arose from the anomalous position of the Company which Hastings explained as follows : 'Our trade is circulated through every part of his (*ie* the Nawab's) country, and our agents and dependents intimately blended with his subjects, without any bounds to make out

¹⁴² *Cambridge History of India*, Vol V, p 173

¹⁴³ *Narrative*, p 230

¹⁴⁴ *Cambridge History of India*, Vol V, p 173

the extent of his authority, and our own privileges'.¹⁴⁵ As the commercial activities of the Company and of its servants could not be independent of the exercise of administrative functions by the Nawab's officers, the problem was essentially political. There might be a theoretical solution by the fixation of limits on the Nawab's authority, but—apart from personal factors—no division of powers could guarantee a stable equilibrium in those uncertain times. The experiment failed in the case of a weak Nawab (Mir Jafar) as also a strong Nawab (Mir Qasim)

The treaty of 10 July 1763 with Mir Jafar¹⁴⁶ gave the Company new privileges in respect of territory (confirmation of cession of Burdwan, Midnapur and Chittagong), trade (inland trade, salt-petre, *chunam*) and coinage. It had two vital clauses in regard to political and military matters. The Nawab promised to 'advise' the Governor and Council wherever he fixed his court, 'at Moorshedabad or elsewhere'. There was no longer to be a transfer of capital to a distant place like Monghyr without the consent of the Governor and Council. There would be 'an English gentleman' at the Nawab's *darbar* 'to transact all affairs between me and the Company'. This was no new arrangement, but in the altered circumstances the Resident would exercise greater authority than his predecessors. The Nawab's forces in 'the three provinces' would be restricted to 12,000 horse and 12,000 foot. There was provision for increase in any 'emergency', but it was not likely to be effective. The Nawab's dependence on the Company's troops was increased.

Apart from the treaty, Mir Jafar selected Nanda Kumar as the manager of his administrative affairs and secured the Council's approval of this arrangement. It remained in force till Mir Jafar's death in February 1765, although Nanda Kumar's activities were prejudicial to the interests of the English. So a new treaty (20 February 1766) was concluded with his successor Najm-ud-daulah, its most important provision was to vest the management of the Nawab's affairs in a person (designated *Naib Subah*) nominated by the English. Henceforth

¹⁴⁵ *Narrative*, p. 337

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid* pp. 510-512

power was concentrated in the hands of the Governor and Council who acted through the *Naib Subah*. This arrangement took its final form in Clive's system of 'Double Government'. The problem of division of powers was liquidated by making the Nawab entirely powerless. Such a solution would not have been acceptable to Mir Qasim even in a mild and concealed form

As regards inland trade, the arrangement made by the treaty with Mir Jafar (10 July 1763) was continued by the treaty with Najm-ud-daulah, *i.e.* it was to be duty-free, subject to payment of 2½ per cent on salt only. Clive, who returned as Governor in May 1765, found how the Company's servants had amassed wealth, by trade in some cases, and by selling their *dustucks* to Indian merchants in others. He considered it necessary to reorganize the internal trade. The trade in salt, which had been a Government monopoly, was placed under the control of a trading company, functioning under the authority of the Council. Shares were allotted to the Company's officers, and the profits were to be distributed among them in the form of allowances. This scheme was introduced without the previous sanction of the Directors who ordered it to be given up. The Company's servants could not be left free to engage themselves in exploiting the spoils of inland trade for their personal purposes when the acquisition of the *Diwani* and the control over the *Naib Subah* increased their official responsibilities, and the Company's trade had to face Dutch and French competition and demanded their full attention. Those who were employed on the commercial side were required to make greater exertions to protect the Company's trade against that competition. The acquisition of *de facto* sovereignty gradually turned Writers and Factors into civil servants whose duties to their masters were now incompatible with participation in private trade.

The developments which transformed the political scene in Bengal during Vansittart's administration cannot be explained by simple condemnation of his weakness or of Mir Qasim's love of power and cruelty. In many respects Vansittart was a victim of circumstances. He had to jump into a crisis at the

very commencement of his work in Bengal, and he found his colleagues ranged against him with a majority which was fatal to the exercise of his authority and the pursuit of his policy. Mir Qasim took advantage of the 'English gentlemen's' readiness to repudiate the Company's treaty with Mir Jafar, he walked to power through treachery. But it must be admitted that he made excellent use of that power in the normal business of administration. Ghulam Husain pays him a well-deserved compliment 'In unravelling the intricacies of affairs of government and especially the knotty mysteries the finance, in examining and determine private differences, in establishing regular payment for his troops and for his household, in honouring and rewarding men of merit and men of learning, in adjusting his expenditure between the extremities of parsimony and prodigality, and in knowing intuitively where he must spend freely and where with moderation,—in all these qualifications he was an incomparable man indeed, and the most extraordinary prince of his age'¹⁴⁷ Although 'he wanted the courage to face his enemies in person', says Vansittart, 'his soldiers fought for him with a bravery and fidelity rarely experienced in the undisciplined troops of Indostan', and none of his officers 'in the most distant parts of his dominions' joined the English 'till Patna was taken and he was prepared to fly the province'.¹⁴⁸

Such an 'extraordinary prince' could not acquiesce in the 'usurpations' of the *gomastahs* and the 'new claims' of 'English gentlemen' with respect to private trade¹⁴⁹ Even Mir Jafar after his restoration made complaints about abuses in the sphere of inland trade Even this helpless puppet was 'no less clamorous', and Vansittart draws the conclusion . 'upon the present system, no friendship can be preserved with any Nabob'. Mir Qasim could not have restored order in the finances and improved his army if he had been temperamentally capable of tolerating the tall claims of the *gomastahs* and the persistent provocations of Ellis. This intolerance should not be interpreted as an indication of his 'ambitious designs' to 'establish an

¹⁴⁷ *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin* (Eng trans.), Vol II, p 432

¹⁴⁸ *Narrative*, p 526

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid*, p 520

independent and unfettered *Subahdari* in Bengal by reducing the extraordinary power and influence of the European traders'¹⁵⁰ He knew the limits of his own power, otherwise he would have taken up arms instead of abolishing duties altogether in reply to the Council's rejection of Vansittart's 'regulations' It was the 'ill-fated step' taken by Ellis—the attack on Patna which was, in Vansittart's opinion, 'an act of treachery'—which precipitated the war It is difficult to 'dispute' his assertion that the English were 'the first aggressors'¹⁵¹ Perhaps war had become unavoidable even before Ellis had struck his calculated blow, but he stands condemned in the eye of history for accelerating an unfortunate process by a measure which made retreat impossible for either party

Vansittart's *Narrative* is an intensive chronicle of contemporary events, written with a definite purpose by a person who was one of the principal participants in the tragic drama What he sought was to vindicate his own policy and conduct Obviously the subjective element is predominant, and in making a correct assessment of the course of events other points of view¹⁵² must be considered. But the great merit of Vansittart's method lies in the reproduction of a large number of documents in full which enable the reader to apply strict historical tests to his statements The *Narrative* is a dry, factual account, remarkably free from emotions, laboured arguments and hyperboles It provides for the modern reader a welcome glimpse into the early years of British ascendancy in Bengal

¹⁵⁰ Nanda Lal Chatterji, *Mir Qasim*, pp 219, 235

¹⁵¹ *Narrative*, pp. 522, 524

¹⁵² For instance, Luke Scrafton's *Observations on Mr Vansittart's Narrative*

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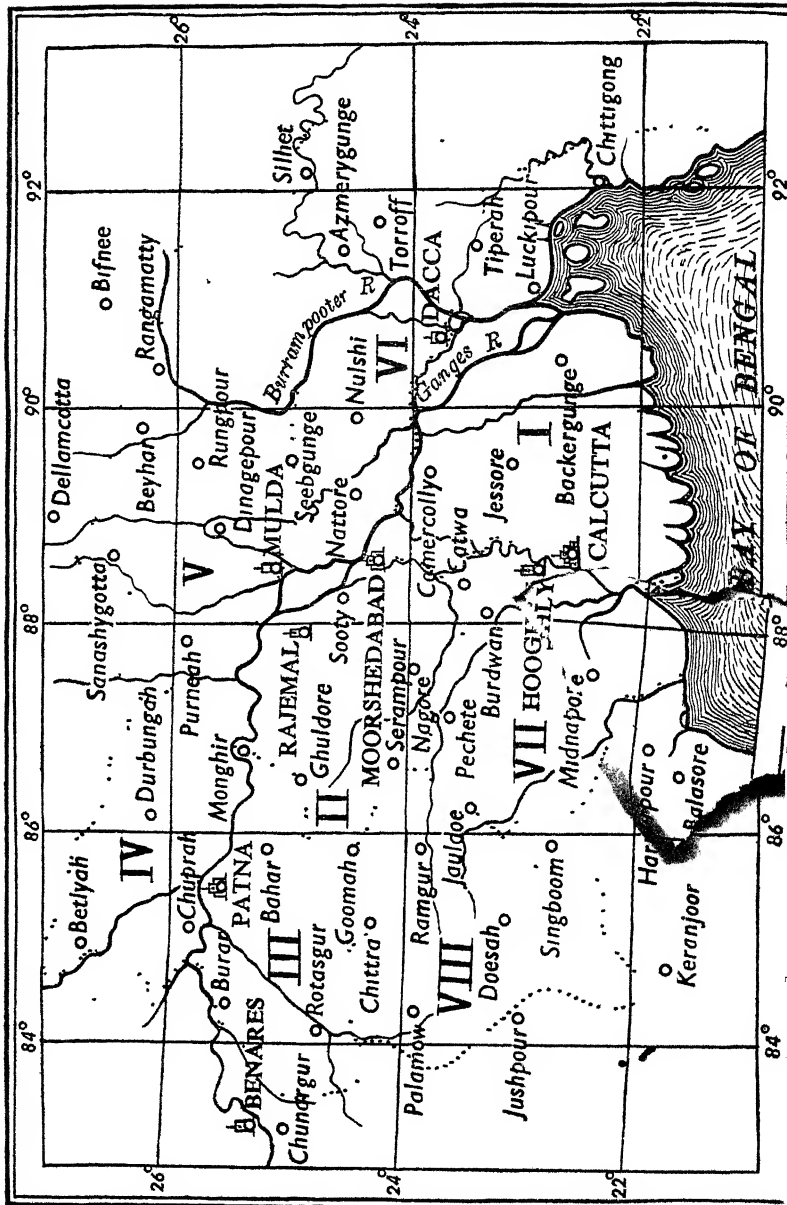
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A MAP OF BENGAL & BAHAH



A
NARRATIVE
OF THE
TRANSACTIONS IN BENGAL,
From the Year 1760, to the Year 1764

SECTION I

Preliminary Observations on the Restraints laid on our Trade, till the year 1757, and the Disputes with the Officers of the Government, occasioned by our Encroachments, since that Period

Extract from the Company's Firmaun.—Treaty with Meer Jaffier of 1757—Letters from the Residents at the Nabob's Court, complaining of the Agents and Gomastahs in the Country

The Increase of Commerce was at first the only object of the European settlements in India. English, French, Dutch, all received equal encouragement from the princes of the country, and were permitted to buy and sell, upon condition of paying the same duties to the government, that Armenians and other strangers had paid before. Their ships and warehouses were liable to be visited by the officers of the government, who extorted, under various pretences, frequent contributions, over and above the duties, for their own or their masters emolument. In Bengal, particularly, traders could by no means escape paying whatever was demanded from them, because their settlements were established above a hundred miles up the Hooghly river, with several forts belonging to the government below them, so that their ships could not withdraw without leave.

The disposition of the people of that country will naturally lead them to make the utmost advantage of such a circumstance, and of course the trade of the settlements in Bengal was loaded with grievous taxes and impositions. Our East India Company continued a great number of years under this disadvantage, but at length, in the year 1716, they made an effort, at a great expence, to obtain some relief from these heavy and arbitrary taxes, by an embassy to the Mogul emperor, who granted them, upon this application, a Firmaun, or order, for a free importation and exportation of goods, upon condition of small annual tribute or acknowledgment, to be paid into the royal treasury at Hooghly. The following is a translation of the Firmaun

Translation of the FIRMAUN

“All magistrates, and aumils, and officers of the state and jagheerdars, and fougedars, and karoorees, and rahdars and guzerbauns, and zemindars, for the time being, and to come, of the province of Bengal, and Bahar and Orissa, and the port of Hooghly, and the other ports of the provinces aforesaid, who hope for the royal favors. Know, that at this season of victory and conquest, Mr John Surman and Coja Serhud, agents of the English Company, have caused to be represented to the throne of justice and equity, that, according to the sign manual of his Majesty, who is received into the mercy of the Almighty, and to prior sunnuds, the English Company has been exempted from customs throughout the empire, excepting the port of Surat. and in the port of Hooghly they pay annually three thousand rupees in lieu of customs, as a peshcush to the treasury of the high Sircar. They hope that, conformable to former sunnuds, the royal Firmaun may be granted

The command which subjects the world to obedience is issued forth. Whatever goods and merchandize their agents may bring or carry by land or water in the ports, quarters and borders of the provinces, know them to be custom-free, and let them have full liberty to buy and sell. Take annually the stated peshcush of three thousand rupees, and besides that, make no demands on any pretence. And if, in any place, any

of their effects be carried off by theft, endeavour to recover them, and punish the thieves, and restore the goods to their owners And wheresoever they shall establish a factory, and buy and sell goods and merchandize, afford them assistance and favor on just occasion And on whomsoever of the traders and weavers, &c they shall have a just claim, cause payment to be made to their agents according to equity and right, nor let any one injure their agents Neither obstruct their boats, whether hired or their own property, on account of Kâtbarra*, &c

And likewise they have humbly set forth, that the Dewans in the provinces demand the original sunnud, and a copy under the seals of the Nazim and Dewan of the province To produce the original sunnud in every place is impossible They hope that they will credit an authentic copy under the seal of the Kazzee, and not demand the original sunnud, nor press them for a copy attested by the Nazim and Dewan And in Calcutta the Company have an established factory the taalucdarree of Calcutta, and Soota Lootee, and Gobinpoor, in the districts of the pergunah of Ameerabad, &c. in the province of Bengal, they formerly purchased from the Zemin-dars, and the stated rent thereof, being one thousand one hundred and ninety-five rupees six annas, they pay annually And there are thirty-eight villages, the rents of which amount to eight thousand one hundred and twenty-one rupees and eight annas, may the taalucdarree of these villages also be granted, the rents thereof to be paid yearly by them, and the income to be received by them

The respectable order is passed. Let credit be given to a copy under the seal of the Kazzee, we command, that they hold as usual the villages which they have purchased, and grant them the taalook of the other villages before-mentioned, let them purchase them from the owners, and let the Dewan of the province yield them possession

They have also represented, that from the time of his blessed Majesty, who is received into the Divine Grace, a discount is taken in the treasuries of the provinces upon the

* A duty levied on every new boat.

coins of Cheenapatan* ; but in effect the silver of the said coins is of the same standard as those of the port of Surat, by which means they suffer a great loss may the high command be issued forth, that provided their silver be of equal quality with the standard of the port of Surat, &c it shall suffer no obstruction and that whosoever of the servants of the Company shall be indebted, and fly from the place, be sent to the chief of the factory and that on account of the fougedarree, and other forbidden articles †, by which the agents and servants of the Company are much aggrieved, they be not molested.

The strict and high order is issued forth, that from the fifth year of the blessed reign, if the silver struck at Cheenapatan be equal to the coins of the fortunate port, of Surat, ye shall not insist on a discount and whosoever of their servants shall be indebted and fly from the place, seize and deliver him to the chief of the factory, and molest them not on account of the penalties on the forbidden articles

They have also represented, that in Bengal, and Bahar, and Orissa, the Company have established factories, and desire to erect factories in other places They hope, that in whatever place they may establish a factory, forty Beegas‡ of land may be granted them for that purpose out of the high sircar and their ships are sometimes driven a-shore by the force of the tempests, and wrecked, the magistrates of the ports injuriously seize the goods, and in some places claim a quarter part and in the island of Bombay belonging to the English, European coins are current, may the fortunate coins be struck according to the custom of Cheenapatan

The order which must be obeyed is issued forth, let the customs of the other factories in the provinces be observed and of this society (which has factories in the imperial ports, and dealings at the high court, and has obtained Firmauns, the pledges of favor, exempting them from customs) take care of the goods of the ships which are wrecked and destroy-

* Madrass

† Fines exacted by the sougedarree for drinking spiritous liquors, and other petty misdemeanors

‡ A beega is a measure of about one-third of an acre

ed, and do right by them and in the island of Bombay let the fortunate coins be struck after the manner of the coins of the empire, and pass current : and on every occasion acting conformably to this enlightened decree, avoid and forbear to do any thing contrary to the strict and high command And demand not every year a new sunnud In this be exact and punctual Written on the 27th of Moherrum, in the fifth year of the auspicious reign”

By virtue of this Edict, the Company afterwards carried on their trade to and from Bengal free of duties, and the same privilege was extended by their indulgence to their covenanted servants, with an express exception of the trade in salt, beetle-nut, and other articles, by which the revenue of the government would be prejudiced without any benefit to the Company

Upon this footing the trade of the English was conducted in Bengal from the year 1716 to 1756, subject however to many interruptions from the avarice and power of the Nabobs, who could not be restrained by the order of the distant emperor, from extorting money from the Company by various means Upon a complaint or pretence of an injury done to one of the inhabitants of the country, or an illicit trade carried on by any servant of the Company, the Nabob would give orders to stop the currency of their business, nor could this obstacle be taken off, but by the payment of a large sum of money ; and sometimes without any pretence, but that of the exigency of the state, the Nabob would demand an aid from all the European settlements, and all were obliged to pay

To secure the power of continuing these exactions, the Nabobs positively forbade our erecting any fortifications ; and to prevent our making any advances towards an authority over the people of the country, we were not suffered to execute our own laws in capital cases over the subjects of the Nabob, though employed within our own settlement, and residing within our limits ; much less durst we give protection to any servant of the country government, or inhabitant of the country, who might seek a retreat under our flag.

At length, in the year 1756, came a Nabob, who was not to be satisfied by levying a sum of money like his pre-

decessors Serajah Dowla, succeeding his grandfather, promised himself a vast treasure at once from the plunder of the town of Calcutta, and so, upon pretence of our building new fortifications, or in resentment of our protection given to a subject of the government (for both these reasons were urged) he attacked, and took all the Company's settlements in Bengal, and thus the country government, by an extravagant and cruel abuse of their power over us, opened the way for the destruction of that power, and for our future security.

The success of the sea and land forces which were sent to Bengal, upon the news of the capture of Calcutta, under the command of Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive, is sufficiently known. After recovering our settlements, and agreeing to an accommodation with Serajah Dowla, it was suspected that he still had hostile designs, and therefore it was resolved to recommence the war against him. Meer Jaffier, then one of his principal officers, promised to join with us, upon condition that the government should be conferred upon him after the defeat of Serajah Dowla.

All these designs were executed with success. We had now a Nabob of our own making, and absolutely dependent upon us for his establishment and future security. By our influence in the country the Company's trade was freed from the impositions it was before liable to, and they enjoyed the benefit of the Firmaun in its full extent, but their new connections brought on a vast increase of expences in every branch, for which it very soon appeared a sufficient provision was not made. The following is a copy of the Treaty with Meer Jaffier.

Translation of the TREATY executed by

MEER JAFFIER

"First, Whatever articles were agreed upon in the time of peace with the Nabob Serajah Dowla I agree to comply with

Second, The enemies of the English are my enemies, whether they be Indians or Europeans.

Third, All the effects and factories belonging to the French in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, shall remain in possession of the English, nor will I ever allow them any more to settle in the three provinces

Fourth, In consideration of the losses which the English Company have sustained by the plunder and capture of Calcutta by the Nabob, and the charges occasioned by the maintenance of their officers, I will give them a crore of rupees

Fifth, For the effects plundered from the English inhabitants of Calcutta, I agree to give fifty lacks of rupees

Sixth, For the effects plundered from the Gentoos, Mussulmen and other subjects of Calcutta, twenty lacks of rupees shall be given

Seventh, For the effects plundered from the Armenian inhabitants of Calcutta I will give the sum of seven lacks of rupees the distribution of the sums allotted the natives, English inhabitants, Gentoos and Mussulmen, shall be left to the Admiral and Colonel Clive, and the rest of the Council, to be disposed of by them, to whom they think proper

Eighth, Within the ditch which surrounds the borders of Calcutta, are tracts of land belonging to several zemindars, besides this, I will grant the English Company six hundred yards without the ditch

Ninth, all the land lying to the south of Calcutta as far as Culpee, shall be the zemindarree of the English Company, and all the officers of those parts shall be under their jurisdiction, the revenues to be paid by them (the Company) in the same manner with other zemindars

Tenth, Whenever I demand the English assistance, I will be at the charge of the maintenance of their troops.

Eleventh, I will not erect any new fortifications below Hooghly near the river Ganges

Twelfth, As soon as I am established in the government of the three provinces, the aforesaid sums shall be faithfully paid

Dated 15th Ramezan, in the fourth
year of the King's reign "

The idea of provision for the future seems to have been lost, in the apparent immensity of the sum stipulated for compensation of the Company's losses at the capture of Calcutta. The expences of Bengal and the coast, the sums for carrying on the Company's trade at both places, and a provision likewise for the China trade, all was to be paid out of this fund, at first thought inexhaustible, but in less than two years it was found necessary to take up money at interest, although large sums had been received besides for bills upon the Court of Directors.

To state this account right, the sum for compensation should be set against the past losses of the Company, and in truth it will not more than repair them. If we examine further the consequences of this event, we shall find, that from a commercial body, founded upon a system of economy, we are become from this moment a military and political body, we have entered into connections with the country government, we have begun a fortification upon a very extensive plan, to render our influence and command permanent and secure against all accidents, we have taken upon us the defence of the provinces, and our expences will be daily increasing by an augmentation of sepoys and other country forces, by larger demands of troops from England, with constant supplies of artillery and military stores proportionate to our present engagements and views, and lastly, by the purchase of materials and pay of workmen for carrying on the new fort.

To answer all which it is stipulated in the treaty, that whenever the Nabob demands the assistance of the English, he will be at the charge of the maintenance of the troops, which charge it was afterwards agreed, should be computed at the rate of one lack of rupees *per* month, to be paid by the Nabob during the time the army should be actually in the field. This would barely pay the immediate field expences of the army, it did not at all take in the increase of the military establishment in general, which heavy expence, when the troops were in garrison, fell entirely upon the Company.

nor was any provision made for the extensive fortifications, and the vast charge of military stores both at home and abroad

Any stock which is to suffer continual drafts must soon be exhausted, if not kept supplied by some adequate source of annual revenue. The lands round Calcutta, ceded by the ninth article of the Treaty, yielded only five or six lacks *per annum* nett income to the Company, a sum of no consideration upon our present enlarged system, and of course we shall see in the middle of the year 1760, the Company's affairs in all parts distressed to the last degree for want of money

With respect to trade, no new privileges were asked of Meer Jaffier, none indeed were wanted by the Company, who were contented with the terms granted them in 1716, and only wished to be relieved from the impositions to which they had been exposed from the arbitrary power of the Nabob. However, our influence over the country was no sooner felt, than many innovations were practised by some of the Company's servants, or the people employed under their authority. They began to trade in the articles which were before prohibited, and to interfere in the affairs of the country, of which the Nabob complained very frequently to the English resident at his court, and the governor of Calcutta, insisting particularly, that no one should be permitted to trade in salt and beetle-nut. Some of these complaints will be seen in the following letters

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Scrafton, Resident at the Nabob's Court, to P R. Pearkes, Esq; and the Council at Dacca, without Date, but wrote between the 14th and 21st of July, 1758

GENTLEMEN,

"I acquainted you by express pulwar, of the complaints made to me by the Nabob's Meer Moonshee, of your opposing Nehimodee, in possessing himself of Russelpoor and Hydrapoor, for which he had received ample perwanahs from the Nabob's Dewan.

There is likewise a complaint lodged against an English gomastah at Chilmaree, that he gives protection to numbers of merchants who trade there, which has proved a loss to the government of 70,000 rupees ; also several complaints of under protection to the zemindars, tenants, and others , my general answer is, that I will write to the gentlemen at Dacca , I persuade myself, that most of these complaints are without grounds, and that you will do your utmost to prevent the encroachments of your black servants."

Extract of a Letter from Mr Hastings, Resident at the Nabob's Court, to W. B Sumner, Esq, Chief at Dacca, dated about the 30th of January, 1759.

"I have received a long letter from Mahomed Hussein, in which he complains, that you have begun to carry on a large trade in salt and beetle-nut, and refuse to pay the duties on those articles, which has likewise encouraged others to do the same in your name , which practice, if continued, will oblige him to throw up his post of Shahbunder Droga In the affair of Mr Chevalier's salt you informed me, that you had paid the Shahbunder duties for that parcel ; the same information, I think, I received from Mr. Waller I have, in another letter, acquainted you with the same complaint from him What other circumstances there may be in this affair, that might serve to give a different light into it, from what I have conceived from the particulars already mentioned, I know not , but I must desire, that you will prevent these complaints from going before the Nabob We have not, I believe, any right to trade in salt and beetle-nut, at least it was never (that I know of) stipulated in our favour with the Nabob , and with respect to the salt trade, I myself know, that none of the Company's servants, not the Colonel himself, has ever engaged in it without the Nabob's Perwannah "

Extract of another Letter from the Same to the Same, dated Dec 12, 1758

"The second complaint is, that an English gentleman (Mr. Chevalier, I suppose) has carried a large cargo of salt to Chilmaree, which is an unprivileged trade ; and that he has

taken muchulcas from all the other traders in the same article, by which they are not allowed to sell any salt till his shall be all disposed of”

Extract of another from the Same to the Same

SIR,

“Many complaints have been laid before the Nabob against Mr Chevalier, who is accused of having acted in a very violent and arbitrary manner at Chilmaee and Cooregaum, by oppressing the merchants of those places in the monopoly of several commodities, particularly salt and tobacco, no one being allowed to buy or sell either of those articles but with his permission

I desire you will made the strictest enquiry into this and take effectual care to prevent such complaints for the future

A translation of a letter from the Wadadar of the Pergunah under the seal of Mr Chevalier, in answer to the demand made by him, to know by what authority he came into those parts, I send you herewith, on which I shall only make this remark, that the magistrates, and public officers of the government, have an undoubted right to see the Company's dustuck, having no other way to distinguish between the agents of the Company and others usurping the English name, nor the Company any means besides to secure their own privileges. It cannot therefore but appear strange in any persons employed by the English that they should make any difficulty to show by what powers they are commissioned, unless they are conscious, that they are guilty of practices which ought to be concealed. at least, such an abrupt behaviour cannot but tend to create an ill-will against the English, and aggravate every complaint made against them

P S I send you a copy of the Wadadar's letter, the circumstance of the Telingas being sent by Mr Chevalier is only an aggravation, but the rest cannot be without foundation, I must insist, that you either put an entire stop to those complaints, or recal Mr Chevalier, who, I am convinced, has not behaved in so moderate or prudent a manner as he ought”

Copy of Mr Chevalier's Letter to Meer Otta Oolla, Wadadar of the Pergunah of Baharbund

"The letter, which you sent to my writer, I have received. You write, that if I belong to the English, I must have the English sunnud, and desire a copy of it to be sent you. In answer, I ask, who are you, that I should send you a copy of the sunnud? If you want to be informed who I am, and who sent me, send a man to the Chief, who will answer you. If the people of your Pergunah are guilty of any insolence to mine, I shall chastise them handsomely for it. Forbid your people, that they enter into no quarrels with mine; if they do without reason, they shall be punished; if my people behave ill to yours, do you write me word of it, and I will punish them."

Extract of a Letter from the Governor (Mr Holwell) to Mr Hastings, Dated 11 Feb 1760.

"We have returned no reply to the Nabob's Perwannahs to the council for two reasons, his large seal affixed to them is derogatory to the Company's honour, and addresses of this kind to the council must be at all events quashed in the beginning, or the dignity of the president will fall to nothing. If he pleases to address me on those subjects, I will reply to him; in the mean time, I beg to know, on what pretence we are prohibited trading in the two articles of salt and betel-nut

SECTION II

A View of the State of the Country, and the Company's Affairs at Mr Vansittart's Arrival in Bengal

Success of the Shahzadda, in his Invasion of Bahar—Bad Conditions of the Nabob's and the English Forces in that Province, and of the Nabob's troops at Murshedabad—Low State of the Company's Treasury; great Difficulties occasioned thereby—Disputes concerning the Succession to the Offices of the Nabob's deceased Son—Meer Cossim comes to Calcutta

It is foreign to my purpose to enter into any detail of the transactions of Myr Jaffier's government, from the time of his being raised to the subaship, till the month of July 1760, when I came to Bengal to succeed Colonel Clive. It is enough if I give a plain and distinct view of the situation in which I found his affairs, and the Company's

The greatest part of the Nabob's and the English forces was at Patna, to oppose the Shahzada, who for three years successively had invaded the province, and at this time was more powerful than ever, by the number of disaffected Zemindars who had joined him, or espoused his interest, in different parts of the country. The Nabob's army consisted as usual of a great number of undisciplined people, who were never regularly paid, but were kept together by the promises of Saddoc Allee Cawn*, the Nabob's son, who commanded them, that he would be answerable for their arrears one time or other. Being disappointed of these hopes by the death of the Nabob's son, who was killed by lightning the 3rd of July, their clamorous demands could no longer be restrained, and a general plunder and desertion was daily expected. Colonel Caillaud, who commanded the English forces after Colonel Clive's departure for Europe, stopped these clamors for a moment, by his promises to secure the payment of their arrears from the Nabob, but the English troops were in little better condition than the Nabob's, they had two or three months arrears due to them, the Nabob having failed in the payment of the sum stipulated for their maintenance, which was a lack of rupées a month, and the low state of the treasury at Calcutta, not admitting of the deficiency being supplied from thence. The effects of this were seen by the desertion of many of our men; and the army, thus situated, was within thirty miles of the Shahzada's whole force.

The situation of affairs at Moorshedabad, where the Nabob resided, was still more alarming. Far from being in a condition to pay off the arrears of his troops at Patna, he had a large number of the same undisciplined rabble about

* Commonly called the Chuta Nabob

his person, and was no less in arrears to them; these also losing their best dependence, by the death of the Nabob's son, could no longer be satisfied with promises, but insisted, in a most tumultuous manner, on immediate payment. More than once they surrounded the palace, baused the principal officers in the most opprobrious language, and daily threatened the Nabob's life, thro' the weakness of his government, and the general disaffection of the people, the revenues of most parts of the province were withheld by the Zemindars, and the Nabob had so little attention to, or capacity for business, that what little was collected, was in a great measure appropriated by his favourites to their own profit. The Beerboom Raja, whose country is situated within a few miles of the capital, Moorshedabad, had declared for the Shahzadah, and had raised a force, with which he threatened to attack the city; and the Nabob had so little power of opposing him, that a body of troops, which were ordered out against him in the month of June, refused to march, and were yet in the suburbs, when I arrived there in the month of October. Upon the whole, there was the greatest reason to apprehend, that the disorderly troops would lay waste and plunder the city, and put an end at once to the Nabob's government and life.

At Calcutta, the treasury was so low, and our resources so much drained, that we were obliged to put an entire stop to the investment, and it was with the utmost difficulty the current expences of the settlement could be provided for. The lack of rupees, which the Nabob was to pay monthly for the field-expences of our troops, remained, as I before observed, two or three months in arrears, and even supposing it to have been regularly paid, was very insufficient for the intended use, so that the Company, upon this footing, would have suffered a considerable loss by their alliance with the Nabob, as often as the situation of affairs required their troops to be in the field, of which the appearance of troubles on every side, afforded no prospect of an end. The Burdwan and Nuddea countries had been assigned to the Company, from April 1758, to April 1760, for the payment of the sums

stipulated in the treaty, for the restitution of the Company's and private losses by the capture of Calcutta. Of that amount about twenty lacks remained due, at the time of my arrival, although the term of the assignment had been expired some months and the Nabob, at the same time that he could find no means of discharging this balance, insisted on the lands being restored to him, offering a security of jewels in their stead. He sent the Royrovan, one of his principal officers to Calcutta, to make this demand, and at the same time to request the loan of a sum of money to assist him in his distress. The last was a proposal we had it not in our power to comply with, but the first could not in justice be refused, as he was willing to give other security, in lieu of the lands before assigned, so that we were absolutely left without any resources for money, and the Company sent out none from Europe. To add to our difficulties, Madrass and Bombay were told, that they must depend on supplies from Bengal, and in the midst of this distress, not only the dangerous state of the province obliged us to keep all our forces in the field at an immense expence, but a still more interesting object for the English nation in India, I mean the success of the undertaking against Pondicherry, which was then invested, depended in a great measure on a supply of money. The Nabob, thro' an habitual indolence, was quite incapable of managing his government in such critical circumstances, and the sudden and unfortunate death of his son, had thrown him into such a state of dejection, that he would not even try to exert the little strength which his faculties had left.

Unable as the Nabob was to help himself, it was the universal opinion, founded on the experience of his former conduct, that he would rather have seen himself and the province involved in one general ruin, than have given us the means of saving him, by putting more power and more resources of money in our hands. The Dutch Director's letters to him, and his behaviour at the time their forces came into the country, are a public testimony of his desire to reduce our power, instead of augmenting it: I asked a small favour of him for the Company, a little after my arrival, as much

with a view of sounding his disposition, as through a desire of obtaining it. It was the grant of the Chittagong province, in farm to the Company, on the same terms as it was held by the then Fougedar, or if that was disagreeable, the leave only of establishing a factory there for trade, but he positively refused to admit of either. I determined not to suffer the affairs of the nation and the Company to fall under the ruin they were threatened with, without making an attempt to save them, and far from intending any injury to the Nabob, I considered the preservation of his life and government, as equally depending with our own interests, on the immediate prosecution of some methods for remedying the difficulties with which we were surrounded. One principal circumstance of the impending evils suggested the first hopes of a reformation. The death of the Nabob's son had cut off the heir apparent of the government: he had two sons by concubines, and a grandson, the child of his deceased son, by a concubine also; the eldest of his two sons was little above ten years old, and his grandson an infant of a few months, so that they were incapable of taking care of the business, supposing the objection of their illegitimacy to be of no weight. In these circumstances the whole province seemed to turn their eyes on Meer Cossim, who was married to Meer Jaffier's daughter, his only surviving legitimate child, was esteemed a capable man in business, and had been the means of preserving the city from plunder, and the Nabob from destruction, by an immediate payment of three lack of rupees to his troops, and becoming a security for their arrears at the time of their tumultuously surrounding the palace, and this he did, upon promise of being appointed to the vacant offices of his deceased son, and declared his successor. I found Mr Holwell and the Select Committee, had strongly recommended to the Nabob to perform this promise; on the other hand, Mr Amyatt and Colonel Caillaud had wrote to him in favour of his infant grandson, representing, that the troops at Patna insisted on his being named to the vacant offices, and that Raja Rajebullub, late Dewan to the Nabob's deceased son, should have the management of them during his minority. The Nabob seemingly acquiesced in both recommendations,

but continued wavering in his choice, in such a manner, as shewed, that the encrease of the English influence was the event that he most dreaded in the appointment of either. This is the only clue which can lead to the motives of the many opposite resolutions which were taken up by the Nabob, upon this affair, in the small space of time in which it was suspended. His inclinations first led him to accept the advice offered him by Colonel Caillaud, in favor of his grandson; but when that advice was urged in a more pressing and peremptory stile, and Rajebullub, by his emissaries and friends at the Durbar, too solicitously labored to bring about the same design, the Nabob became jealous of his growing power, and suddenly declared his resolution to support Meer Cossim in his pretensions, as will appear by the letter he wrote Mr. Holwell and Colonel Caillaud upon this subject. On the other hand, the Nabob perceiving that Meer Cossim was warmly supported by Mr. Holwell, appears to have formed the wild scheme of shaking off both, by throwing all the chief offices of the government into the hands of a stranger, named Mirza Daoood, who had for some years enjoyed the protection of this court in the character of a prince of the royal blood of Persia. Him the Nabob formally contracted to the natural daughter of his deceased son but a few days after the declaration made in favor of Meer Cossim, who, apprehensive of being disappointed in his hopes, by the jealousy and irresolution of the Nabob, formed the pretence of negotiating the restoration of Burdwan, and the other assigned lands, to obtain his leave to come down to Calcutta. He arrived there about the middle of September. As he came down with these fears and suspicions of the Nabob's disinclination to him, for the favor already shewn him by the English, it naturally led him to fall in with any measures which might be proposed by them, as a means of securing the continuation of the same interest in his behalf.

SECTION III.

The Proceedings of the Select Committee, to the Treaty concluded with Meer Cossim

Meer Cossim's Proposals.—Mr Holwell's Memorial of the State of the Country.—Letters between Mr Vansittart, Mr. Amyatt, and Colonel Caillaud—Letter from the Resident at the Nabob's Court, concerning the Sedition of the Nabob's troops at Moorshedabad—Letters from the Nabob to Colonel Caillaud and Mr Holwell.—Extract of a Letter from the Select Committee at Bengal, to the President and Council of Madras—Minutes of Council concerning the low State of the Treasury.—Letter from Mr Sykes to Mr Vansittart—Debates of the Select Committee upon the dangerous State of the Country—General Considerations upon the State of the Company's Affairs, and their Connections with Meer Jaffier—Treaty with Meer Cossim

The chief objects the Select Committee now had in view were, first, to secure the Company a revenue proportionable to the increased military expences, brought upon them by their connections with the Nabob, and which the assignment made by him, besides the uncertainty of the payment, was by no means equal to, and, secondly, to put an end to the war in Bengal, either by a decisive action, or by entering into an alliance with the Shahzada, to support his pretensions to the throne of Indostan; for the first of these, Meer Cossim readily agreed to cede to the Company lands, to the yearly amount of about fifty lacks of rupees, consisting of the Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong provinces, upon condition of our securing his appointment to the vacant offices of the Nabob's deceased son, the chief administration of all the affairs of the government under Meer Jaffier, and the succession to the subaship after his death. The second point was left to be determined by the negotiations which had already been set on foot with the Shahzada; but whether the intended alliance with him should take place or not, it was to make no difference in our engagements with Meer Cossim.

The following authentic Papers will sufficiently shew the necessity of our entering into these engagements with Meer

Cossim, and giving him so extensive a power ; from the critical state of the Company's affairs, and those of the country at this period, and the Nabob's inability to remedy the one, and his ill disposition to contribute any assistance to the other.

Copy of the Memorial delivered by the President (Mr. Holwell) to the Select Committee, upon the Arrival of Mr. Vansittart, to succeed him in the Government

"As my health, and the consideration of other circumstances, will soon oblige me to request permission from the board to resign the service, I beg leave, previous to that step, to accompany this short address with such remarks and memorials, as may convey to the President (so lately arrived amongst us) a knowledge of the present state and situation of the Company's affairs, as they stand connected with, or are dependent on the government of Bengal

To form a judgment of the present state of things in Bengal, it will be needful to retrospect on the late revolution of the year 1757, when necessity, and a just resentment for the most cruel injuries, obliged us to enter into a plan to deprive Serajah Dowla of his government, which was accordingly done, and Meer Mahomed Jaffier Allee Cawn fixed by us at the head of the province on certain conditions, and under a treaty of alliance offensive and defensive

A short space of time fully proved how unworthy the family thus raised ! The conditions of the treaty could not be obtained from the Nabob, without being in a manner extorted from him, and by a thousand shifts and evasions it was plain to the world not a single article would ever have been complied with, had the Nabob been invested with power sufficient to have prevented it, or could he have divested himself of his own fears and apprehensions from our resentment.

Tuncaws on the lands were however granted for the payment of the stipulated sums at particular times, by which the Royroyan, Muttasuddies, Dewans, and every Harpey employed in the Zemindarree and revenues, became our implacable enemies, and consequently a party was soon raised at

the Durbar, headed by the Nabob's son Meeran, and Rajah Rajebullub, who were daily planning schemes to shake off their dependence on the English, and continually urging to the Nabob, that till this was effected his government was a name only. The Nabob, something irritated by the protection given Rajah Doolubram, and weak and irresolute in himself, fell too soon into these sentiments.

The first step taken to accomplish this measure of independence, was to assassinate, and take off, under one pretence or other, every minister and officer at the Durbar, who they knew were attached to the English, in consequence of which, Coja Haddy, and Cossim Allee Cawn, first and second Buxey, were assassinated in November and December 1758, and after many attempts made on the persons of Rehiem Cawn, and Golam Shah, his uncle and brother, they were obliged to seek an asylum with the Shahzada in 1759. Roydoolub, his son, and four brothers, were proscribed, on no other account, but that of the various informations he gave us, and his firm attachment, this family would have fallen a sacrifice, had they not been rescued out of the Nabob's hands by force of arms, Ameer Beg Cawn would, from the same cause, have suffered the same fate, had he not given his solemn engagement to quit the kingdom, which he accordingly did.

The next project of the Durbar appeared, by every concurring subsequent circumstance, to be a secret negotiation with the Dutch, for transporting troops from Batavia into these provinces, that with their united force a stop might be put to the power of the English. This scheme was conducted by Raja Rajebullub on the one part, and * Fucratoojar for the Dutch on the other, about October or November 1758, the period when the Deccan expedition took place, and the garrison was much reduced. Soon after, the provinces were invaded by the Shahzada on the side of Patna, and Colonel Clive with our military and seapoys joined the Nabob and his troops, and by forced marches preserved Raja Ramnarain steady in his duty, and arrived just in time to save that city and province, and drove the prince, though the undoubted

* Coja Wajeed.

heir to the kingdom, beyond the Currunnassa, and brought the Bougepoor, &c countries into subjection to the Nabob.

The prince more than once wrote to the Colonel, offering any terms for the Company and himself, on condition the English would quit the Nabob, and join his arms, but the Colonel thinking it incompatible with our treaty of alliance with the Nabob, gave the prince no encouragement.

At the end of the campaign the Colonel returned to us in June 1759, and the two Nabobs arrived in the city about the same time, with full conviction of our firm attachment to his government and family, and our religious regard to our treaties, what sense they retained of these obligations, and how long, will appear by and by.

The Nabobs, thinking themselves now better established in the government, and screened by such a sure and powerful support as our arms, began to set no bounds to their cruelties, oppressions, and exactions, from those who had any thing to be plundered of, and thus barely received a check from the severe and frequent remonstrances of the Colonel to the Nabob, on a conduct which he told him must, from the general detestation of the people, end in the destruction of himself, his family and country. His troops clamorous at the same time for their pay, whilst the Nabob, in place of appropriating the sums he had acquired by repeated assassinations to the just demands of his jemmatdars and troops, lavished the same in boundless extravagancies.

About the latter end of July 1759, the young Nabob arrived on a pretended visit to Colonel Clive, but the real motive was to negotiate, if possible, the delivery of Rajah Doolubram, and two or three other articles given him in charge by his father, such as the surrender of the tuncaw lands on security, the borrowing of us a large sum of money, &c. In these the son proving unsuccessful, a member of the board of Select Committee was, at his desire, sent to accompany him to the city, to reconcile the Nabob to the negatives his son had received in Calcutta, and at the same time to intimate to him the advice we had received, that a large armament

was fitting out at Batavia, destined for Bengal; and to penetrate, if possible, his sentiments on this occasion, and what resolution he would take, in case that force arrived in the river.

He was not to be reconciled to the refusals his son met with, but determined to try his own power, and declared his intentions to pay the Colonel a visit himself in September, which he did with success equal to his son, he seemed to make light of the Dutch intelligence, and not to give credit to it, though he discovered much perplexity, however, he wrote a letter to the Colonel, demanding our assistance, by virtue of the treaty of alliance, in case the Dutch troops came into the river.

The armament arrived during his visit; his stay after that was short, his mind much embarrassed, and his whole subsequent conduct gave most undoubted proofs, that the Dutch forces were arrived by his invitation. That such were the sentiments of Colonel Clive and the Council, appears from the narrative of that Dutch business, transmitted to the Honourable the Court of Directors, and to our several Admirals; a perusal of this narrative will convince the impartial, that the Nabob, in his behaviour on this occasion, was guilty of a most flagitious breach of the article of the treaty of alliance; and that from this period, no terms whatever should have been preserved with him, after such unexampled treachery and ingratitude; to which, by way of illustration, we may add the subsequent farces carried on between the Nabob and the Dutch, as set forth in the several letters between Mr. Holwell and the Resident at Muradbaug on this subject, by reference to which it will appear most manifest, that the Nabob's real intentions never were to distress effectually that people; but on the contrary, were only aimed to amuse and deceive us: witness the private orders and instructions given to Meer Cossim Allee Cawn, so opposite to his public ones, when he was sent down to demolish the new works at Chint-sura. In the apparent delays of this service, Cossim Allee Cawn suffered much in the opinion of the late President, though unjustly, as we subsequently learn he was acting strictly conformable to the private orders of the Nabob.

In the beginning of the year 1760, the Shahzada invaded the provinces again with a force more respectable than the preceding year, both in troops and commanders, by the revolt of Camgar Cawn, Golam Shaw, Reim Cawn and others, the Nabob by this time having made himself so universally hated; that we may justly say, there was hardly a man in the province that did not wish success to the prince

Colonel Clive resigned the government early in February 1760, about which time the Morattas entered the province from the southward, and penetrated into the Burdwan country, making a considerable diversion in favor of the prince. The Nabob demanded a body of our troops, seapoys, and field-artillery, for the defence of this country, to join his under the command of Meer Cossim Allee Cawn, which was granted; but their use was frustrated by the Nabob's pusillanimous, irregular, and contradictory orders to his general Cossim Allee Cawn, to march with our troops to Cutwa and the city, in place of marching directly to the southward. Thus this country fell a prey to the Morattas, and a stop was put to the collecting our tuncaws, in which was our greatest dependence and expectation for the service of the year*. Our troops under the command of major Caillaud had taken the field, in conjunction with the Nabob's, under the command of his son, sometime before the Colonel's departure for Europe, and shaped their rout towards Patna, whilst the Nabob himself remained in the neighborhood of Rajemahl, a check on Cuddeem Hosein Cawn, Nabob of Purnea (then in rebellion) until Shubut's† advance, recalled him to the city. A regular and particular detail of the transactions of this laborious campaign will not be expected here, as the progress of it will present itself in the course of the military correspondence laid before the Committee, therefore general remarks on the success, effects, and probable consequences, will be sufficient.

This, like the former ones, has produced no definitive action or stroke, to lay the least foundation of peace to the

* See military correspondence in the months of February and March 1760

† The name of a Moratta General

provinces. In the course of this campaign three morally sure and important opportunities were lost by the cowardice of both the Nabobs, the first, when the young Nabob refused to join the major, in the immediate pursuit of the Shahzada when routed near Patna, the second, when the old Nabob refused to comply with the major's request and demand, to cross his horse over the Budwan river, and attack the prince when united with Shubut, &c, the third, when in the late pursuit of Cuddeem Hosein Cawn, the young Nabob refused to lead or detach his horse to the major's assistance, by which a general action might have been brought on. but, on the contrary, he kept encamped two or three miles in the major's rear, as if his intentions were to leave our troops, without horse, a sacrifice to the enemy

Had the most been made of either of those favorable occasions, the stroke had, in all human probability, been decisive, as it is, it only proves, that we continue to draw our swords in support of a family, most unworthy the government they have by our assistance usurped, and this to the manifest hazard and ruin of the Company's trade and concerns

On the near approach of the major to Patna, he received a Firmaun from the prince, of which he advised the board, and promised to forward a copy, but no wonder, that, in the course of so extraordinary and fatiguing a campaign, it should escape his memory. On the Shahzada's arrival in the Beerboom country, after the unexpected march he formed upon his defeat, the President received intelligence, that the old Nabob had actually a Vackeel in the Shahzada's camp, and that he was negotiating a separate treaty with him. This appeared to have so dangerous a tendency, that any means were eligible to obtain the truth of it

The late president, by a third hand, procured Assed Zemba Cawn Rajah of Beerboom, and his uncle Camgar Cawn, to be Written to on this subject of the Nabob's Vackeel and treaty. This soon produced a Firmaun from the prince, inclosing a copy of the Nabob's Arzdasht. The President made no reply to the Firmaun, but returned a short one to Cam-

gar Cawn's letter which accompanied it, intimating, that copies carried little validity where originals were in being.

A few days before the prince began his retreat from the hills, the President received a second Firmaun from him, inclosing the original Arzdasht from the Nabob. All that can be said, either for or against belief being given to the authenticity either of the copy or original, will appear on the face of the correspondence, in two letters from the President to the major, under dates the twenty-second and twenty-fourth of April last, and to Mr Hastings, the twentieth of the same month. To these we may further add, that if they are forgeries, they have yet this corroborating signature of truth, that the whole tenor of the Nabob's conduct most exactly tallies with the terms of the Arzdasht. But to resume the course of the campaign to the present time

Patna is relieved, and secure for the present. Cuddeem Hosein Cawn is dispossessed of his government of Purnea, and driven out of the country, but with all his treasure and valuable effects, to the reproach and infamy of the young Nabob's name, so that, after the rains, he will easily join the prince with the essentials of war, which he only wants to harass the provinces five years longer. The young Nabob is taken off by a flash of lightning, and our troops are gone into quarters, after having done as much, or more than could be expected, from men so wretchedly supported by those very people, for whose preservation they endure every distress and fatigue, and the prince has found means to preserve himself and forces a footing on this side the Soane, and in the neighborhood of Patna. It is said, Camgar Cawn has forsaken the cause of the prince, which appears most improbable, not only on account of his having no other chance for reimbursing himself but perseverance, but because we had undoubted intelligence, that three thousand of his troops have lately joined his nephew Assed Zemina *Cawn, who has thrown off his allegiance to the Nabob. These troops are, doubtless, lodged to make an early and important diversion at the opening

* The Rajah of Beerboom.

of the next campaign, by entering the Burdwan country, as soon as the prince begins to be in motion above ; and thus our supplies from thence will be again cut off, and the Company's affairs be reduced to the last extremity of distress, unless the approaching ships of the season relive us, or the whole tuncaws on those lands could be collected during the rains. The latter is hardly possible in any serviceable degree, and the former carries very little probability. The late proposal of the Nabob's to pay our balances, and resume his lands, is devoutly to be wished ; but it is likewise to be feared he has no meaning in it.

The various reasons, urged against the measures of supporting the present government longer on the plan we have been some time pursuing, to the heavy injury of the Company, with various expedients to rescue them from manifest approaching ruin, are set forth at large, in the military correspondence, in a letter from the President to major Caillaud, under dates the 24th and 25th of May, 14th of June, and 3rd of July ; to Mr. Amyatt, under dates the 25th and 30th of May ; to Mr. Hastings, under dates the 24th of May, 30th of June, and 5th and 8th of July. Both the reasons and expedients, in the present state of affairs, seem rather to confirm than contra-indicate any other ; however, the sudden death of the young Nabob (if made a proper use of) seems to point out a middle way, if things are not gone too far already, to admit of any other than the divesting this family of the government altogether*.

Respecting all matters relative to the Dutch and the Nabob, the Dutch and us, the tuncaws and obstructions raised by the Nabob on our collecting them, as also the late secret treaty between he Nabob and the Morattas, &c they will appear on the face of the correspondence without exaggeration."

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Vansittart, Governor of Calcutta, to Colonel Caillaud, commanding the Army at Patna, dated August 4, 1760

* See the President's letter to Mr. Hastings of the 16th of last month, and to major Caillaud of the 26th, on the same subject.

"I Suppose the Nabob, when he answers the letters I have wrote him, will in consequence of your advice propose a meeting, and indeed I think it highly necessary. When such a conference is resolved upon, I will let you know in time to be there; and I think we should find the means of removing that want of confidence, which I see now every moment between the Nabob and our gentlemen. It is this mistrust, that seems to me to be in great measure the cause of all his difficulties and ours. His people slight him, imagining, that with us they will be sure to find protection, and on the other hand, those with whom the Company have to do, those particularly upon whom we have assignments for money, make use of it as an opportunity of delaying their payments, depending on the Nabob's countenancing their backwardness.

If a negotiation with the prince should take place, I am so far from intending a revolution in these provinces, that I would have the confirmation of the present Nabob stipulated for the first article; it might, however, be upon condition of his making over to us countries, to the value of about fifty lacks *per annum*. Burdwan and * Kisnagur would nearly answer that sum, and be extremely convenient for us. The Shahzada, at the same time, should engage to furnish the Company monthly with twice as much as would defray the charges of the troops destined for his service, and to confer on the Company, in case of his success, such privileges and advantages in all parts of India, as their several governors might request"

Extract of a Letter from Colonel Caillaud to Mr. Vansittart, to which Mr. Amyatt, Chief at Patna, also subscribed; no Date, but received 24 Aug 1760

"It were to be wished, that confidence between us and the Nabob could be established, but give me leave to assure you, that will be no easy task, until he changes his counsellors. My opinion in this is confirmed by Colonel Clive's judgment, who wanted such a change, and would have effected it, had he stayed; but I hope the same from your management

* Or Nuddea

The money matters still perplex me more ; the state of our finances at Bengal you are before this acquainted with. The countries you mention are the best we could have for the sum wanted , but nothing will induce the Nabob to part with them, but the fear of our strength and power ; and not much less force is requisite to keep him in awe, and to prevent enemies from within or without disturbing the peace of the Subahship, which if not perfectly maintained, of consequence the revenues suffer. The Nabob would not be a poorer man, by giving us fifty lacks *per annum*, with which he would have a body of forces, that would do him service , and it does not cost him less than that sum for maintaining an useless rabble. but to convince him of this step, there lies the difficulty , the Colonel's last letter to him was full of salutary instructions on this head , but he is of so mistrustful a nature, that already our power and influence, though meant for his good, give him pain , and every thing that we can propose, that seemingly tends to encrease it, gives him umbrage, and will make him unwillingly consent to this, or any other step we can propose. Be assured of this, that he can only be frightened into compliance , and so you see it is my opinion, that though the prince goes, we cannot send both men and money to Madras

In my two last letters, I have spoke fully as to the affairs of this province , and gave such reasons as I had for the appointment of * Meer Sidoo and Rajebullub , at least what I have most strongly urged, and it seems to be your opinion, that no change should be made for the present. The Nabob's usage of me in the course of this affair hath piqued me sensibly ; nor will I let it go unnoticed. I do not quarrel with the man for being of a different opinion with me, had he ingenuously told me so, for I left all to his choice, and only advised him what I thought best ; he agreed by his letters to all I proposed, allowed it was the best that could be done, and approved of all my measures , whilst, at the same time, he was acting diametrically opposite, without ever con-

* The Nabob's grandson

sidering me, or the engagements I had entered into upon the strength of his promises."

Extract of a Letter from Mr Amyatt to Mr Vansittart, and Colonel Caillaud. Dated Patna, October 5, 1760

GENTLEMEN,

"I Am favoured with your's of the 25th ultimo, and am very glad you have taken steps to supply us with money, we have laboured under great difficulties for want of it, and a small supply to the Nabob's troops would have enabled Rajebullub to quit this place, who is very anxious and desirous to get away, and without some money he cannot. He has run the risque of his life these three days, and I expected an uproar in the city hourly. To-day they are somewhat quiet, and Ramnarain has sent for some of the chief commanders to expostulate with them; but without some money sent him, he says, he cannot, nor will undertake to satisfy them. I have talked to Ramnarain all in my power, to take the command of them, that Rajebullub may go; and I cannot but say he has a great deal of reason on his side, they are such a set of rabble, and he without money, besides his own troops unpaid; they will not hear reason; some money must be given immediately, and where that is to come from he does not know. The Nabob has not wrote to them or Rajebullub, and Cossim Allee Cawn to a very few, so that they are outrageous. They say, the Colonel and Rajebullub kept them together, one is gone, and sent them no money, and the latter they expect to make their pay good; so that here is a fine spot of confusion; our army only prevents matters coming to extremities. I apprehend, when the prince hears all this, we shall have him move this way. Were all these troublesome forces joined with him it would be nothing, but they within and the prince without is bad, though, I hope, as we are a little quiet to-day, that Ramnarain will be able to work upon them, Rajebullub in these matters is a child to the other."

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Amyatt to Mr Vansittart and Colonel Caillaud. Dated Patna, October 12, 1760.

“The Nabob’s seepoys are daily deserting to the prince ; the remainder labour under great difficulties, and are very troublesome for their pay.”

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Hastings, Resident at the Nabob’s Court, to the Select Committee at Calcutta Dated Muradbaug, July 18, 1760

“My last gave you the melancholy news of the Chuta Nabab’s death It is proper, that I now acquaint you with the consequences of that event here No sooner was the intelligence published, than the seepoys, no longer intimidated by the authority of the Chuta Nabob, nor the presence of the English forces, which had hitherto restrained them from giving scope to their resentment against the Nabob, immediately concurred to take the advantage, which his grief, and the consternation caused by so sudden and fatal a stroke afforded them, to compel him to pay their long arrears They accordingly encompassed his palace on the 14th, in a clamorous manner, but proceeded no further than to insult the treasurer and other muttaseddees, whom they pulled out of their pallanquins, and treated with other indignities. The same disorders continued the next day. On the 16th, they assembled in a large body, and stopped up the doors of the palace, suffering none to enter, or come out of it Numbers mounted on every wall, not excepting the places held the most sacred, and loaded the Nabob with the most opprobrious language, threatening him with death, if their demands were not complied with Such of his courtiers or attendants, as made their appearance, were assaulted by fragments broke off from the walls, by which several persons of distinction were wounded This scene lasted two days, and seemed to portend the certain destruction of the Nabob ; when Cossim Allee Cawn, the Nabob’s son-in-law, by his interposition, put a stop to the persecution, and brought on an accommodation. The Nabob has promised to pay the full arrears from the sixth sun, and two half months of the present year, as soon as it shall appear from the accounts what money is due to them For this payment, Cossim Allee

Cawn became security, and paid them immediately three lacks of rupees from his own treasury. This satisfied the seepoys, who instantly retired to their own habitations. Though the storm is now blown over, yet should it return again (which is to be apprehended, from the small prospect there at present appears, that the Nabob will be able to collect so large a sum as he has engaged to discharge) I much fear the consequences will prove fatal to the Nabob, as well from the unruliness and disaffection of the multitude, as from the machinations of his numerous enemies, with whom it will be no difficulty to make these the instruments of his ruin.

Assed Zemina Cawn, the Rajah of Beerboom, is assembling forces, and, tho' no open hostilities have been committed by him, it is no longer doubted, but his design is to revolt from the present government."

Translation of a Letter from the Nabob to Colonel Caillaud

"Formerly the command of the forces, the government of the country, the regulating of the army, and raising of troops, were the office of the Nabob Nasir-ool-moolk, deceased. At this time, excepting my beloved son Meer Mahomed Cossim Cawn Behader, there is none of my sons or brethren equal to that trust, and I have now received greater proofs than ever of his merit. For this reason I have judged my son aforesaid worthy of, and proper for the direction of all military operations and affairs of the administration, in the same manner with the Nabob Nasir-ool-moolk, deceased. I doubt not, that you have the same opinion of the qualities and capacity of my son aforesaid, and the friendship you entertain for him is free from deceit and design. From the entire dependance, which he places upon your established acquaintance and friendship, he hopes that you will assist him on this occasion, by exerting your influence so effectually in his behalf, that Mharajah Ramnaran Behader may be entirely pleased with my son, and maintain a friendly intercourse with him, that when required he may afford the said Mharajah his assistance and support, as the late Nabob Nasir-ool-moolk did. By this our friendship will be daily augmented, the affairs of the government will prosper, and you will do me a great pleasure."

*Translation of a Letter from the Nabob to Mr. Holwell.
Received July 10, 1760*

“The letter you wrote me concerning Meer Mahomed Cossim Allee Cawn, I have received You acquaint me, he is a noble, good, and brave man Mr Hastings also has spoke me to the same purpose, and has desired me, to let him succeed my son This rejoiced, me much, because I was sensible he is highly deserving of my favour and friendship I have no friends dearer to me than himself and family, and should be very glad, if it was in my power to give it him ; but the Colonel has wrote me a letter *, a copy whereof I have inclosed for your perusal, and you will then be able to judge, what motive has induced me to prefer the Chuta Nabob’s son.”

*Extract of a Letter from the Select Committee at Calcutta,
to the President and Council of Fort St George Dated July
28, 1760*

“We have received your favours of the 12th June and 7th July, and are sorry to find there is any prospect of being under the necessity of raising the blockade of Pondicherry We flatter ourselves, however, that affairs will take a more favorable turn ; and that when the expected succours arrive, you will be fully enabled to carry into execution your most sanguine expectations We most ardently wish it were in our power to assist you on this important occasion with men or money , but such is our situation, that notwithstanding our unwearied endeavors, we are not able to effect either The Shahzada, with his forces, had crossed the river Soane, which afforded a prospect of the Patna province being restored to peace for a few months at least, but the death of the young Nabob, which happened by a flash of lightning on the 3d, of July, has encouraged the Shahzada to return within a few cose of Patna Major Caillaud, with our troops, and those of the Nabob under his command, by our latest advices, was in that city, so that an action may very probably ensue.

* This was a letter, recommending the infant grandson under the guardianship of Rajebullub

Every method has in vain been tried for raising a sum of money, as well for supplying your settlement, as providing an investment here for the Company. The troubles which have this season continued so late in the country, have so much impeded the collection of our tuncaws, that for a considerable time past, we have had little more money in our treasury, than sufficient to defray the current expenses of the settlement. This being the real situation of our affairs, we persuade ourselves you will be convinced, that your not receiving the supplies you may have expected from us, is not owing to any neglect in us; as we can on the contrary assure you, we should, on all occasions, most chearfully contribute every thing in our power for the good of the service in general."

Extract of a Consultation held at Calcutta the 7th of August, 1760 Present Meffieurs Vansittart, Sumner, Holewill, M'Gwire, Batson, Verelst, Smyth, and Smith

"In order to determine upon the expediency of complying with the application of the Committee of Aurungs, for a sufficient advance of money, to compleat the investment intended this year, the Board think it necessary to enquire into the present state of the treasury, and the further supplies that we have to depend on, supposing none to come from Europe by the ships of this season, and to set against them first, the indispensable demands for the current charges of the Presidency, as the pay of the troops, the marine charges, the fortifications and repairs, &c.

Accordingly, the following calculation * is now framed

The amount of this calculation is 37,50,000 rupees, to which we may add twelve lacks for the yearly amount of the lack of rupees per month, which the Nabob had stipulated to be paid for the field expences of our troops. The whole sum will be 49,50,000; of which it is to be observed, that thirty-seven lacks were to be paid by the Nabob, and therefore could by no means be depended on. The remainder is only 12,50,000 rupees, a sum very insufficient for defraying even the current expences of the settlement

to include a whole year, commencing the 1st of August 1760, and ending the 31st of July 1761

	<i>Rupees</i>
Remaining this day in the treasury	1,00,000
To be received from the Nabob the full amount of his debt, about	} 25,00,000
To be received from the Company lands	
Land and sea customs	1,50,000
In sales in the import warehouse, and bills of exchange on Europe	} 2,00,000
	<hr/> 37,50,000

Of which it may be computed, that eighteen laks of rupees will be required for the indispensable charges of the troops, fortifications, &c for twelve months, from the 1st of August 1760, to the 31st of July 1761 And the President represents to the Board, that the want of money upon the coast began to be very pressing before he left it ; so that there seems to be an absolute and immediate necessity for sending at least ten lacks to Madras, otherwise the vast sums already disbursed there, and all the advantages thereby acquired over the enemy, will be lost, at a crisis too, when there is a great probability of pursuing the blow with success to the utmost accomplishment of our wishes, by the reduction of Pondicherry

These ten lacks for Madras, must therefore be made up out of the first money than can be got together, whether by loan or by Nabob's tuncaws and assignments There will yet remain ten lacks out of the foregoing computation, which will serve to begin upon an investment next year, if no other more urgent occasion should demand a supply from it

But for the present year, it is absolutely impossible, unless our honorable matters should, contrary to their last mentioned intentions, send us a supply on the expected ships. Upon the whole, it is the unanimous opinion of the board, that it will be most for the Company's interest, in this case of necessity, to stop any further advances on account of this year's investment "

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Sykes to Mr Vansittart Dated Cossimbuzar, September 16, 1760

"I Now enclose you two letters from the Nabob, on perusal of which you will find I have not been successful in my application to him for the fougedarree of Chittagong and Silhet. He has acquainted me just now with the result of his consultation yesterday with his ministers, which is a downright refusal, alledging, that these two provinces he has assigned for the maintenance of two of his sons, and Moniloll acts as their Dewan I informed him, that you did not mean, that our having these two countries should be any loss to him in his revenues, as we would pay the same as the present possessor does, yet he seems to think, that if we have once a factory at Chittagong, his people will be greatly controlled in the transactions in those parts "

Copy of the Proceedings at a Select Committee held at Calcutta Sept. II, 1760 Present Mes Vansittart, Caillaud, Sumner, Holwell, and M'Gwire

"The Colonel informs the Committee, that he left Patna the 31st of last month, at which time the prince was at Dowdnagore on this side the Soane, that all the reports of his crossing it were over, and that Monsieur Law, with Mudara Dowla, was preparing to repass the river and join him. It was said, their next motion would be towards Camgar Cawn, with whom the operations of the next campaign were to be settled

Before we resolve upon a plan of future operations, we will attempt a description of the state the Company's affairs are now in, and this not to be confined to Bengal, but with

regard also to the exigencies of the other settlements, who are told to depend on this for supplies of money. Our influence encreasing from time to time, since the revolution brought about by Colonel Clive, so have we been obliged to encrease our force to support that influence. We have now more than a thousand Europeans and five thousand seepoys, which, with the contingent expences of an army, is far more than the revenues allotted for their maintenance. This deficiency was not so much attended to whilst the immense sums stipulated by the last treaty were coming in, but these resources being now quite exhausted, and no supplies of money coming from Europe, it becomes immediately necessary to secure to the Company such an income as will bear them clear of charges, and bring in besides a supply for the emergencies of their other settlements, and for providing cargoes for loading home their ships.

The first question then that naturally occurs is this,
Whether that great force is wanted?

That a less force would secure the settlement of Fort William, with its former bounds against any thing that is now in the country, is not to be doubted, but it is as certain, that nothing but that influence and weight, which we maintain by the largeness of our force, can possibly prevent the well known designs of the two principal European powers, who have long shared with us the benefits of the trade of this country, and to this we may add, that the nearer we approach to a peace in Europe, the nearer we are to our danger here.

These considerations having their due weight, we believe few will dispute the necessity of keeping up our present force, perhaps augmenting it. Thus granted, it follows, that means must be found within ourselves of supporting the expence; and these means can be no other, than a proportionable share of the revenues of the country. By the treaty made with the present Nabob, he is obliged, as often as it may be requisite for our troops to take the field, to furnish a lack of rupees a month for their expence, but the uncertainty of this payment has been too long experienced to be any more depended on; nor indeed, is it by any means sufficient to answer the purpose,

supposing the payments regularly made. It must therefore be proposed to the Nabob, to assign to the Company a much larger income, and to assign it in such a full and ample manner, by giving to the Company the sole right of such districts, as lay most convenient for our management, that we may no longer be subject to the inconveniences we experienced from the late tuncaws, being orders only on a certain part of the revenues. From the experienced weakness and unsteadiness of the Nabob himself, and the nature of those dependents, who now oppose every encrease of our power, as their own be proportionably lessened, it is to be supposed, that such a proposal would meet with all the difficulties that could possibly be thrown in our way. Notwithstanding these difficulties, we will suppose, that we should have weight enough to overrule his counsellors, and obtain his consent, we then just keep our present footing, we have a fund for paying our troops, and those troops must be employed in the service of the Nabob, and this service the same as for these two years past, in opposing the Shahzada, whose designs on these provinces, it is almost certain, will still be pursued.

From the experience of these two years it is pretty clear that our troops, tho' victorious in the field, yet cannot by their success put an end to the troubles. The same cause which has prevented it before still exists, the nature of those people, in alliance with whom we are to act, who will not pursue the advantages we gain, and we not having the means in our power, for want of a body of cavalry under our command. Thus the war may be protracted for years to come, and every year the Nabob's circumstances are worse and worse, thro' an increase of expence, and loss of revenues, not only by the devastations which the enemy may make, but by the continual defection of some of his own Rajahs and dependents, many in the course of the two last years have declared themselves, and that others are ripe for doing the same is not to be doubted, particularly the Rajah of Beerboom, in a letter* the Government lately received from him, has spoke

* A copy of this letter is subjoined, Page 40

his sentiments very freely The province of Patna is already so much reduced by the two campaigns, as to be incapable of affording subsistence to the prince any longer, who must always find on the spot the means of carrying on the war, having no resources within himself, and who consequently must, thro' necessity, attempt next year to penetrate further into Bengal, and in this he will no doubt be encouraged, by the success which attended his last year's incursion as far as Burdwan

It is therefore next to be considered, whether it is best for the interest of the Nabob to pursue the present measures, by continuing to oppose the Shahzada, or to support him in his pretensions to the crown of Delly The two parties still subsist, between whom the throne is disputed, or rather who shall give a King to that throne One of those parties* has repeatedly invited the Shahzada to him, and it is well known what offers he has made, both to the Nabob and us, for our assistance The same reasons may be supposed yet to have their weight with him, while the dispute remains undecided And is it not probable, that such an assistance given to the prince, and thrown into Abdallee's scale, would ensure the success of the enterprize ? The immediate consequence of this to Bengal, would be clearing the country of an enemy, by removing the cause, whence all the late troubles and confusion have arose ; and if we, with reason, flatter ourselves we should succeed, what advantages may not the Company expect ?

Supposing this change of measures does not appear to the Nabob in the light we have represented, it is to be considered, whether the exigencies of the Company's affairs before described, do not require our forming such connections independently of him, as may overrule the advice and sway of his creatures and ministers

The unfortunate death of the young Nabob, having created a number of separate interests, which it is impossible to conciliate to the satisfaction of all, and thereby gives the fairest opportunity to any other European power, to gain a party to support them in their designs of establishing an influence here,

* The Abdallee

is an inducement to make us follow such a system, as will put this most out of their power

The share of influence we now enjoy in these provinces, however great in appearance, does not carry with it those real advantages, and weighty effects, which are necessary not to leave that power in danger of being disputed, and of failing us at a time when we most want it, and nothing is more probable, than that That period will happen on a peace To prevent the evil consequences of this, there seems now to offer such an opportunity of securing to ourselves all that we could wish in this respect, as it is likely may never happen again, an opportunity that will give us both power and right

Another principal motive that urges us to think of changing our system, is the want of money a want that is not confined to ourselves alone, but upon which greatly depend the operations of the coast, the reduction of Pondicherry, and the provision of an investment for loading home the next year's ships at all the three Presidencies

It is hardly to be doubted, that the Shahzada would be willing to enter into a negotiation with us independent of the Nabob, but such a measure would neither be for the interest, nor the honor of our nation our views in adopting this system, should be directed rather to strengthen, than weaken or overthrow the present Nabob All we desire is, to see the power removed out of the hands of that sort of men, who now rule and direct his affairs, and through whose mismanagement and frauds, the country and his administration suffer so considerably, and to have such a share of power invested in the Company, as will enable them to prevent the bad consequences of so many contending interest; will effectually put a stop to that dissipation of revenues, which has reduced the Nabob to his present distressed condition, which revenue, if properly applied, would leave neither him, nor us, any thing to fear from the designs of any enemy, and effectually secure to us such a fund, as would answer all our present pressing exigencies, and in time, prove an increase of honor and advantage to the Nation, and the Company”

The President lays before the Committee the following Letter, which he lately received from the Rajah of Beerboom

“Thanks be given to the Almighty at this happy time, I have received your most kind letter, acquainting me of your appointment to the administration of the affairs of the Company, and your safe arrival in Calcutta. It has filled my heart with a joy too great for expression, and I have offered up my praises to God for it. May the Almighty bestow on you a daily increase of honor, and incline you to favor your wellwisher. This is the state of my affairs. By the countenance of you, gentlemen, my Zemindaree had begun to put on a flourishing appearance, but lately, since I have been deprived of that advantage, the magistrate of the country*, who has rebelled against his sovereign, afflicts everyman of worth and honour with insults and indignities, from which the strictest obedience is no security. By the Commands of the Lord of the universe, I have put myself in readiness, you are a wise and considerate man. The principles of your religion ordain, that every man should be put in possession of his right, and by your customs too, the King is entitled to obedience. These considerations added to the long friendship I have had for your country, persuade me, that you will engage in no cause that shall oppose that of Shah Aalum, since your inclinations and mine are always the same, I hope, from the countenance of your favor, to be always made happy by the news of your welfare, and that you will take care of me.”

Extract of the Proceedings of a Select Committee, held at Calcutta, the 15th of Sept 1760. Present Mes Vansittart, Caillaud, Sumner, Holwell, and M'Gwire

The great objects of our deliberation are, first, the securing a fund of money for the present and future exigencies of this settlement, as well as the other two presidencies,* no money being expected from Europe, and, secondly, the putting an end to the disturbances fomented and kept up by the Shahzada in several parts of these provinces, that the whole may be united under the Nabob, and he put under the more immediate

* The Nabob

influence of the Company, whose force is his chief support and dependance, by this means enabling us to join a large body of country troops to our own, to oppose any attempts of European or country powers

The question to be considered is, Whether we can best arrive at these ends by following the present system of opposing the Shahzada, or by proposing to him an alliance with the English, and the assistance of part of our forces to proceed with him to Delly, and support him in his pretentions to the throne

The difficulties on both sides having been considered, resolved unanimously, that the entering into an alliance with the Shahzada, is a necessary and expedient measure. The President is accordingly desired to press Cossim Allee Cawn on the subject of our expences, and our great distress for money, so as to draw from him some proposal of means for removing those difficulties, by which possibly we may be able to form a judgment, whether he might not be brought to join in this negotiation, and in procuring the Nabob's consent "

Extract of the Proceedings of a Select Committee, held at Calcutta the 16th of Sept 1760 Present Mes Vansittart, Caillaud, Sumner, Holwell, and M'Gwire

"The President acquaints the Committee, that in a long conversation he had last night with Cossim Allee Cawn, he had an opportunity of making some progress towards the discoveries requisite for carrying on the negociation proposed yesterday, and that without letting him know any thing of our design, he had led him to make such declarations of his desire to have the rule over the Nabob, and the general management of the affairs of the province, as amount almost to a proof of his readiness to act the part intended for him After telling him much of our regard, and of our opinion of him, as the fittest person for conducting the great affairs of the Bengal government, I began to make him strong representations on the subject of the Company's expenses, that the immediate charges of the army, far exceeded the sum assigned for that

purpose*, which sum was not regularly paid, there being now three or four months arrears, that besides this, he could not but be sensible how much the Company gave up in other parts, for the security of Bengal, withdrawing their forces from the Deccan and Madras, and sending continually fresh supplies from Europe I represented to him further, the great loss the Company had suffered by the long continuance of the present war with the Shahzada, and how much it was to be wished, that an end could be put to it, so as to enable the Nabob to reduce his expences, and collect his full revenues, of which a great part is now lost by the ravage of the enemy, particularly the whole produce of the Patna province

In answer to this Cossim Allee Cawn replied, that he has it not at present in his power to provide in a proper manner for the supply of the Company, that if we could undertake to give him the general management of the country, by taking it out of the hands of those who are now entrusted with it by the Nabob, he would then make such assignments in favor of the Company, as should be perfectly to our satisfaction At the same time he insituated, that this would undoubtedly meet with opposition at Moorshedabad, and at first prove very disagreeable to the Nabob himself, for which reason it would be quite necessary to have a force at hand to support him, by which, being enabled to over-rule that present evil counsellors of the Nabob, he could answer for bringing the Nabob himself into such terms as should be agreed on here "

The season was now begun, when our forces were to take the field against a powerful enemy, whilst we had scarce a rupee in our treasury to enable us to put them in motion The easy channel, in which the Company's affairs ran, whilst the sums stipulated by the treaty lasted, had diverted their attention from the distresses which must unavoidably fall on them, whenever that fund should be exhausted; and continuing to act on the same extensive plan in which they set out, they

* At this period the Company's military and other charges in Bengal amounted, at the lowest calculation, to upwards of 200,000 l per annum, and their nett revenue did not exceed 80,000 l

now found themselves surrounded by numberless difficulties, which were heightened by the particular circumstances of the country at this period, and weighed down with the very advantages which they had acquired, that is, an establishment which had lost the foundation on which it was built, a military force proportioned to their connections and influence in the country, without the means of subsistence, a fortification begun upon the same extensive plan at a vast expence, and an alliance with a power unable to support itself, and threatening to involve them in the same ruin

Had the Nabob's indolence and weakness been the only faults in his character, destructive as they were to the welfare of the country, and the interest of the Company, I should have felt more severely the necessity I was under of entering into any measures, that might have a tendency to dissolve the engagements between him and the Company, but when I found a general disaffection against his government, and a detestation of his person and principles prevail in the country, amongst all ranks and degrees of people, not only from the effects of the extortions and oppressions of his ministers, but from the many murders with which his short administration had been sullied, especially the horrid massacre perpetrated by his order at Dacca, and at this time recent in every mind, I confess, I had the less reluctance to join in such measures, since, if the Nabob's jealousy or distrust of us should so far prevail, as to make him rather part with his government, then put into our hands the means of remedying the disorders which had been introduced into it, the consequence would prove rather a general good, than a subject of reproach

Such being the situation of affairs when the scene of action began to open, there was no time to be lost. The offers made by Meer Cossim, independently of the benefits which would accrue to the Company from them, presented to us the only means of evading the dangers, which threatened the very existence of the Company, of removing the war from the country, and remedying the disorders of the government. The Committee, therefore, after many conferences with Meer Cossim, unanimously agreed upon a treaty with him, which was executed the 27th of September, and was as follows .

Copy of the Treaty concluded between Mr Vansittart, the Gentlemen of the Select Committee, and the Nabob Meer Mahomed Cossim Allee Cawn*

“First, The Nabob Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn shall continue in the possession of his dignities, and all affairs be transacted in his name, and a suitable income shall be allowed for his expences

Second, The †Neabut of the Soubadarree of Bengal, Azimabad, and Orissa, &c, shall be conferred by his Excellency the Nabob on Meer Mahomed Cossim Cawn He shall be vested with the administration of all the affairs of the provinces, and after his Excellency he shall succeed to the government

Third, Betwixt us and Meer Mahomed Cossim Cawn, a firm friendship and union is established His enemies are our enemies, and his friends are our friends

Fourth, The Europeans and seepoys of the English army shall be ready to assist the Nabob Meer Mahomed Cossim Cawn in the management of all affairs, and in all affairs dependent on him, they shall exert themselves to the utmost of their abilities

Fifth, For all charges of the Company, and of the said army, and provisions for the field, &c, the lands of Burdwan, Midnapoor, and Chittagong, shall be assigned, and sunnuds for that purpose shall be written and granted The Company is to stand to all losses, and receive all the profits of these three countries, and we will demand no more than the three assignments aforesaid

Sixth, One half of the Chunam produced at Silhet for three years, shall be purchased by the Gomastahs of the Company, from the people of the government, at the customary rate of that place The tenants and inhabitants of that place shall receive no injury

* Mes Caillaud, Sumner, Holwell, and M'Gwire

† Deputy government

Seventh, The balance of the former tuncaws shall be paid according to the kistbundee agreed upon with the Royroyan. The jewels, which have been pledged, shall be received back again.

Eighth, We will not allow the tenants of the Sircar to settle in the lands of the English Company. Neither shall the tenants of the Company be allowed to settle in the lands of the Sircar.

Ninth, We will give no protection to the dependants of the Sirkar, in the lands or factories of the Company, neither shall any protection be given to the dependants of the Company, in the lands of the Sircar, and whoever shall fly to either party for refuge shall be given up.

Tenth, The measures for war or peace with the Shahzada, and raising supplies of money, and the concluding both these points, shall be weighed in the scale of reason, and whatever is judged expedient shall be put in execution, and it shall be so contrived by our joint counsels, that he be removed from this country, nor suffered to get any footing in it. Whether there be peace with the Shahzada or not, our agreement with Meer Mahomed Cossim Cawn, we will, by the grace of God, inviolably observe, as long as the English Company's factories continue in the country.

Dated the 27th of September, 1760, in the year of the Hegira, 1174 ”

SECTION IV

Mr Vansittart's Journey to Moorshedabad, in consequence of the Resolutions of the Select Committee, with his Proceedings there, till the Resignation of Meer Jaffier, and the Promotion of Meer Cossim to the Subahship.

Select Committee's Instructions to Mr Vansittart, and Colonel Caillaud—Letter from Mr Vansittart to the Select Committee, containing an Account of his first Interview with the Nabob.—

Reasons for making Use of Force against Meer Jaffier—Letter from Mr Vansittart, and Colonel Caillaud, containing an Account of their Proceedings, the Resignation of Meer Jaffier, and Promotion of Meer Cossim—Two Letters from Mr Vansittart to Mr Ellis—Two Letters from Mr Vansittart and Colonel Caillaud to the Select Committee—Letter from the Select Committee to Mr Vansittart, and Colonel Caillaud, approving of their Proceedings—Two Letters from Mr Ellis to Mr Vansittart—Mr Vansittart returns to Calcutta, and reports his Proceedings to the Council—Mes Verelst and Swythe object to the Proceedings—Mr. Vansittart's Reply to their Objections—Mr Vansittart's Memorial concerning the Revolution

Meer Cossim set out for Moorshedabad, a day or two after the execution of the treaty, and the Committee having desired me and Colonel Caillaud to follow him, as being the most likely way of bringing the Nabob into our measures We accordingly set out the 2nd of October, having received from the Select Committee our instructions, as follows

Copy of the Select Committee's Instructions to Mr. Vansittart and Colonel Caillaud

“As some days have already elapsed since the President, at the desire of the Committee, wrote to Mr. Amyatt of the intended negotiation with the Shahzada, and as one copy of Roydoolub's letter to the prince has been forwarded by his own people, we may expect, that within fifteen or twenty days from his time, something of it will transpire, and the report spread to Moorshedabad It is not to be doubted, but that the Nabob will be extremely alarmed at the first news of it, and that those who now rule him, will use their influence to encrease his fears and suspicions, and to make him as averse as possible to acquiesce in the measures we propose to adopt, and to which Cossim Allee Cawn has acceded It will be necessary to have persons commissioned with full powers from hence, and that they be such, as will have weight enough on the one part to keep Cossim Allee Cawn firm to the agreements he has entered into; and, on the other, to support him

so strongly, as to enable him to over-rule the Nabob, and all his present advisers

This entire confidence we place in you, empowering you to act according to your own discretion in all circumstances that may occur, and the better to enable you to accomplish our intentions, and prevent any disturbance, we have thought proper to make a detachment of two compleat companies of military, a Company of artillery, with four pieces of cannon, and captain Tabby's battalion of seepoys, who are to act under your orders. This detachment is represented to the Nabob, as designed to reinforce the army at Patna, but it is not our intention that they shall proceed further than Cossimbuzar, unless the approach of the Beerboom, or other disaffected Rajahs or Zemindars, should make it necessary to send them out to oppose them.

If the affairs of Patna should not absolutely require the Colonel's immediately proceeding there, we would have him remain at Moorshedabad, till this affair shall be settled there, and the government put under the regulation proposed; in which case you will please to forward to Mr Amyatt, the general instructions of the 24th and 25th, directed to him and the Colonel, with orders to captain Knox to co-operate with the chief of Patna, in the execution of the said instructions. When the Colonel proceeds to Patna, major Yorke will remain with the command of the detachment, and will follow the orders of the Governor for his further proceedings

You will be continually advised of the news we may receive, and of any alteration that may happen here, in order that you may take the necessary measures for sending back the detachment, in case any danger from abroad should threaten the settlement "

We reached Cossimbuzar the 14th of October, and the next morning the Nabob paid me a visit, during which I represented to him the necessity of his taking some vigorous and immediate measures, for removing the dangers which threatened the provinces under his government on every side, offering my hearty assistance, of which at the same time he seemed to be willing to accept, so that I had great hopes

he would have consented to our proposals, and it was in that mind I wrote the Committee the following letter

Copy of a Letter from Mr Vansittart to the Select Committee Dated Cossimbuzar, October 15, 1760

"I Came here by easy stages, in order to give time for Cossim Allee Cawn, as well as the detachment, to arrive before me Yesterday evening I reached this place, and this morning the Nabob did me the honor of a visit After the first ceremonies, he desired a private conversation, which he opened, by representing the dangerous situation of affairs at Patna, and desired the Colonel might be sent back with all possible expedition This gave me the opportunity of picturing to him the general weak condition of his government, occasioned not so much by the want of means in the country, as by the abuse and evil administration of those to whom he had entrusted the management, that the Colonel's going to Patna, without a large sum of money, would be of no use, and that it is not by temporary remittances of forty or thousand rupees, that present confusion can be remedied, or his affairs carried on in future, but by some general which may give more confidence to his officers and troops I described every thing in the worst I could, hoping, that by magnifying his difficulties, I might bring him more easily to consent to those measures, which we have resolved on This seemed to operate in the manner I could wish, he said more than once, that he would gladly follow any advice I should propose to him, desired that I would consider the matter fully between this and to-morrow evening, and promised on his part to do the same, and that he would then meet me at Muradbaug, and come to such determination as I shall approve Upon the whole, I have great hopes I shall be able to obtain the proposed advantages for the Company. Obtain them indeed, I will at all events, but I hope, and much wish to get it done without exerting any force

P S Inclosed is a letter from Mr Amyatt. Troubles must be expected at Patna, until means are found of paying

some money to the Nabob's troops The Nabob's not writing himself after repeatedly pressing us to do it was very extraordinary, however, I am not sorry at this time to have so striking an instance to urge of the weakness and unsteadiness of his present government"

The following is an Extract of Mr Amyatt's Letter here mentioned Patna, October 4, 1760

GENTLEMEN,

"The Nabob has not wrote to Rajebullub, and by what Mr Sykes writes to me, he will not till he has seen Colonel Caillaud, but notwithstanding this, Rajebullub is very willing and glad to go to Moorshedabad, and wanted to set out immediately, the army hearing this, surrounded his house, abused, and used him ill, seized upon his boats, and for these three days past, there has been such a scene of confusion, I cannot express it, the seepoys are no ways under their commanders, and do almost what they please, and this scene is likely to continue, and probably may end in Rajebullub's being cut off, or some disaster upon the city, nothing but fear of our army prevents it, for a trifle will stir them up to rashness, however, they have obliged him to swear he will not go, till money or Cossim Allee Cawn comes, indeed, they will not let him go, and use him most excessively ill"

But these hopes were soon lost. From the 15th to the 20th, I tried every means to bring the Nabob to reason, but I found his jealousy and indolence immoveable, so that my only choice was to make use of forcible measures, and act upon the Nabob's fears, or else to return with disgrace to Calcutta, after having just done enough to create a breach being settled to the Company's advantage We shall now have between the Nabob and the English, Meer Cossim would have been left a sacrifice to the Nabob's resentment, for the engagements he had entered into with us, the Nabob himself would have fallen under the weight of the disorders of his government, and the licentiousness of his unpaid troops; the English army at Patna would have been ruined for what of their pay,

and the provinces, in all probability, have become an easy conquest to the Shahzada, or what was yet worse, have been ravaged by his followers, and the disaffected zemindars I need not add,, that the company must have been involved in this general ruin. These were the weighty considerations which fixed resolution, and I thought I could not do otherwise, than try the effect of the force I had in my hands. The success of this resolution was immediately reported to the Select Committee, in a letter from myself and Colonel Caillaud, dated the 21st of October, and as all the circumstances of the transaction are there plainly and fully related, I here insert a copy, as the most faithful account that can be given of it.

Copy of a Letter from Mr Vansittart and Colonel Caillaud to the Select Committee Dated Muradbaug, October 21, 1760

GENTLEMEN,

The Governor wrote you yesterday of the affairs here being settled to the company's advantage. We shall have the honor to acquaint you of the steps by which we advanced to this point of success.

The Nabob's visit to the Governor at Cossimbuzar, the 15th of the month, as well as that we paid him the next day in return, passed only in general conversation. The 18th, he came here to talk upon business. In order to give him a clear view of the bad management of his ministers, by which his own affairs, as well as the Company's, were reduced to so dangerous a state, and the inhabitants in general to want and misery, we had prepared three letters, which, after a short and friendly introduction, the Governor delivered to him, and of which translations are hereunto annexed, under No I, II. and III*.

The Nabob seemed much affected by the perusal of the letters, but endeavored more to put an end to the conference, than to propose a remedy to the evils. We, however, prevailed on him to send for his dinner to Muradbaug, and, in a manner, insisted on his coming to some determination, for the immediate

* See page 55, &c

reform of his government, at length he confessed himself, through age and grief, incapable alone of struggling against so many difficulties, and desired he might have time to consult with his friends

We told him, the men with whom he had lately advised were not his friends, but his greatest enemies, that his returning again in the midst of them, would only be the means of augmenting his difficulties, that he had much better take the assistance of one from among his relations, on whose attachment and fidelity he might more safely rely. He named five or six, and among them Cossim Allee Cawn, we asked him, which of that number was most fit to assist him in his present exigencies? He replied, without any hesitation, that Cossim Allee Cawn was the most proper, nevertheless, it was with the utmost difficulty we could prevail on him to send for him, and so very late, that before Cossim Allee Cawn could arrive, the old Nabob was so extremely fatigued, and in such a state of anxiety, that we could not refuse his return home to take his rest, we were convinced, that it would be to no purpose to keep him, for such was the jealousy he discovered, with regard to Cossim Allee Cawn, that we saw he never would consent, without some sort of force, to give the other the means for restoring order to his affairs; an hour or two after the Nabob's deputation, Cossim Allee Cawn arrived, and seemed to be extremely apprehensive, that the Nabob, instead of trusting him with the management of his affairs, would endeavor by some means or other to get rid of him. We agreed, therefore, in opinion with him, that he should not go to the Nabob's house, until measures were taken for his security. We resolved, however, to give the Nabob the next day (the 19th) to reflect upon the letters before-mentioned, in hopes, that he would propose some means of regulation. We heard nothing from him all day, but found, by our intelligence, that he had been in council with his old advisers Koonram, Monelol, and Checon, whose advice we were sure would be contrary to the welfare of the country in general, and that of the Company in particular. We determined, therefore, to act immediately upon the Nabob's fears, there could not be a better opportunity, than the night of the 19th afforded, it being the conclusion of the Gentoo feast, when

all the principal people of that cast, would be pretty well fatigued with their ceremonies. We determined, therefore, that Colonel Caillaud, with two companies of military, and six companies of seepoys, should cross the river between three and four in the morning, and having joined Cossim Allee Cawn and his people, march to the Nabob's palace, and surround it just at day break. Being extremely desirous to prevent any disturbance or bloodshed, the Governor wrote a letter to the Nabob*, and delivered it to the Colonel to send into him, at such time as he should think most expedient. Measures were at the same time taken for seizing the persons of Koonram, Monelol, and Checon, our intention being only to remove those three unworthy ministers, and place Cossim Allee Cawn in the full management of all the affairs, in quality of deputy and successor to the Nabob. The governor remained at Muradbaug, in readiness to pay a visit of congratulation to the Durbar, as soon as the point should be settled.

The necessary preparations being accordingly made, with all the care and secrecy imaginable, the Colonel embarked with the troops, joined Cossim Allee Cawn without the least alarm, and marched into the court-yard of the palace just at the proper instant. The gates of the inner court being shut, the Colonel formed his men without, and sent the Governor's letter to the Nabob, who was at first in a great rage, and long threatened he would make what resistance he could, and take his fate. The Colonel forbore all hostilities, and several messages past by the means of Mr. Hastings, and Mr. Lushington, whose services, on this occasion, deserve notice. The affair remained in this doubtful state about two hours, when the Nabob, finding his persisting was to no purpose, sent a message to Cossim Allee Cawn, informing him, he was ready to send him the seals, and all the ensigns of dignity, and to order the Nobit to be struck up in his name, provided he would agree to take the whole charge of the government upon him, to discharge all the arrears due to the troops, to pay the usual revenues to the King, to save his life and honor, and to give him an allowance sufficient for his maintenance. All these conditions being agreed to,

* The translation of which is annexed, No IV

Cossim Allee Cawn was proclaimed, and the old Nabob came out to the Colonel, declaring, that he depended on him for his life, and the troops then took possession of all the gates, and notice was sent to the Governor, who came immediately; and the old Nabob met him in the gate-way, asking, if his person was safe, which seemed now to be all his concern. The Governor told him, not only his person was safe, but his government too, if he pleased, of which it never was intended to deprive him. The Nabob answered, that he had no more business at the city, that he should be in continual danger from Cossim Allee Cawn, and that if he was permitted to go and live in Calcutta, he should be extremely happy and contented; though we could not help lamenting his sudden fall, we were not sorry for this proposal, as the affairs will doubtless be better managed without him, and the advantages, stipulated for the Company, be obtained without the least difficulty or delay. Cossim Allee Cawn was accordingly seated on the musnud, and we paid him our congratulations in the usual form. All the Zemindars, merchants, and others, residing in the city, came immediately, and made their acknowledgments to the new Subah; and in the evening, every thing was as perfectly quiet, as if there had been no change. The people, in general, seem much pleased with this revolution; and we are particularly happy in its having been brought about without the least disturbance in the town, or a drop of blood spilt.

The advantages to the Company are great indeed

The perwannahs of the countries of Burdwan, Midnapoor, and Chittagong, we shall receive immediately, as well as that for half of the Chunam produced at Silhet. A very severe order has already been issued, forbidding all the shroffs and merchants to refuse the Calcutta siccas, or to ask any batta on them. A supply of money will be sent with the Colonel, for the payment of the troops at Patna; and we have some hopes of obtaining a present of three or four lacks besides, to send down to Calcutta, to help out the Company in their present occasions here, and at Madras. The former balance is to be paid monthly, according to the old Nabob's kistbundy.

We are the more pleased with this fortunate event at this time, when the approach of peace in Europe, gives us reason to fear the other European nations will find leisure to disturb us here. We shall have now strong resources within ourselves, and an ally, whose attachment to the Company may be depended on. The old Nabob could, by no means, be relied on for such an occasion. Both his means, and desire of supporting us, were very uncertain, as his behaviour in the Dutch troubles evinced.

The old Nabob did not think himself safe, even for one night, in the city. Cossim Allee Cawn supplied him with boats, and gave him leave to take away as many of his women as he desired, and a reasonable quantity of cloaths and jewels. We furnished him with a strong escort of Europeans and seepoys, and intended to lodge him at Heerageel, but he would not trust himself there, and begged he might sleep in his boats close to Muradbaug, which he did accordingly. We shall take care that Cossim Allee Cawn provides every thing that is convenient and handsome, for himself and his women, and settles upon him a sufficient allowance for his maintenance, and then dispatch him with a strong escort to Calcutta. You will please to provide two houses for his reception, there are two belonging to Sobiram Bysauc; and Rausbery Seet, which the Royroyan occupied when he was at Calcutta; if these can be got, we judge they will answer very well.

His legitimate wife, called the Begum, the mother of the deceased Chuta Nabob, and of Cossim Allee Cawn's wife, refused to accompany the old Nabob, with whom, she says, she has not been in good harmony for a long time past; that she is very glad the government is put into such good hands, and that she shall live much happier with her daughter and son-in-law.

The old Nabob is now pretty easy, and seems to be reconciled to the loss of a power, which he owns to have been rather a burthen than a pleasure, and too much for his abilities to manage, since the death of his son; and the enjoyment of the

rest of his days in security, under the English protection, seems to be the chief object of his wishes.

No I * *Translation of an Address, presented to the Nabōb Jaffier Allee Cawn by the Governor Dated October 12, 1760*

“When I was at Madras, Colonel Clive frequently wrote to me upon the state of the affairs of this country, and told me, whenever he quitted this country to return to Europe, he would procure my appointment to the government. The friendship and connections between your Excellency and the Colonel are well known to me, and I hoped to have found all affairs carried on entirely according to the treaty, but what I observed upon my arrival, I shall now lay before you particularly

First, The English forces, who are employed your service, and in the support of your government at Patna, are kept without their pay

Secondly, The forces of the government, who are stationed in those parts, are discontented and disaffected to the service for want of their pay

Thirdly, the seepoys of Moorshedabad had surrounded your palace in a tumultuous manner for the arrears of their pay, and endangered your life, how deeply I was affected cannot be expressed, God is witness what I felt on that occasion

Fourthly, I plainly perceived, that the ministers of this court, from their covetous and base dispositions, had set aside all justice, were plundering the poor without cause, and doing what they pleased, not even withholding their hands from the

* These letters, as well as many other of the letters to the country government, inserted in this Narrative, were written first in Persian, as well for the sake of dispatch, as that they might appear more natural and intelligible to the person to whom they were addressed, for in writing first in English, and then rendering it into Persian, it is almost impossible to avoid obscurity. Just so in translating the Persian into English, you cannot help conveying somewhat of the eastern form and manner along with the meaning, and this occasions the particularity which will be observed in the style of many of these letters

lives of the people, destroying the subjects, and bringing ruin and desolation on the country

Fifthly, The scarcity of provisions, &c. is so great, as was never before known in this country, insomuch, that the people of all degrees are in the greatest distress. This can be owing to no other cause, but the bad management of your ministers

Sixthly, Formerly, at the desire of the English Company, a mint was established in Calcutta, and it was your order, that the siccās of Calcutta, of the same weight and fineness as the siccās of Moorshedabad, should pass for equal value. Notwithstanding your perwannah for enforcing this grant, the officers of the provinces have not suffered them to pass; but, contrary to your order, require and insist on a batta on the siccās

Seventhly, The war with the Shahzada still continues, notwithstanding the sums expended, and the endeavors of the English forces. This affair is yet no nearer a conclusion than the first day, excepting the fort of Patna, no part of the Bahar province remains in your possession. All the lands and villages are in a state of ruin, and the Zemindars, in every place, are ready to join the Shahzada's army, as appears from the letter to me to this purpose from Beerboom. From these circumstances, it evidently appears to me, that all these difficulties came to pass after the death of your son, the late Chuta Nabob, from which time the ministers of your government, regarding only their own interest, neglect the good of the country, and the welfare of your subjects, and employ themselves in oppressing the poor, in rapine, violence, injustice, and iniquity. When I saw the affairs of the Sircar in the hands of such faithless and unworthy men, and every thing tending still further to ruin, I lifted up my hand to heaven, and bewailed my strange fate, that Providence should send me into this country, at such a time, and in the midst of such calamities, when the dignity of the Nabob, the reputation of the Company, and the prosperity of the country, are almost expired. After long consideration I concluded, that I would make one vigorous trial immediately, to remedy all these evils, hoping, by God's assistance, to sur-

mount all difficulties For this reason, I am come with great joy into your presence, and am happy in paying you my respects”

No II *Translation of an Address, presented to the Nabob Jaffier Allee Cown by the Governor Dated October 18, 1760*

“The ministers who are about your person, and who transact your business, are people who are wavering and changing in their councils, as is evident from the perwannahs you frequently sent me, complaining of the bad conduct and wicked intentions of Maharajah Rajebullub, insisting upon his being recalled by some means or other The Colonel, considering the situation of affairs at that time, recommended Rajebullub to you ; and you sent me a copy of his recommendation, in a letter which you did me the honor to write to me , and said, you was surprized that the Colonel would recommend a man, so very unfit for every business You also sent me word by the Nabob Meer Mahomed Cossim Cawn, and the Royroyan, that the business of the most consequence, was to get Rajebullub down from Patna I, therefore, agreeably to your desire, wrote Mr Amyatt to send him down ; God only knows what council your ministers gave, that your perwannah* was deferred being sent, but that is the true cause of the troubles now at Patna It is a known maxim, that a government, where the councils change every day, cannot be well regulated”

No III *Translation of a Letter, presented to the Nabob Jaffier Alle Cawn by the Governor Dated October 18, 1760*

“The important affairs, for the regulation of which I have waited upon you, are submitted to your consideration in a separate address, containing seven articles Now that I am here, this is the time for opening the door of the difficulties therein mentioned, which, is only to be effected by the key of your enlightened wisdom If this opportunity is lost, another will hardly occur, when we can meet together so conveniently Besides, the particulars which I have taken notice of, and the payment of the arrears due to the English troops, and those of the sircar,

* An order for his coming down

It is necessary to make a large provision for future exigencies. You have already given in pledge jewels, for a large amount, to be discharged by different payments, agreed and signed too by you. How this sum is to be paid, unless the country is settled, I do not perceive. The pay, allowed for the English army, has been limited to a lack of ruppees *per* month. As the disturbances in the country have encreased every day, for that reason large sums have been expended in bringing soldiers from Europe and Madras, and raising seepoys. On this account, a lack of rupees is by no means sufficient. Let your Excellency duly reflect, that your own seepoys, in time of extremity, preferring their own safety, have frequently joined with the forces of the enemy, and the English forces devoted entirely to your service, and the destruction of your enemies, never were guilty of such a conduct nor ever will, and by the blessing of God, wherever the English standard has been fixed, they have ever proved victorious. Upon this account, it is by no means becoming your wisdom, to neglect such brave men, or to deny them their due rewards. It is necessary, that for this business, your Excellency grant the English Company certain lands, sufficient for the pay of the troops, the expences of the artillery, and the provision of stores, &c. that without any trouble to yourself, all their charges may be defrayed, from the produce of these lands, and our arms always ready to be employed in your service, otherwise, I must submit to necessity. My concern for my own honor, will not suffer me to be unmoved at the Company's loss; but I must seek some expedients for promoting the interest of the Company, and removing the evils they are oppressed with; and those expedients must be adopted. But if your affliction, for the loss of your son, has taken that hold upon your mind, that you cannot attend to the remedying of such great difficulties, it is proper, that you appoint some capable person from among your children, in the place and dignity of your said son, the Nabob Nazir-ool-moolk, who may take charge of all these affairs, regulate the business of the company, and remove all these difficulties, that your excellency, freed from all the troubles and fatigues of these transactions, may remain without care and uneasiness, and the shadow of your protection overspread the whole.

No IV *Translation of a Letter from the Governor to the Nabob. Dated October 19, at Night, and sent by the Hands of Colonel Caillaud*

“I have been waiting all this day, in expectation that you would have settled some of the weighty and urgent affairs, upon which I yesterday conferred with you, and that you would have acquainted me with your determination, but you have not favoured me with any answer concerning them. From hence it plainly appears, that as long as these evil counsellors remain about your person, whatsoever I may represent to you for your prosperity and welfare, and the good of the country, will have no effect. The folly of those people will soon deprive you of your government, and prove the ruin likewise of the Company’s affairs. I have judged it improper, that such evils and disgrace should be brought upon us for the sake of two or three men, for this reason, I have sent Colonel Caillaud with forces to wait upon you. When the said Colonel arrives, he will expel those bad counsellors, and place your affairs in a proper state, I will shortly follow. Let not your Excellency be under any apprehensions, but chearfully receive the colonel; and give orders to your men, that they commit no disturbances, nor raise tumults in the city, I solemnly declare, that I have no other view but your good and welfare. Look upon me as your sincere well-wisher, and remain satisfied.”

The old Nabob set out for Calcutta the 22d, with all the appearances of content and chearfulness, and I remained at Moorshedabad with the new Nabob till the 4th of November. All the material transactions which passed during that time, will be seen by the following papers

*Extract of a Letter from Mr Vansittart to Mr Ellis**
Muradbaug, Oct 22, 1760

“The old Nabob set out this morning for Calcutta, escorted by a company of Europeans, and one of seepoys, under the

* Mr Ellis, arriving from Europe, took charge of the settlement at Calcutta, in Mr Vansittart’s absence

command of captain Robertson. I mentioned in my letter last night, that he would be glad to remain at Chitpour, until the houses are prepared for his reception. You will please to send two of the gentlemen to meet him at the French gardens, and in every way receive him with a decent respect. He took his leave with great cheerfulness, and I believe the days of his ease will do him more honor, than those of his power; and that he will be much happier, for it shall be my particular care that he wants for nothing; every thing is perfectly quiet here; I am waiting to get the sunnuds, to see how the young Nabob goes on; and to give him a few useful instructions for his guidance. In four or five days I hope every thing will be complete, and that I shall be setting out for Calcutta with a reinforcement for your treasury, such as will enable us to send a supply to Madras, and to keep our investment jogging on here."

Extract of a Letter from Mr Vansittart to Mr Ellis Muradbaug, October 23, 1760

"Every thing remains perfectly quiet, and the new Nabob does not spare pains to get the affairs regulated. He will have no easy task of it. The balance due to the seepoys is immense. Money found in the treasury, none, only gold silver plate, to the amount of two or three lacks, which is ordered to be coined and the old Nabob's Muttaseddees pretend, that the balance due from them is trifling, that the Nabob spent every thing as fast as it came in, but they do not know how. It was high time for a reform, indeed, I do not think it would have been possible for the old Nabob to have saved himself from being murdered, or the city from plunder, another month. I have engaged Juggut Seet's advice and assistance, and will see the Colonel dispatched with a supply of money to Patna, and all other affairs reduced to a system of prudence and economy, before I stir from hence."

Extract of a Letter from Mr Vansittart and Colonel Caillaud to the Select Committee Muradbaug, Oct 24, 1760

"Every thing remains perfectly quiet, the new Nabob applies with great diligence to the regulation of his affairs, and behaves

so as to gain the affection of the people We went yesterday to the Durbar, when he acquainted us, that he had found in the treasury, of ready money, only forty or fifty thousand rupees, and about the value of three lacks in gold and silver plate, which he has ordered to be coined Keenooram, Moneloll, and Checon, the principal managers in the late administration, pretend likewise, that the balances due from them are trifling The Nabob, however, hopes to oblige them to make further discoveries, and, in the mean time, is endeavoring, with the assistance of Juggut Seet, together with the usual presents, advances upon the rents, &c to raise a sufficient sum to pay off such a proportion of the arrears, as will satisfy the troops at Patna, and here as well as to enable him to give the Company such an assistance, as is mentioned in our last letter, by way of acknowledgment for their services The sunnuds, for the new districts, will be made out upon the arrival of the Royroyan, who is expected from Amboa in three or four days”

Extract of a Letter from Mr Vansittart and Colonel Caillaud to the Select Committee Muradbaug, Nov 3, 1760

“The difficulties the Nabob has met with, in raising the sums wanted for the supply of troops here, and at Patna, have been the occasion of his deferring the Colonel’s dispatch till tomorrow evening He will carry with him, in bills and money, seven lacks of rupees, of which two are for the English army, and five for the Nabob’s

The Nabob having given the Company perwannahs for the districts of Burdwan, Midnapoor, and Chittagong, from the 10th of October, the allowance of one lack *per* month, stipulated to be paid by the Nabob, for the expences of the army in the field, must be reckoned from the 1st of December, 1759, to the 30th of September, 1760, being ten months, or ten lacks of rupees, of which nine lacks and a half have been paid, including the two lacks before-mentioned, the remaining half lack the Nabob will remit to the Colonel

This done, all the future demands of the army must be supplied by the Company. We have engaged Juggut Seet,

to take all opportunities that may offer, of advancing money at Patna, to receive it again at Calcutta, for a premium of two *per cent*

The Colonel will do all he possibly can, consistently with the good of the service, to make the expences of the army light. Indeed, it is not only with this view, but for many other urgent considerations, much to be wished, that an end could be put to the war with the Shahzada. We might almost say, that it is absolutely necessary, for the pay of the troops in the armies of the Chuta Nabob, and of Ramnaran, amount to so immense a sum monthly, that the revenues of the three provinces, would scarce be sufficient fully to answer it. Notwithstanding, the sum now sent by the Nabob, and all the further supplies he may be able to furnish, the arrears can never be paid off, but, on the contrary, must continue growing.

For a disorder so desperate, what remedy is to be found? The most we can hope, is, to palliate and prevent it's increase, and endeavor, in the mean time, to bring our business to a conclusion. The Colonel, upon his arrival at Patna, will immediately take the field, and seek the Shahzada, to oblige him either to come to terms of accommodation, or venture a battle. With regard to the reduction of the Nabob's troops, the Colonel will take such measures upon his arrival, as he shall judge most eligible."

Mr Ellis not arriving from England till after the Committee had taken their resolutions, and I was set out for Cossimbuzar, could not be consulted in the course of this negotiation. By the station in which he was appointed by the Company, he presided at Calcutta during my absence.

Major Carnac arrived at the same time with Mr Ellis, and joined me at Muradbaug the 20th in the morning, at the very instant that Colonel Caillaud was at the head of his troops, in one of the court yards of the Nabob's palace. I desired the Major to go there too, and use his endeavors jointly with the Colonel to prevent any disturbances in the city. I followed immediately after, and when all was settled

with the old Nabob, major Carnac desired to stay with the detachment at Moorshedabad, for the security of Meer Cossim, who was just then proclaimed, but I settled it, that major Yorke should stay at Moorshedabad, and major Carnac proceed with the Colonel to Patna, to receive the command of the troops from him, as the Governor and Council at Madras had wrote for him, to return and join the army before Pondicherry

Major Carnac remained with me at Muradbaug, till I set out from thence for Calcutta, during which time he was fully acquainted with the motives of the Select Committee's resolutions, and may proceedings, and I do not recollect that he made the least objection* to either, further, than he was sorry there was a necessity of removing Meer Jaffier from the government To which I replied, that I was equally sorry, but that it could not be avoided without exposing his life, the provinces under his government, and the very existence of the Company to almost certain ruin

Mr Ellis, and the gentlemen of the Select Committee at Calcutta, expressed their approbation in the following answers to our letters

Copy of a Letter from the Select Committee (Messieurs Ellis, Sumner, and M'Guire) to Mr. Vansittart and Colonel Caillaud Dated October 24, 1760

"We have been honored with your favor of the 21st, and one from the President of the 20th instant, by which we have been informed of the great success that has attended your operations We most heartily congratulate you, on your having amply effected the intended purposes, without the effusion of blood, or any disturbance; and are highly pleased to find the Nabob so well reconciled to his present situation We doubt not, but what has been so well begun, will be concluded for the benefit and advantage of the Company, and

* The contrary may be inferred, from his desiring to stay with Meer Cossim

that the affairs of the government will in future be put on a secure and proper footing

We have given the necessary directions for the reception and accommodation of the old Nabob, whenever he arrives in Calcutta.

A few days, we flatter ourselves, will bring this matter to a conclusion, and that we shall very shortly have the pleasure of the Governor's presence with us"

Copy of a Letter from Mr Ellis to Mr Vansittart, October 24, 1760

"I had the honor to address you last night, and this evening was favored with yours, of the 21st instant, inclosing a letter to the Committee I most heartily congratulate you on the success of your negotiations, but must, at the same time, lament the necessity you have been under of deposing the old Nabob Directions are given, to prepare the two houses, you mentioned, for his reception; and in case he should arrive before they are put in proper order, Mr Sumner will accommodate him for a day or two at Chitpore."

Extract of a Letter from Mr Ellis to Mr Vansittart. October 25, 1760

"It is with much pleasure I hear of the tranquility that reigns in the city, such a revolution, with so little disturbance, scarce ever happened; and, I dare say, Sir, there will be nothing wanting, on your part, to place this tranquility on a lasting and solid foundation"*

I arrived in Calcutta the 7th of November, and the next day reported my proceedings in general, and the advantages obtained for the Company, to the whole council, whereupon Messieurs Verelst and Smyth, two of the gentle-

* The reader will here take notice, that Mr Ellis was the principal person who afterwards engaged in the opposition against me, and in every measure for over-setting the establishment, of which he has here expressed in such strong terms his approbation

men of the council, who were were not members of the Select Committee, entered the following objection.

Copy of Mr. Verelst's Minute of the 8th of November, to which Mr Smyth assented.

“Mr. Verelst begs leave to observe, that the board has till now been kept entirely ignorant of the proceedings of the Select Committee, relating to the present revolution, and their motives for it, he cannot, therefore, pretend to judge how far such a step was necessary, but thinks, that in an affair of such immediate consequence to the Company's estate in these parts, the most mature consideration of the whole board should have been first had, that a treaty, executed in the most solemn manner, subsisted between Meer Jaffier and us, the most faithful adherence to which, as well as all other our engagements, has preserved that influence and power we have maintained, ever since the recapture of Calcutta, a steadiness to which treaty made Britons admired, nay even courted, by every prince throughout these provinces, and has ever been fatal to the prince apparent of the empire, and many other disturbers, who have hitherto weakly endeavored to engage us, to break through those solemnities we were sworn to As this sudden change must alarm every one, to find us so unexpectedly breaking through all our engagements, which were so publick, reputable, and to the honor of the nation, he cannot be blamed, as a member of the board, for expressing his dissatisfaction at being made a cypher of, in so critical a concern”

Regarding these objections, as chiefly proceeding from the offence which those gentlemen had conceived, at not being consulted upon the measures taken by the Select Committee, I only made the following Reply

Copy of Mr. Vansittart's Reply to the foregoing Minute

“The President begs leave to remark upon the foregoing minute That though Mr. Verelst and Mr Smyth might without the least presumption think, that they, and the rest

of the gentlemen of the council, ought to have been consulted upon an affair of so much importance, before it was carried into execution; yet their venturing to condemn or approve, before they know the nature of the engagements entered into, the reasons why, or the manner in which the whole was conducted, seems rather premature, especially, as they will have an opportunity of so soon making themselves competent judges, the whole being now ordered to be laid before the board, as mentioned in the former part of their minute

The reason why the whole council was not before informed was, that it was an affair that absolutely required secrecy, and it is expressly for the conduct of such affairs, that the Court of Directors has thought proper to appoint a Select Committee. To the secrecy which was observed, may in great measure be attributed the speedy and easy success which attended the execution, and the preventing all disturbance and loss of blood”

As the measures which produced this revolution in the government of Bengal, were not intended merely for obtaining advantages for the Company, but were as necessary for remedying the disorders in the government itself, and saving the provinces from the ruin with which they were threatened, in consequence of those disorders, I thought it necessary to form a memorial, to shew these transactions to the world in that light, abstracted from the benefits accruing to the Company; which memorial I laid before the council the 10th of November; the following is a copy

Copy of a Memorial on the Subject of the Revolution in the Bengal Government in the Year 1760

“The Nabob Jaffier Allee Cawn was of a temper extremely tyrannical and avaritious, and at the same time very indolent; and the people about him being either abject slaves and flatterers, or else the base instruments of his vices, there was no chance of having the affairs of the government properly conducted, but by their removal. He attributed all the

ill success of his affairs to imaginary plots and contrivances, and sacrificed lives without mercy, to the excess of his jealousy. Numberless are the instances of men of all degrees, whose blood he has spilt without the least assigned reason. To learn the names and circumstances of all these sufferers would be a work of time, but some of the most striking examples are these following :

Coja Haddee, the first Buxy, first banished for a pretended conspiracy against the Nabob's life, and afterwards cut off at Shahbad, in his march out of the province

Meer Cazim, the second Buxy, invited by the Chuta Nobob to his house ; and after having received from him unusual marks of affection, assassinated at the gates of the palace .

Abdul-ohab Cawn, murdered at the Rumna, in the month of March, 1760, by some of the Hircarras, belonging to Checon, who way-laid him for that purpose by the Nabob's orders.

Yar Mahmud, formerly in great favor with the Nabob Serajah Dowla, and since Droga of the Emarut, slain in the presence of the Chuta Nabob, in the month of April, 1760.

Gasseeta Begum, widow of the Nabob* Shahamut Jung
Emna Begum, mother to the Nabob Serajah Dowla

Murada Dowla, the son of Padsha Couly Cawn, adopted by Shahamut Jung.

Lutfin Nissa Begum, widow of the Nabob Serajah Dowla.
Her infant daughter by Serajah Dowla.

The five unhappy sufferers, mentioned last, perished all in one night, at Dacca, about the month of June, 1760, where they had been detained prisoners since the accession of Jaffier Allee Cawn to the government. A perwannah was sent to Jessarut Cawn, the Naib of Dacca, to put to death all the survivors of the family of the Nabobs Alliverdee Cawn,

* Nephew of Alliverdee Cawn.

Shahamut Jung, and Serajah Dowla, but, upon his declining to obey so cruel an order, the messenger, who had private instructions to execute this tragedy, in case of the other's refusal, took them from the place of their confinement, carried them out at midnight upon the river, and massacred and drowned them, with about seventy women of inferior note, and attendants, what became of Alliverdee Cawn's widow is uncertain, it being reported by many, that she escaped the fate of the rest of her family. Executions, of this kind, had made the Nabob the dread or detestation of all good men; and he necessarily became a prey to people of mean extraction and abject dispositions, who knowing, that a government so managed could not stand long, sought only to make themselves rich by oppressions, of all sorts, upon the country and inhabitants. To the taxes laid by them on the markets, is ascribed the present unusual scarcity and dearness of the provisions at Moorshedabad, the capital of a country, once esteemed the most plentiful in the world. The persons who have had the chief share in this management, are Keenooiam, Monelol, and Checon, all of low birth; and the two first, the menial servants of Jaffier Allee Cawn, before he came to the Subahship. These managed so, as to engage him continually in idle or vicious amusements, keeping him by that means in utter ignorance of his affairs, and in a state of indifference as to their success, no money came into his treasury, at the same time, nothing was paid to his army, insomuch that his troops mutinied, and surrounded his palace in a tumultuous manner, threatening to take away his life, which they would certainly have done, had not his son-in-law, the present Nabob Cossim Allee Cawn, become answerable, and paid them a very large sum out of this own treasury. This happened last June, and if the imminent danger, with which his person was threatened on this occasion, awakened him for a moment, no sooner was it removed again to a distance, than he fell back into the lethargy which had so long possessed him. The same unworthy ministers remained still his only counsellors, and continued in the management of his affairs to the last day of his administration, which he left in so confused and impoverished a state, that, in all human

appearance, another month could hardly have run through, before he would have been cut off by his own seepoys, and the city have become a scene of plunder and disorder, the Nabob having made no further provision for the payment of the arrears due to his people, after Cossim Allee Cawn had freed him from his former extremity. This danger he could not but foresee, and more than once declared his apprehensions of it, yet had not the power to exert the necessary means of preventing it, but sunk the deeper into dejection. Besides this intestine danger, to which the government was exposed, two armies were in the field, and waiting only the fair weather to advance, the Shahzada towards Patna, and the Beerboom Rajah towards Moorshedabad, the capital. The Rajahs of Bissenpooi, Ramgur, and the other countries, bordering upon the mountains, were ready to shake off their dependance, and had offered considerable supplies to the Beerboom Rajah. The Rajah of Curruckpoor had committed open hostilities, and taken possession of all the country about Bauglepoor, which entirely stopped the communication between the two provinces on that side of the river. In a word, the whole country seemed quite ripe for an universal revolt, those parts only excepted, whose natural weakness or neighborhood with the city, intimidated them from taking up arms. To encounter all these difficulties, there was nothing but troops without pay, from whom therefore no great efforts could be expected. Of this, a very recent instance occurs in the detachment which was ordered against the Beerboom Rajah, three months before the Nabob's abdication, but never advanced more than three coss from the city, in which situation they continued upon my arrival there. All who are now in Bengal, and acquainted with the transaction of the government, will bear witness, that this is a true description of facts; and all who are convinced of the facts, will certainly agree, that affairs were at an extremity no longer to be neglected, without manifest danger of having the province over-run, and the trade entirely ruined. I was resolved therefore to use my utmost endeavors to get those bad ministers removed, and judging it might be difficult to prevail with the Nabob to part with his favorites, without some degree of violence, I brought with

me a detachment of Europeans and seepoys, under pretence of sending them with Colonel Caillaud, to reinforce the army at Patna *

Cossim Allee Cawn supplied the Nabob with boats, and permitted him to take away as many of his women as he desired (which he did to the number of about sixty) with a reasonable quantity of jewels. In the morning of the 22nd of October he set out for Calcutta, and arrived there the 29th. He was met by a deputation from the council, and treated with every mark of respect due to his former dignity”

SECTION V

The Rise of the Party formed against Mr Vansittart, with their Protests and Objections against the Revolution

First Occasion of the Discontent of Mes Amyatt, Ellis, and Carnac.—Mes. Amyatt, Ellis, and Smyth, their Minute in Council the 8th of January, 1761—Reply of the Select Committee—Mr Ellis's further Minute.

I hoped, the care I had taken to explain the motives of the Select Committee's Resolutions, and the advantages resulting to the Company, would have induced the rest of the Council to approve of them ; but I had some unhappy tempers to deal with ; and there were mischievous people in the settlement, who were busy in improving every circumstance to inflame disputes ; particularly, one of the surgeons, who happened to have a great influence over Mr Amyatt, and who was offended at my not consulting him upon the affairs of government some accidents concurred to favour this malevolent disposition.

* The Memorial proceeds to give an account of the Revolution, as has been already related, in the letters from Mr Vansittart and Colonel Caillaud at Muradbaug

My coming to Bengal in so advanced a station, gave occasion for complaint, to all the senior servants of that settlement, and particularly to Mr. Amyatt, who was the next to the chair. Mr Ellis upon his arrival applied for the chiefship of Patna, to which Mr M'Gwire had been appointed two months before*, and had settled his affairs accordingly. As I thought Mr Ellis's application unreasonable, I have my opinion against it; by which he thought himself injured, and major Carnac was violently offended at my expressing a desire that Colonel Caillaud, who had been present at all the debates of the Select committee, and had been particularly charged with the execution of their resolutions, should remain in the command at Patna till their views were fulfilled, either by a negotiation with the Shahzada, or a decisive action.

The first declaration of Mr Amyatt's disapprobation of the proceedings of the Select Committee, and of a change in Mr Ellis's sentiments, appears in a minute which they entered upon the consultations on the 8th of January 1761, as follows.

Copy of Mr Amyatt's Minute, to which Messieurs Ellis and Smyth assented

"Mr Amyatt takes this opportunity to observe, that he is of opinion, the reasons given for deposing Jaffir Allee Cawn (for he can look upon it in no other light) are far from being sufficient to convict him of breach of faith, consequently, in the eyes of the world, the whole odium of such proceedings must retort upon ourselves. The cruelties of which he is accused must to a civilized government appear shocking, but in despotick ones, there are none entirely free from instances of this kind, as their own fears and jealousies are ever prompting them to such unwarrantable actions; and it is well known, that the present Nabob has already fallen into the same severities, as likewise that he has shewn marks of favor to those ministers, who, we are told, saw with an evil eye the influence of the Company, and readily snatched at every opportunity to reduce it. Meer Jaffier being confirmed by the Court of Delly in the Subahship was a very valuable consideration, which ought not

* Upon Mr Amyatt's coming to Calcutta

to have been overlooked, because, whenever that distracted state is restored to peace and tranquility, he being legally in possession of the government, would of course be confirmed by the reigning kind without hesitation, whereas the obtaining so great a favour for Cossim Allee Cawn, must be attended with both difficulty and expence. The treaty subsisting between us and Cossim Allee Cawn plainly shews, that his sole aim at the time of entering into it was the Subahdarree of Bengal. Otherwise, how ridiculous was it for him to make a promise, of ceding certain countries to the Company, which his post of Dewan could never have given him the power of executing. The great advantages expected to accrue from those countries, it is feared, will prove entirely imaginary, as it is now near three months since this revolution was effected, and yet so far from any appearance of extricating ourselves from our difficulties, as expected, we are involved in fresh troubles every day, which will not appear strange, when we cast our eyes upon the person we have raised to the musnud, whose character was never in any light conspicuous till lately, and whose treacherous behaviour to his father-in-law, leaves us very little hopes of his attachment to our interest, nor indeed can it be expected, that he will place any confidence in us, who have assisted to dethrone a man, we were bound to support by the most solemn ties, divine and human. Such a breach of faith must necessarily occasion the loss of our influence in this country, and bereave us of the superiority, which our steady adherence to our promise ever gave us over those people. For the above reasons Mr Amyatt dissents to the whole transaction, and further declares, that he never was consulted nor advised with concerning it, nor did he know that it ever was intended, till publick report had informed him of it's execution."

It was so well known, that Mr Fullerton was the chief author of the foregoing minute, that myself, and the other gentlemen of the Select Committee, could not help taking notice of it in our answer of the 12th, which was as follows

"The Governor, Colonel Caillaud, and the other gentlemen of the council, who did, and still continue to approve of the late transactions with the country government, beg leave to offer

a few observation upon Mr Amyatt's minute of last consultation, the tenor of which might deceive the world if not examined, but when examined, will be found to have but little foundation

If the Select Committee, debating upon the dangerous state of the affairs of the province, in August and September last, had been desirous of breaking with the then Nabob Jaffier Allee Cawn, there were reasons enough to justify, nay to urge such a resolution. The letter which the former Governor, Mr Holwell, laid before the Select Committee, the 4th of August, for the information of Mr Vansittart, then just arrived, contain more than sufficient proofs of that Nabob's breach of his engagements to the Company. Many instances are mentioned, of his jealousy of the English power, and of his refusal of every favor that was asked him, which might tend to encrease it. We have in our hands, an authentic proof of one most essential instance of his ill faith therein-mentioned. It is said in the treaty, that our enemies shall be his enemies, but it is beyond doubt, that he urged the Dutch to send for forces to oppose ours. We have an original letter of the Directore to the Nabob, which plainly implies, that it was with his consent those troops were sent for, and the tenor of the general advices transmitted to Europe last season, sufficiently shews this was Colonel Clive's opinion, though he mentioned it with all possible tenderness. Nor if we had desired to remove Jaffier Allee Cawn from the government, need we have done more than withdraw our protection. His government would soon have been put an end to, and probably his life also, which was more than once in extreme danger from his own people.

But mindful of the connections that had been between him and the Company, we had the most tender regard both for his person and government, neither of which could have subsisted, without other supports than those he had about him. After the unfortunate death of his son, his son-in-law, Cossim Allee Cawn, was the proper person to succeed to the government; and being his nearest relation, it was thought his council and assistance would be the least obnoxious. But if, on the other hand he should have determined to admit of no one near him, and continually refuse every application for the advantage of the Com-

pany, and even common justice in the performance of past agreements, would it have been expedient to sacrifice the interest of the Company, and the prospect of relieving the province from its distressed state, to the invincible jealousy of one man ? And might we not, with more reason, place our past services in the scale, against the benefits received from him, and pursue, with steadiness, the plan determined on, as most for the welfare of the country in general, and of the Company in particular ?

That Cossim Allee Cawn had views of the Subahdarree for himself, when he entered into the treaty with us, is beyond all doubt, but they were views in reversion, not immediate. In the mean time he engaged, that through the influence we were to give him over the old Nabob, he would obtain for the Company the grants therein mentioned.

But it is insinuated, in Mr Amyatt's minute, that our affairs are in a worse condition now, than before the change of the government. That the addition of Burdwan, Midnapoor, and Chittagong, to the Company's possessions without the loss of a man, is a hurt to the Company, seems to us a paradox. It is said, that it is near three months since the revolution was effected, and yet there is no appearance of extricating ourselves from the difficulties ; and that the great advantages expected to accrue from those countries will prove, it is feared, merely imaginary. It is only twenty days since the Burdwan Vackeel came here, and settled the payment. This day is the first payment due ; and although the Rajah's faith is not to be depended upon, yet it is probable he will pay the money, according to the agreement, to make his peace ; if not, the country is worth that, and more money, and lies so convenient, that it can always be disposed of as we see best.

As to Midnapoor, it is not a month since captain White took possession, and he had no orders to collect money. Mr Johnstone is appointed for that purpose, but set out so lately, that his arrival is not yet heard of.

And for Chittagong, Mr Verelst, and the other gentlemen appointed, set out only twenty days ago. We must give them time to arrive, before we can expect to collect money.

Surely here is a fair prospect of advantages accruing to the Company, and of present benefits, instances shall also be mentioned

“The payment of the arrears due to the English troops at Patna; and of what we advanced to the Nabob’s troops

“An assistance to the Company of five lacks, which Mr. Batson, at Cossimbuzar, is now receiving

“Leave granted for coining Moorshedabad siccās in our mint, which was before confined to Calcutta siccās.

“Who would there have been to oppose the march of the Beerboom Rajah, to the capital of Moorshedabad? For the old Nabob had neither the means of making his own troops take the field, nor would he trust the English

“Where would the Nabob’s troops, at Patna, have got a supply of seven or eight lacks of rupees, as the present Nabob has paid them since his coming to the government?”

We believe no one will pretend to say, the old Nabob would or could have made such efforts, or would have granted such favors to the Company

As to the Mogul’s Firmaun, there was a time when the orders of Delly had some weight at Bengal, but that time is no more. It is hard to say who is King at Delly, or who will be, but it ever it comes to be settled, there is little doubt of Cossim Allee Cawn’s getting a Firmaun, with as much ease, as one was procured for the old Nabob, who never paid the King his share of the revenues

It is asserted, that the ministers complained of, under the old Nabob, have received marks of favor from the present Nabob, two of them have received the compliment of a kellaat, or a dress upon the adjustment of their accounts, but they are in no employ or trust; if they were, it would not be in their power to do now the same injuries to the Company and country, as they did in the old Nabob’s time, because the present Nabob would not be so easily led to give ear to their evil councils as his predecessor

It is asserted also, that the present Nabob has been guilty of some assassinations. This the Governor believes is a false report. He declares, that he had not before heard of any such proceeding, although he has pretty good intelligence of what passes, and that he has enquired particularly, since he saw it so positively asserted, and has great reason to think it is an unjust accusation, if it should prove true, we should not so easily excuse a crime so shocking, nor think of it so lightly, as it is represented in Mr Amyatt's minute*

That Mr Smyth should subscribe to this opinion is not to be wondered at, because he subscribed to one of the like nature of Mr Verelst's in consultation of the 8th of November, without having read any of the proceedings, but that Mr Ellis should subscribe to it, after signifying his approbation of the measures, in many letters that have been wrote on the subject, and particularly in one from the Select Committee to the Governor and Colonel Caillaud, dated the 24th of November, is somewhat surprising, and gives fresh reason to apprehend, what has been long suspected, that other persons, not in the Company's service, nor having any regard for the Company, are consulted upon affairs which do not belong to them, by which unfortunately they gain an ascendancy over the minds of better men than themselves, and this authority they exert to the utmost, to the purpose of making divisions in the settlement, and more particularly in the council. It is only such pens as those, that can reflect upon the late measures, as a breach of "all ties, human and divine;" a reproach which nothing can merit, but a premeditated intention to do some great ill.

It were to be wished, in dissents of this nature, that the reasons for the measures formed were considered in their full extent, the situation of the Company at home, and the situation of their affairs in general, well weighed. All these, in as

* It afterwards appeared, that there was no foundation for Mr Amyatt's assertion. The pretended sufferers were a son of Sirfraz Cawn (Nabob of Bengal above twenty years ago) and the widow of Alliverdee Cawn (the next Nabob after Sirfraz Cawn). Upon enquiry, I found that these two persons, instead of having suffered any violence, were obliged to the Nabob's benevolence for a handsome maintenance.

full a manner as possible, were laid before the board, and our necessities and wants so plainly appeared, that all the members present were satisfied and convinced, that unless some other measures were pursued, we could not keep up the cause any longer. It was plain, that what was proposed to be done was rather the effect of necessity than choice, and what followed was certainly unexpected. It was therefore impossible that Mr Amyatt could be made acquainted with a design that never existed. Those, to whose consideration it fell, were unanimous in their opinion, and they flatter themselves, that all who will take into their view the then state of affairs, the nature of the resolutions taken, and all the circumstances attending this transaction, and will judge thereupon with candor, not suffering themselves to be byassed by the prejudices of others, will do us more justice, and be far from calling in question our sense of the faith of treaties, or our regard for the nation's honor and our own."

As I have taken notice of Mr Ellis's change in his opinion of the transactions with the country government, it is proper to insert his reply on the subject

Copy of Mr Ellis's Minute of the 16th of January, 1961

"Mr Ellis thinks it incumbent on him to reply to that part of the Governor's &c minute entered in last monday's consultation, where such surprize is expressed at his dissent, after signifying his approbation of the late measures in many letters that have been wrote on the subject. Mr Ellis has carefully perused, and yet cannot find, that his approbation is signified, not even that, particularly quoted, of the 24th of November, unless a complimentary congratulation can in any ways be construed as an approbation of the design, a light in which, he flatters himself, no impartial judge can look upon it. His sentiments with regard to the revolution have never altered, nor have they ever been kept a secret; but he conceives there was no absolute necessity, they should appear upon the face of the consultations till now, when it became so for his own justification to his employers

The reflection of his being influenced in his opinion by others, though not of so good a turn of mind as himself, is

a compliment to his morals, at the expence of his capacity, which being merely personal, and quite foreign to the subject in hand, might as well have been spared and in answer thereto, he only wishes, for the good of the settlement, others in power were as little influenced in the management of publick affairs, by the opinion of those about them, as he himself ”

SECTION VI

Dangerous Disputes with the Nabob at Patna, during the Command of Major Carnac and Colonel Coote, and the Removal of these Gentlemen from that Station.

First Effects of Meer Cossim's Administration.—He takes the Field—Select Committee's Orders to Major Carnac—Major Carnac's Answer.—Further Orders of the Select Committee to Major Carnac—Meer Cossim marches to Patna—Major Carnac's Letter to the Select Committee, containing an Account of his Interview with Meer Cossim—Meer Cossim's Letter to Mr Vansittart, on the same Subject—Orders thereupon from the Select Committee to Major Carnac—Colonel Coote arrives in Bengal, and takes the Command of the Army at Patna.—The Orders given him by the Select Committee—Letter from Major Carnac to the Select Committee—Colonel Coote joins with Major Carnac in opposing the Nabob.—Ramnaram protected by them, refuses to settle the Accounts of his Government—Several Letters from the Nabob, giving an Account of the Consequences of these Disputes.—Orders thereupon from the Select Committee to Colonel Coote—Two Letters from the Nabob, containing Complaints against Colonel Coote, and particularly of a Sally made by the Colonel into his Camp.—Two Letters from Mr. M'Gwire, on the same Subjects.—Mr Vansittart lays before the Council an Account of these Disturbances.—Their Orders in Consequence, recalling Colonel Coote and Major Carnac to Calcutta.—Two Letters from Colonel Coote, containing an Account of his Proceedings.

The good effects of the Nabob's attention to the economy of his government soon appeared, for besides the seven lacks, which (as I have already mentioned) he dispatched to Patna with Colonel Caillaud, he paid his troops, at Moorshedabad, so large a share of the arrears due to them, that they were well satisfied, and ready to take the field, and upon Colonel Caillaud's further representation of the wants of the forces at Patna, he sent Nobit Roy, one of his principal officers there, with three lacks of rupees, and powers to examine and settle the accounts, and grant proper assignments for the balance. He also gave orders for six or seven lacks to be paid, in the months of December, January, and February, to Mr Batson, at Cossimbuzar, towards the discharge of his engagements with the Company, which orders were punctually complied with. These helps given by the Nabob, enabled us to spare two lacks and a half out of our treasury, which were dispatched to Madras, in the month of November, and arrived there very opportunely for the service of the army before Pondichery.

The Nabob took the field himself the beginning of December, and encamped between Moorshedabad and Beerboom, till major Carnac's success against the Shahzada, and captain White's against the Rajah of Beerboom, had in a great measure cleared the country, and then having spent a few days at Beerboom, for the regulation of that province, proceeded to Patna. At his request, major York was ordered to attend him; and the Select Committee sent the following instructions to major Carnac, relative to the assistance he was to give him.

Extract of a Letter from the Select Committee to Major Carnac Dated Calcutta, February 9, 1761

"We observe, that when Colonel Caillaud began his march to Patna, the beginning of last year, he had particular instructions from Colonel Clive, and the rest of the Committee, to protect Ramnaram, in case of the Nabob's making any attempt against his person or honor. We believe such an injunction at this time unnecessary, as the present Nabob seems to be

well inclined towards Ramnarain, but should it prove otherwise, it is our resolution to have the same regard to the former engagements, in his favor, as was then designed, and therefore direct you, in case of necessity, to protect Ramnarain against all violence and injustice that may be offered to his person, honor, or fortune

As to Rajebullub, he can have no reasonable objection to a fair examination of his accounts by the Nabob, or such person as he shall appoint, that a just statement being made of all monies he has received, for defraying the charges of the troops under his command, together with a due enquiry of what number of troops have really been kept up, and how much every one has been paid, the balance that is found due may then be discharged, and Rajebullub be employed again or not, as the Nabob thinks proper. This the Nabob declares is all he asks, and in this (as it is just and reasonable) you will yield him all the necessary assistance”

Extract of a Letter from Major Carnac to the Select Committee, in Answer to the foregoing February 24, 1761

“You may depend upon my giving the Nabob all the assistance in my power, to settle every thing in the province in the best manner, I will also very readily lend my assistance in the adjusting the payment of that part of the troops under Rajebullub, as far as he means to act fairly by them, but should he expect any support from me in acts of injustice, he will be much mistaken. The English forces, while I have the honor of commanding them, shall never be employed as instruments of violence and oppression

Your directions, in regard to Ramnarain, shall be religiously observed. I could not have received any order from you, with more pleasure than this, of protecting a person for whom I know Colonel Clive had a particular regard, and who himself deserves much at the hands of the English, on account of the attachment he has all along shewn them, however ill he might be disposed to the Nabob”

The reader will see, by the stile of this letter, how ready major Carnac was to shew the prejudices which he had en-

tertained against the Nabob, and his eagerness to enter into disputes with the board, since he could write in so unbecoming and arrogant a strain, in answer to their orders, which were delivered him in the most decent terms, and were confessedly the most agreeable to his own way of thinking. This observation is made once for all, as the same vanity and intemperance will appear in all his writing.

Extract of a Letter from the Select Committee (Messrs Vansittart, Amyatt, Ellis, and Sumner) to Major Carnac March 7, 1761, in Reply to the Above

“We imagine the Nabob has before this time reached Patna. By his conduct hitherto, we see no reason to apprehend his engaging in any acts of violence or injustice, nor, if he should, is it our desire you should support him in them; our directions for your conduct with respect to him are only these, that you give him the assistance he may apply for, to reduce to obedience such Zemindars, as have been disaffected to the government of Moorshedabad, and to enable him to establish security, in the several countries of the Bahar province, and collect the revenues due therefrom; and in regard to Rajebullub, and all others, who have had the management of the public monies, or the payment of the troops, or otherwise have accounts to settle with the government. As their disposition to make use of the protection of the English, to screen them from a just and usual examination is well known, you will be careful not to give them countenance or encouragement, so far as to put it in their power to make an ill use of your name and authority, but, on the contrary, if any shall obstinately and unreasonably persist in refusing to settle accounts with the government, you are to give the Nabob the assistance he may require for compelling them to it.”

The Nabob arrived at Patna the beginning of March, and his first interview with Major Carnac was at Bykuntpoor. The slights which the Major put upon the Nabob at this interview, may be regarded as a proof, that he had conceived some prejudice against him before his arrival; and that the wished for harmony was not to be expected between them.

The following extracts of the Nabob's and the Major's letters will shew, what account each party gave of the conversation that passed at the first meeting

Extract of a Letter from Major Cranac to the Select Committee Patna, March 6, 1761

"The Nabob continues encamped at Bykuntpoor, about six or seven coss off, where I have waited upon him, whatever good qualities he may have, courage is not one of them, he betrays a most shameful fear of the Shahzada, though the unhappy prince is reduced so low, as to be much more an object of pity than of fear. Not thinking himself sufficiently secure with the large force he brought up with him, he sent for, without acquainting me, both Ramnaram and Rajebullub, with their forces, whom I had directed to remain in Camgar Cawn's country, with a detachment from our army, under the Command of captain Champion. I no sooner heard of this, but I recalled captain Champion likewise, which has given the Nabob great offence, so great, that he asked me in the publick Durbar, whether I would comply with the contents of the letter he brought me from the President. I answered him I would, as far as I was well persuaded Mr Vansittart expected from me, who did not mean that I was to pay him an implicit obedience. I further told him, that the direction of the English forces was left with me, and that it was not reasonable any part of them should remain in a country with which they were wholly unacquainted, after he had withdrawn his own people. I have however, at his request, ordered captain Champion's detachment to halt awhile at Bahar, but shall call them in entirely, unless he sends out a body of his own troops to act in conjunction with them; the neglect whereof will infallibly bring Camgar Cawn out of his hills again.

The Nabob next asked me, whether I looked upon him as Subahdar of the provinces, and was willing to assist him as such? In answer to which I plainly told him, I would give him all the assistance I could, consistent with honor and justice; that further I would not do for him or any man. The very question gives me room to suspect he has some unreasonable demands to make of me; should this be the

case, he will undergo the mortification of a denial I parted from the Nabob yesterday evening We were both, you will judge, pretty much dissatisfied with each other, he with me, for speaking my mind so freely to him, a thing very unprecedented in this country, and I with him, for the delays and obstructions he is likely to cause to our military operations”

*Extract of a Letter from the Nabob to Mr Vansittart
Received March 13, 1761.*

“On the 26th of Rejub I arrived at Bykuntpor, where I had the pleasure of meeting major Carnac, Mharajah Ramnaram, and Mharajah Rajebullub Among other things, the Major told me, that he had sent for the troops which were at Gaunty, in the Zemindarree of Camgar Cawn I replied, that to chastise Camgar Cawn was no difficult matter; but that it was not proper to recall the troops belonging to the Company and myself, in so much haste, from the place where they were stationed Thus he did not consent to, but replied, that he would certainly send for his English troops I delivered your letter to him, when he perused it, he said, that Mr. Vansittart is two hundred coss from hence, and that he would do whatever he thought adviseable I was persuaded that he would have acted according to your directions, and did not imagine, that he would have given me such an answer.”

The Select Committee hoping, by a further explanation of their intentions, to prevent any more disputes, wrote major Carnac as follows

Copy of a Letter from the Select Committee (Mesieurs Vansittart, Amyatt, Ellis and Sumner) to Major Carnac.

“We have received your favor of the 6th, such part thereof as relates to the Shahzada, we shall fully reply to in an address to yourself and Mr M’Guire We are extremely concerned, to see the disagreeable circumstances that passed at your first interview with the Nabob, especially, as such a want of confidence shewn in a publick Durbar, cannot fail

to hurt both parties in the eyes of the world We hope a longer acquaintance will create a greater harmony, which we must earnestly recommend both to you and the Nabob, as the publick service must suffer if any differences subsist, for those are never wanting, who will seek to make their advantage by it

It is certainly right, and conformable to our inclinations, that the disposition of the army, and the determination on all military matters, should rest with our commanding officer. The Nabob's sending for Ramnarain and Rajebullub with their forces, without first consulting you, was a very imprudent step, and much to be blamed, and perhaps may have been attended with bad consequences to his own affairs, as it seems to have been in the power of Camgar Cawn to have returned to his own country. We cannot suppose the Nabob had any such view, because it is evidently his own loss; but whatever his reasons might be, he ought certainly to have acquainted you with them And we doubt not but he will be sensible, from your representations, how much his own interest depends on following your advice in all military matters On the other hand, it is our intention, that you comply with his request, in every thing respecting the regulation of the country, and the collection of the revenues. Any detachment he may ask for, such services you are to grant; unless you have reason to judge, that the safety of our troops will be at too great a risk We think this distinction sufficiently clear, and flatter ourselves that no disputes can hereafter arise."

Soon after this, Colonel Coote arrived in Bengal, and was appointed to take the command of the army at Patna He accordingly set out the 22nd of April, and the following instructions were given him by the Select Committee

Extract of the Instructions from the Select Committee (Mes. Vansittart, Coote, Amyatt, and Ellis) to Colonel Coote. April 21, 1761

"We are advised by major Carnac, that there is a difference between the Nabob and Ramnarain, relative to the accounts

of the Patna province We hope this may be amicably and reasonably adjusted, and request you will give your assistance towards it as much as possible As Ramnarain has been remarkably steady in his alliance with the Company, and received from Colonel Clive particular assurances of his protection with respect to his person, fortune, and government, we recommend to you to secure him against all attempts of oppression or injustice, and further, that the government of Patna be preserved for him, if it is his inclination to continue in it It is needless for us to add, that it will be far more agreeable to all parties, if that can be done by representing to the Nabob the obligations we are under to Ramnarain, and preventing by that means the necessity of any forcible measures ”

Extract of a Letter from the Select Committee (Mes. Vansittart, Amyatt, and Ellis) to Colonel Coote. April 28, 1761

“The Nabob has made various representations to us of the difficulties he meets with, in settling his accounts with Ramnarain As, on the one hand, we are inclined to support Ramnarain in the government of Patna, with all its just advantages, so, on the other hand, we would protect the Nabob in the respect and authority due to him, and afford him every assistance for the collection of his revenues, without which it is impossible he can pay the arrears of his troops, or support the other charges of his government The nature of the differences between them seems to be such, as can only be adjusted by arbitration, and for this determination, we can pitch upon no other person so well qualified as yourself We therefore request you will make this business one of the first articles of your attention; and when you are yourself acquainted with the merits of the cause, you will transmit them to us, with your sentiments thereon.”

Extract of a Letter from the Select Committee (Mes. Vansittart, Amyatt and Ellis) to Colonel, Coote, and Mr. M^rGwire May 8, 1761

“We desire you, gentlemen, will use your utmost endeavors to adjust the accounts between the Nabob and Ram-

nam, in such a manner, as shall appear to you most equitable, and so, that the revenues may be duly collected, and the balances not be lost to the sircar, and the public service ”

Upon the news of Colonel Coote’s arrival, Major Carnac determined to quit Patna, and wrote to the Select Committee in the following terms

Extract of a Letter from Major Carnac to the Select Committee May 8, 1761

“As Colonel Coote is coming to the army, who is so very able to take charge, both of your military and political concerns, there will be no further occasion for my services, and as I have great reason to believe I shall return to Europe the next season, unless something unforeseen should happen, I am to request the favor of your permission to apply to Colonel Coote, for leave to go to Calcutta on his arrival I should not make this request so early, but that I am desirous to be there in time, that in case I go home (which is highly probable) I may be able to get myself ready to take the opportunity of the first conveyance ”

But upon the Colonel’s arrival at Patna, this resolution was presently altered, and they seem to have determined to stay there together, on purpose to counteract, the more effectually, the Nabob in every step he was taking for regulating that distracted province The Colonel, before he left the coast, had declared himself to be one of the opposition against the measures taken, since my coming to Bengal, and this I will know; but as I was conscious of the necessity of those measures, and the country already felt the good effects of them, I did not apprehend, that any men would be so violent, as to risk the public tranquility to satisfy their prejudices, especially as all the orders of the Select Committee, to the commanding officers at Patna, tended to give the Nabob a due authority over his own people, and to assist his interests in all that he could reasonably ask However, it soon appeared how little effect these orders could have, when opposed against the resolutions of a violent party. Hardly

a day past, but Colonel Coote, and major Carnac, found some opportunity of distressing the Nabob, and throwing difficulties in his way. The Shahzada, who after his defeat had put himself under our protection, and had been acknowledged King by us and the Nabob, was yet at Patna, and the Nabob was desirous of obtaining his grants for the Subahdarree of the provinces, but Colonel Coote opposed the application, and he was obliged to wait, and procure them at a great increase of expence, after the King had left the province. Ramnarain, the Naib (or deputy Governor) of the Patna province, had three years accounts of his administration to settle, to avoid which, he made use of every shift and artifice that could be invented, and so effectually screened himself under the protection of the Colonel and Major, that for four months together not a single explanation could be had from him. He was well acquainted with their ill disposition towards the Nabob, and flattered himself, that he might inflame it so far, as to cause an open breach between them, and so raise himself upon the Nabob's ruin. Whether Colonel Coote was led by Ramnarain's intrigues, or impelled by his own prejudices against the Nabob, I shall not attempt to determine, but nothing could be better calculated to produce the effects they both wished, than the step the Colonel took upon a report, absolutely incredible. It was pretended, that the Nabob, with the undisciplined rabble, which developed to him from his predecessor, had a design of attacking our army within the city of Patna, whereupon Colonel Coote made a sally to the Nabob's camp, with a large escort at such an hour, and in such a humor, that if he and the Nabob had met, in all probability, it would have caused an immediate scene of hostility, but the Nabob was in his sleeping tent, and did not appear.

I leave the world to judge of this, and all the transactions during the time that Colonel Coote and major Carnac were at Patna, from the following original papers.

*Extract of a Letter from the Nabob to Mr Vansittart,
Received April 12, 1761.*

"Through the instigations of the disaffected, the ties of friendship are broke between the major and me. He gives

me such orders, as it is not in my power to comply with, and will not listen to the answers I make him For several days it has been reported, that the Shah will march from hence, and the Major told me to-day, that he would accompany him to the Currumnassa, and desired, I would let Mharajah Ramnarain proceed with him, and that I would give the Shah two lacks of rupees more for his way charges; I replied, that Mharajah Ramnarain was the commander of this country, and that it was necessary he should stay to regulate the affairs

Extract of a Letter from the Nabob to Mr Vansittart.
Received April 28, 1761

“I before heard of the imprudence and evil intentions of Ramnarain, but since my arrival at Patna, I have seen nothing but his baseness and deceit, and therefore major Carnac is displeased with me, and has sent me such messages by Mr Lushington, as it is not in my power to comply with Till this time, I did not think it necessary to acquaint you with the whole affair, but the business is now going out of my hands, and through the wickedness of my enemies, my affairs will be ruined It is necessary for me to acquaint you with all the particulars, and to desire your advice.

From what the Major wrote me, I imagine he is displeased. Inclosed I send you two of his letters for your perusal I am much surprized, that tho’ you wrote to the gentlemen to be in friendship with me, and follow my advice, yet they act in such manner, that I have no power over my own Naib, and then what other business can I carry on? Now Colonel Coote is coming, and major Carnac is on good terms with him, doubtless you have properly represented to him, that according to the first agreement, whoever remains in this province, on the part of the Company, is to be my ally, and act agreeably to my desire Take care that what regulations I think proper to make in this province, may be consented to by the gentlemen, or else give me orders to deliver the affairs of the province into their hands”

Extract of a Letter from the Nabob to Mr. Vansittart.
Received April 30, 1761

"You acquaint me, that I must rest satisfied, and put an end to the business, and that I must not be under any apprehensions of others. Before my arrival here, I understood, that the affairs of the province were ruined, and that Ramnarain acted contrary to my interest, but since my arrival, I have been an eye-witness of it. Ramnarain, by his deceits, has brought the Major over to his interest, and it was through his representations, that the Major sent Mr Lushington so often to me, to desire I would give him leave to depart Ramnarain, well knowing that the Major accompanied the Shah, was desirous of going with him, because his paying the money due from him, and giving me an account of his conduct, would be delayed by that means."

Extract of a Letter from the Nabob to Mr Vansittart
Received June 15, 1761

"You have several times wrote me to procure a sunnud for the Subahdarree. In consequence of your letters, I drew up an address to his Majesty, when he had intentions of proceeding to Delly with his royal standard, and I wanted to present it, and get it signed by his Majesty, but Colonel Coote would not consent to it, and therefore I deferred it."

Extract of a Letter from the Nabob to Mr Vansittart
Received June 16, 1761

"The state of affairs here is as follows. You were pleased to intimate to me, that I should examine the accounts of Mharajah Ramnarain, in consequence of which, I appointed Mharajah Rajebullub to examine the said accounts in the presence of Colonel Coote, and sent word to Mharajah Ramnarain of the resolution taken by the council, he replied, that he would consider upon it, and give an answer, and for four or five days, Mharajah Rajebullub constantly attended the Colonel, in order to examine the papers. Yesterday Ramnarain made this answer to the Colonel, "I will not oppose the order of the council, and now, that you say, the Nabob is my master, I will attend upon and confer with him." Last night the Colonel came to my tent, and told me, that he had received no orders from the council for the dismissal of

Ramnarain; that I might make a scrutiny into his accounts, and if he was convicted of any misconduct, and the council's orders should authorize it, he should be dismissed, but without this, it could by no means be done and Mr Watts came to me with Rajebullub in the name of the Colonel, and proposed the confirmation of Camgar Cawn, with many other demands, and said several unbecoming things, which I think not fit to repeat, in short, I have no power in any one affair of the government The Colonel desired me to go into the *Kellah How can I go to the Kellah without any authority, and whilst my enemy is in full possession? When I talk of going to Moorshedabad, he replies, that Shuja Dowla is at hand, and adds, that I pay no regard to his words I answer, "In the name of God, in what instance have I been, or am I deficient? Do you take the provinces of Bengal and Bahar into your own hands, and make me accountable for all that I have received these seven months past" But nothing I say is complied with, I have no reliance on any one but you, and none else can conduct my affairs There is a just demand on Mharajah Ramnarain of large sums, on account of the last four years If I make an enquiry into his accounts, I shall receive a large supply of money, notwithstanding this, I remain here wearied out, and involved in vexations The army murmurs on account of the dearness of grain, and the subjects are reduced, by their disorders, to the most fatal extremities. This †wretch fits here fomenting dissensions, and giving my life and fortune a prey to my seepoys. For God's sake let not go my hand in the middle of the sea, but assist me as you have always done, and write, in the most pressing terms, to the Colonel, and send an order of the council, that he oppose not the removal of the Naib of this place, and leave the country now in my hands After this, I will finish all the accounts

Extract of a Letter from the Select Committee (Messieurs Vansittart, Amyatt, Ellis and Sumner) to Colonel Coote June 18, 1761

* The palace within the city

† Ramnarain

“We hope your advice has had some effect upon Ramnaram. It seems, however, by his delays in settling accounts upon the footing directed in our joint letter to yourself and Mr M’Gwire, dated the 17th of last month, that he is endeavoring, by evading the delivery of his accounts, to preserve his own authority of the Subahship, and prevent the Nabob from collecting any money. It is neither equitable nor expedient to suffer any more of the revenues to be lost, but while the old accounts are under examination, let the Nabob place his own people to collect all the growing rents, and to call the Zemindars to account for their balances, and let Ramnaram’s power be suspended until his accounts are settled, and a computation of the rents transmitted us, with the Nabob’s proposals, for our determination, as desired in our before-mentioned letter.

The speedy execution of this is the more necessary, as our only dependence for supplying the army with money is from the Nabob’s balance of about eight lacks, which we have desired him to pay to the chief and council at Patna; but which, in his letter to the President received last night, he says it is impossible for him to do, or indeed to pay his own troops, until his Aumildars are put in possession of the growing revenues, and he is fully supported in calling Ramnaram to an account for his administration, as well as collecting the balances due from the Zemindars. He adds in the same letter, “I have not now the power of collecting a single rupee.”

In another letter received at the same time, and of which inclosed is a copy, he speaks of an application made to him in behalf of Camgar Cawn, and other recommendations of the same nature: he complains of the unbecoming manner in which these applications have been made; and represents the bad effects such protections have upon his authority. As he leaves us in the uncontrouled possession of the countries made over to the Company, so neither ought we to interfere in his disposition of those remaining under his jurisdiction, nor indeed, is it consistent with the treaty subsisting between the Nabob and the Company, or the good government of the country. You will be pleased to let the Nabob settle all the

affairs of his dependence as he thinks fit, and only grant him, upon his application, such military assistance as he may require, and the state of our army permit."

Copy of a Letter from Nabob to Mr Vansittart Dated June 16, 1761

"Since the arrival of Col Coote, agreeably to your direction, esteeming his will worthy of my principal attention, and regarding our mutual friendship, I have never been deficient in acting agreeably thereto. After his arrival here, he spoke to me in the following manner concerning the King's affairs; "that as long as he should remain here, I should consent to allow him a lack of rupees monthly for his expences, and that when he should go to Delly, I should consent to dismiss him with twelve lacks of rupees and a few troops." These articles, for the Colonel's satisfaction, I was under a necessity of consenting to, and I went to his Majesty, and told him I would be answerable for these conditions, but he would not consent to it. Afterwards the Colonel directed me to pay, besides what I before gave him, fifty thousand rupees. Agreeable therefore to the Colonel's desire, I gave him the said sum by the means of Mharajah Ramnarain, besides what I paid before. His Majesty made no stay here, but determined to proceed to Delly, and is now on his march that way. When his Majesty was departing, I spoke to the Colonel concerning the obtaining of the sunnud, but he was not satisfied, and forbad me. I was under a necessity of acquiescing in his pleasure, and deferred it, nor mentioned it again. Roy Shitabroy, who is appointed for the negotiation of affairs at his Majesty's court, always endeavors to throw things into confusion. I frequently desired the Colonel to dismiss him as an incendiary, and appoint another in his place, but he would not listen to it. Ever since the Colonel came here, to this time, I have regarded what he said and directed, as of the greatest importance; and have done every thing according to his will, in order to gain his friendship, I have looked upon every thing he said as of the greatest consequence, making it a principal point to establish a friendship between us, and to gain his affection. According to the rules of friendship,

I have observed all the customs and forms in entertainments of eating and reciprocal visits more attentively and more heartily with him, than I ever did with any other person. In every respect, I have done every thing to please and satisfy him, and entered into mutual engagements with him, notwithstanding which behavior, he has not consented to a single thing that I have requested of him. Agreeably to what you wrote to me formerly concerning Mharajah Rammaram's affairs, I spoke to the Colonel, and at his recommendation appointed Mharajah Rajebullub to examine the accounts Golaum Allee Cawn, and the said Maharajah, went backwards and forwards to the Kella for fifteen or sixteen days together, but Ramnaram neither gave them a single paper, nor a writer to attend them. Afterwards the Colonel came and said to me, "We Europeans do not understand the country accounts, I will send Mharajah Ramnaram to you, he shall not be dismissed, but you may examine his accounts yourself." This I would not consent to, nevertheless, the next day he sent him to me, contrary to my will, with Mr Watts. Since that day, to the present moment, he (Ramnaram) protracts the time in going backwards and forwards, and fixing the time for preparing his papers, but he has not produced a single paper, nor paid a single cowry, nor delivered over the charge of a rupee's worth of the country. Tho' I have complained, no one would listen to me, nor give me redress. Ever since my arrival here, the English seepoys have been stationed at the gates of the city, and would not permit my people to pass and repass. Mr. M'Gwire being somewhat indisposed, I went to see him at the factory, and from thence I went to the Colonel, and sat down and conversed with him. He desired, that on Tuesday the 12th of Zeckaada, I would go into the Kella, and on Friday the 15th, cause the Cootba to be read, and siccas struck in the name of his Majesty. This I agreed to, and returned home. When the officers of my troops heard that I was going into the Kella, they represented, that they should have frequent occasion to come to me, in order to lay their requests and petitions before me; and that till the seepoys, &c were taken off, they could not pass and repass without interruption, that when Meer Mahomed Jaffier Allee Cawn, and Nasir-ool-moolk, deceased,

resided in the Kella, the seepoy guards were not upon the gates, and that till they were taken off, they should not be able to pass, considering, therefore, that the seepoys were men of low disposition, frequently opposing men of credit in passing, and presenting their pieces to them, and that many of my people were proud and haughty, so that disputes might arise, and disturbances be created, I therefore wrote a letter to the Colonel, requesting he would take off the seepoys from the gates, and that then I would go to the Kella. Upon the receipt of this letter, which contained no more than what I have here mentioned, the Colonel was very angry, and flew into such a passion, that he said he would send for the King again, and told Golaum Allee Cawn, who was then present, that he would not take the guards off the gates, and that I might send troops to drive them off. Since the day the Colonel arrived here, he has declared to me, that I must comply with every thing that he shall recommend, and, accordingly, he has since told me in person, and by messages brought by Mr Watts and Sheik Cumaul, that "I must appoint Nundcoomar to the Fougedarree of Hoogly, give the government of Purnea to the son of Allee Cooley Cawn, restore Muzuffer Allee (who plundered Nasir-ool-moolk's jewels to the amount of eight lacks of rupees) to the Zemindarree of Carrackpoor, restore Camgar Cawn to the Zemindarree of Mey, and regulate the Zemindarrees of Radshay and Dinagepoor, according to his pleasure." Tho' I desired the Colonel to appoint a Mutaseddee, to examine the accounts of my eight months government, and set me free, he would not listen to it. All my hopes of reliance are on your friendship and attachment to your engagements. This is the only consolation I have under my present afflictions, it is the dependence I have upon your word that keeps me alive, without this, it would be impossible to survive them. My hopes were, from the revenues of this province, to pay my debt to the Company, and reduce the number of my forces; but nothing is yet done, I apprehend the seepoys will assemble, as in Meer Jaffier Allee Cawn's time, and put my life in danger, and bring shame and dishonor upon my family. In the eight months of my government, I have scarce had leisure to drink a little water, I have not had a minute's time to eat or enjoy sleep. The four months that I have

been here, involved in troubles, I have not enjoyed the least happiness, except in the confidence I have in your friendship. My shame and dishonor are compleated, and I have no one to complain to but you, I hope you will speedily write me in what manner I can extricate myself from these difficulties, and establish my credit and reputation. Every particular of what I have now wrote has befallen me, God is my witness, and Mr M'Gwire is acquainted with every circumstances. I am sorry that you, who are my patron, and the partaker of my affliction, should at this time be at such a distance, and that so much time should be taken up in writing and receiving letters. The rains are come on, and the seepoys wages daily increase. The affairs of the country fall every day into greater confusion, and every thing contributes to make my life a burthen to me, my hopes are in your favor, for God's sake make no delay, if you do, my affairs are utterly ruined. Now this remains that you, who are concerned in my welfare, come here yourself, or send for me to relate my sorrows to you.

In the Nabob's own Hand.

All affairs here are at an end, and the ruinous situation of my affairs, at this place, has rendered my case desperate. I have wrote to you every particular, and hope from your benevolence, that you will consider every syllable, and speedily redress my complaints.

*Extract of a Letter from the Nabob to Mr. Vansittart.
Dated June 17, 1761.*

"Yesterday I sent you by the means of Mr. M'Gwire a letter, containing all the news, the contents of which you will understand. Last night Colonel Coote made an entertainment for the Dutch, and was making merry. His guards were stationed all round the Kella. About twelve at night Mharajah Ramnarain collected his people together, and sent word to the Colonel, that I had got my troops in readiness to attack the Kella in the morning, and that I would spare neither of them. The Colonel, being deceived by the snare, got his people ready. My Hircarras brought me intelligence of it, but I gave no credit to it. This morning Mr. Watts entered

my private apartment, which is near the Zenana, calling out, "Where is the Nabob?" and then stopt. After him Colonel Coote, in a great passion with his horsemen, Peons, Seepoys and others, with a cocked pistol in each hand, came swearing* into my tent. It so happened, that I was asleep in the Zenana, and none of my guards were present. How shall I express the unbecoming manner in which the Colonel went about from tent to tent, with thirty-five horsemen and two hundred seepoys, calling out, "Where is the Nabob?" He left some of his people at the Zenana and Dewanconna, and went towards the south tent. The eunuch of the Serai and Mr Watts prevented his entering, saying, the Nabob is asleep, and this is the private tent of the Zenana. The Colonel returned, and proceeded through my whole army, and seeing every one without arms, or any preparations, went back to the Kella. This base† man is ungrateful, treacherous, and intent only on mischief, and to support such a wicked man, who has not any fear of God, and has even forgot himself, is to give cause for continual animosities. This you never suspected. He is arrived at this pitch now, and God knows what lengths he will go to hereafter. In the beginning of the night, unknown to me, he struck siccas, to show his own zeal, and be before hand with me, and passed them. At midnight he set on foot this disturbance. I appeal to your judgment, what shame and disgrace the news of this event will bring upon me in the minds of my enemies and equals, from this place to the bounds of Hindostan. a loss of honor is not to be retrieved. You have several times wrote me with great assurances of friendship, that the English troops were mine, and under my command. The meanest wretches would not have behaved as these people have done. In what manner will my troops behave to me, after seeing these things? Notwithstanding all the care I have taken, and still continue to take, it is impossible for me to prevent this traitor from breeding dissentions, and giving my life and honor to the winds. If you are determined to countenance him, my business is at an end; you may then invest him with the Subah-

* The original is, *uttering God-dammeees*

† Ramnarain.

ship, and I shall be contented with the continuance of your friendship alone. If you approve of continuing me in the Subahship, send orders without delay for his dismissal, and an enquiry into his accounts. There is great danger in delay, and it will tend to my detriment. If this traitor is allowed the least occasion or opportunity, like a snake half killed, he will never leave off his venom or inveteracy, but will throw every thing into confusion, and then all your endeavors will prove ineffectual, there is an end to every thing. It is now the time to give me a definitive answer, and to send express orders upon this subject to the gentlemen, who have been, and are the dupes of his craft and deceit. As it was incumbent on me, I have now told you every thing, the rest I leave to you and your resolutions.

*Extract of a letter from Mr M'Gwire to Mr Vansittart
Dated June 17, 1761*

"This morning I forwarded you a letter received last night from his Excellency, and this will inclose another, at which your surprize will not be greater than mine was, when the Nabob sent me advice of the treatment he had met with this morning from the Colonel. In my letter yesterday, I offered it as my opinion, either immediately to have Ramnarain dismissed, or to come yourself to settle matters here, otherwise the poor Nabob must fall. I have not heard any thing from the Colonel concerning this affair, or of his motives, further than that he expressed himself yesterday dissatisfied with the Nabob, for sending him word, that he would not coin the siccas, or read the Cootba, till the guards were taken off the city gates. But no doubt he will write the account of his proceedings, and give you reasons for his conduct. I foresaw in some degree the bad consequences of giving such ample powers to your commanders in chief. Few men can brook the losing any part of the authority wherewith they are vested, and fewer still, who can support that authority with moderation. If you cannot come yourself, as I find the gentlemen at Madras will not send the regiment, have not you the power to recall him, and confine the Major to military

operations only ? I am persuaded, this* Gentoo Rajah has laid a trap, into which the Colonel has fallen, by raising a report, that the Nabob intended to attack the city as last night. However, when the Colonel arrived at his tents this morning, there was not even his customary guard there, and as there were not the least grounds or appearances of hostility on his Excellency's part, the engagement is deferred till another opportunity. I have sent the Nabob word, to bear with his treatment a few days longer till your answer arrives, and not to take any hasty determination thereon, that you will certainly bear him through, but he apprehends daily insults from his own people, now they find he is insulted publicly by the English, by whom they were before kept in some awe. If you find yourself unable to carry the Nabob through his present difficulties, let the Rajah be declared Subah, and let this miserable great man return inglorious, disgraced, and despised to Moorshedabad, there to enjoy a single day of quiet, to which he has been an entire stranger ever since his arrival here.

I am told the Rajah struck siccas yesterday in the Mint, if so (and I esteem may authority good) it is plain that he is certain of succeeding to the government of this place, for he had not permission from the Nabob to act in this manner.

His Excellency's Moonshee is just arrived. I asked him the purport of the letter he wrote the Colonel. He says it amounted to this, "That he would come into the Kella agreeable to appointment, but that his Zemindars would not acquiesce thereto, until our guards were taken off of the city gates, that they might have liberty to enter and go out when they thought proper, that this being granted, he would enter the Kella, and then and there strike the siccas, and read the Cootba." But as the Nabob will transmit you a copy of the letter, I refer you to it.

I will now suppose the Nabob to have refused complying with the striking the siccas, and reading the Cootba, as alleged against him (but before this comes to hand you will know

* Ramnarain

to the contrary, by his having previous to this sent orders to Moorshedabad, Dacca, &c to strike the siccas on the 25th of this moon, being a lucky day, and of these his intentions he has wrote the King) Was this a reason for the Colonel's going armed to his tent? or has he authority to act in this manner unnoticed? Should he not have complained of the Nabob's having broke his promise to him, that the board might take notice of his behavior? May not the Nabob with justice say, that he has purchased a stick to break his own head? In short, Sir, it appears plainly to me, that the board meets with more insult from this step than the Nabob, who throws himself on them for protection

Had the Nabob formed the design of forcibly taking possession of the city, could we not have had Hircarras, to have given the earliest intimations of his first motions to this proceeding, without the Colonel's taking it for granted, and going, with two companies of seepoys, and a troop of horse, to the Nabob's tents, two guries before the day broke?

The Nabob continues to request you will give his letters a careful perusal, without showing them to your Moonshee"

*Copy of a Letter from Mr M'Gwire to Mr. Vansittart.
'Dated June 18, 1761*

"I wrote you last night to enclose an account from his Excellency, setting forth the situation he was in, and the conduct of the Colonel towards him. This evening I was favored with a visit from the Colonel, in which he gave me the whole account, declaring, that the Nabob took every step, he could think of, to render the services he proposed doing him of no effect, that they had agreed, at their last meeting, to strike the siccas, and read the Cootba, as tomorrow; that the Nabob was to come into the city and live there, and that he proposed doing every thing, the Nabob could wish, to render him easy, and, in consequence of this agreement, he, as well as the Nabob, had wrote circular letters of their intentions; that he was surprized, instead of finding the Nabob resolute in this agreement, to receive a letter from him, setting forth, he would not come into the city, till he had taken off

the seepoy guards, and about the same time he received intelligence, that his Excellency had a consultation with his Jemmatdars, and that he had further reasons to believe he intended to raise his forces, and attack the city, that he had taken the necessary precautions, the night before, to prevent any such design taking place, and in the morning went himself to see the Nabob (taking with him his troop) to let him and his forces know, that he was not to be terrified. I observed to him, that the Nabob intended to keep to his agreement, but his Jemmatdars were averse to it, unless they might come in, and go out, when they thought proper. He replied, he was so far from hindering them, that he had consented to put some of the Nabob's people Chowkeys on the gate, together with his own, that the intention of keeping those Chowkeys there, was to keep out the rabble of his army. To-morrow was the day fixed upon for striking the siccas, and whilst the Colonel remained here, Mr Watts arrived with a message from the Nabob, to whom I understand the Colonel sent him, with some terms of accommodations, as I imagine, for after a private conference in my chamber, he told him when he came out, to return to the Nabob, and know if he would strike the siccas to-morrow. Here you have all I know of the matter."

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob to Colonel Coote June 15, 1761.*

"It was agreed, that on Tuesday, the 12th of the month Zeecada, I should enter the Kella, and publish with your concurrence the Cootba, and siccas, in the name of his sacred and high Majesty, conformably thereto, I was resolved upon going to the Kella. The Rissaladars and Jemmatdars, with me, hearing of this, represented to me, that from the continuance of the guards of seepoys, at the gates of the city, their passing and repassing would be obstructed; that in the time of the Nabob Jaffier Allee Cawn, and the Nabob Nasir-ool-moolk, deceased, it never happened, that Telingas had the guard of the gates of the city, and that till those guards were

* Referred to in the Nabob's and Mr M Gwire's Letters

taken off they would not go For this reason I trouble you, that it is necessary to take off the Telingas from the gates of the city, that I may go to the Kella, and attend with you to the publication of the Cootba and siccas . and these people, as they desire, may have free ingress and egress to and from me ”

Judging it absolutely necessary to put a stop, as soon as possible, to such dangerous animosities, as seemed to threaten the country with a new war, I lost no time in lying before the council, the representation I had received of this insult offered the Nabob, by Colonel Coote, and requested them to apply an effectual remedy to such disorders The following is a cpy of my letter delivered into council, the 26th of June

GENTLEMEN,

“It is with the utmost concern I lay before you two letters, received last night from the Nabob, containing a detail of some late occurrences at Patna, which serve to shew how much the present happy tranquility of these provinces is threatened by the effects of the violent prejudices, which were taken up soon after the late Nabob Jaffier Allee Cawn resigned his government, and have been so industriously propagated ever since

The urgency of the present circumstances, will not allow me time to enter into a detail of the several facts, which, when collected, will shew the truth of what I have above asserted ; such a detail shall be my next work , and I will engage to prove, that those prejudices are the foundation of the present dangers But first let us endeavour, as far as in us lies, to remedy the disorder, and guard against these dangers.

I say as far as in us lies, because our future orders may perhaps be as little regarded as our past If the officers commanding our troops had attended to the instructions we sent them, the disputes at Patna had not continued till this time, nor been carried to so dangerous a length.

Ramnaram the Naib, or deputy of that province, has been ever remarkable for his capacity in the arts and intrigues of this country. He soon discovered how many had taken up

prejudices against the present Nabob Cossim Allee Cawn, and who they were, he had a long account to settle of his three or four years administration, and sought, with too much success, to engage such as he knew to be already biassed against the Nabob, to support him in refusing or evading the rendering an account of his administration

Compleat translations of the Nabob's two letters shall be laid before you at our next meeting As yet they have passed under no eyes but my own, because I think it highly necessary we should conceal, as much as possible, from the world, the extreme ill usage which the Nabob has received. Thanks to his moderation, and his entire dependence on our justice and good faith, the open hostilities, which seem to have been intended, were for that time avoided, what he may have been forced to, before now, is a subject in my mind of much uneasiness.

The most material circumstances of the Nabob's letter are these following (Here follows a recital of them agreeable to the contents of the letter already entered)

This, gentlemen, is the substance of the Nabob's letter, dated the 16th of June The other, of the 17th, contains the relation of a fact, yet more surprising and alarming (Here follows the account of Colonel Coote's behavior, in the Nabob's camp, as related in the Nabob's second letter already entered)

This, gentlemen, is the fact as related in the Nabob's second letter, to which he adds a strong representation of the ill effects, which such an affront put upon him, must have on his reputation in all parts of India, and even among his own people, and he concludes, with requiring justice to be done him

No account of this affair is yet arrived from the Colonel, but along with the Nabob's letters I received one from Mr M'Gwire, dated the 17th, and another of the 18th, is just come to hand Copies of such parts of these as relate to this affair I have annexed hereunto; and as I regard that gentleman always as a member of the Board, and of the Select Committee, I think some regard is to be had to his opinion

upon the state of affairs on the spot where he is, notwithstanding the Colonel's refusal to be guided by, or even to reply to the instructions we addressed to him and Mr M'Gwire jointly.

That gentleman has however transmitted me, from time to time, accounts of what has been passing at Patna, and observed to me in two or three different letters, that he suspected, from the many unreasonable applications made to the Nabob, and from other circumstances, that there was a settled and fixed design of bringing things to an extremity. I must own, that some of the measures taken here, and which shall be particularized in the Narrative I propose to lay before you, seemed to favor such an opinion, yet I could never bring myself to believe, that prejudice could hurry men so far, as to make them careless of the present happy tranquility of these provinces in general, and of the Company's valuable possessions, and desirous of putting these blessings, and the lives of thousands to risk, by opening a scene of fresh troubles, which could not fail to succeed the going to war with the Nabob without reason, and without provision made for the better regulation of the government after his death or expulsion, supposing one of these to be the consequence of our taking up arms against him, as it probably would. Besides these reflections, another consideration prevented my giving credit to there being really such a design, and which indeed would have led me to hold the design, and the authors, in contempt, if I could have persuaded myself such did exist, I mean the repeated orders of the Select Committee to the commanding officer of the army to support and assist the Nabob, which I thought sufficient to prevent any bad effects. But this affair is grown more serious than I could have imagined.

When I consider the frequent representations made to the Board, both by Major Carnac and Colonel Coote, of the little services to be expected from the Nabob's troops, that he was incapable even of calling an ordinary Zemindar to account without our assistance, when I consider also, that not only the city of Patna, but all the rest of the frontiers of the Nabob's dominions, are and have been defended by our troops, as Beerboom, Midnapoor and Chittagong, I find it almost impossible

to persuade myself, the Colonel could really think the Nabob had a design to assault the city, and if he could entertain such a thought, he should have let the Nabob begin the assault, in which he could not possibly have succeeded, and then the whole world would have been convinced that the Nabob was in the wrong

But whatever might have been the Colonel's design, his sally, as related in the Nabob's second letter, was so conducted, as might naturally have been expected to produce some disturbance in the Nabob's camp, and of that the immediate consequence would have been a general engagement between two armies, which I have always regarded as acting in concert as strict friends and allies. I have said, gentlemen, and I repeat it, that it was owing to the Nabob's moderation, and his entire confidence in our justice and good faith, that hostilities did not immediately follow this affront put upon him. But as I am doubtful what further measures may have been pursued to this time

I do therefore, in the first place, solemnly protest against those whom it may concern, for all the bad consequences that may ensue before the directions of the Board hereupon can reach the army, and declare myself not accountable for the blood that may be spilt, the disturbances that may lay waste the country, and the losses which the Company in particular may sustain in their possessions, by any measures which may be pursued in contradiction to the orders of the Select Committee, corroborated and confirmed by repeated letters from myself to the commanders of our army to whom, as well as to the Nabob, I have continually recommended reciprocal respect and friendship, and moderation in all differences of opinion

And in the next place I do propose, and most strenuously recommend to the board, to come to such resolutions, as may best tend to prevent any danger of this unexpected kind in future, and particularly, that the charge of the army may be given to some officer who will obey our orders "

This account of the situation of affairs at Patna being read in the council, occasioned very serious reflections; for indeed there was great reason to fear, that as Colonel Coote had proceeded to so great a length against the Nabob, some other aggravation would have happened, and open hostilities have ensued. And as the King's departure from Patna some days before had made it needless to keep so large a force there, therefore to prevent further disputes with the Nabob, it was determined by the majority, that Colonel Coote and Major Carnac should be ordered down to Calcutta, leaving only four companies of infantry, and two battalions of sepoys, under the command of captain Carstairs, the senior officer of the Company's troops there, after major Carnac, and that captain Carstairs should act entirely under the orders of Mr M'Guire, the chief of the factory. Messieurs Amyatt and Ellis gave it as their opinion, that Colonel Coote should have the choice of coming down to Calcutta, or remaining at Patna, but as this would not have removed the danger which threatened the province, from the ill-will those gentlemen bore against the Nabob, the motion was overruled by the majority, Messieurs Vansittart, Sumner and Smith.

The foregoing representation of Colonel's Coote's sally to the Nabob's camp is such, as was immediately transmitted by the Nabob. It is just to insert the Colonel's own account of it.

*Copy of a Letter from Colonel Coote to Mr Vansittart
Dated June 19, 1761*

"In the postscript of my letter of the 13th instant, I acquainted you of the Nabob's having been with me, and by the conversation I had with him, Rajebullub and Golam Allee Cawn that day, I had all the reason to expect, that I should soon have his affairs settled to the satisfaction of every body, and my own credit. I likewise informed you, of his agreeing to proclaim the King this day. He asked me, whether it would not be proper for him to come into the Kella on this occasion? I told him, it was a very proper step, and what I had long wished for, as by that means I could be oftener with him than my health would permit me

now Upon which, he said he would come in on Wednesday the 17th; and asked me, if I would pay him a visit that day upon his arrival? I replied, that I would with pleasure, and that I would likewise wait on him the morning he intended proclaiming the King, receive a dress from him and proceed in public with him to the Mosque, and told him, that as I had wrote to all Zemindars of the country, to come in and settle their accounts with him, and had promised to write to the King by the Vakeel, I thought the more public we appeared together, it would have the greater weight in transacting his affairs, on this occasion the Nabob, and his attendants above-mentioned, expressed their satisfaction in the strongest terms

He then asked me to have our seepoys taken off the gates of the city In answer I told him, it surprized me he should still harp on that subject, as I had before given him sufficient reasons of their utility, and added, that those seepoys were a part of his army, and under the command of captain Robertson, and were therefore ready to obey his orders, that the directions I had given captain Robertson were, that they should stop nobody belonging to the Nabob from passing and repassing into the city, only not to deliver the gates to an armed force without my order, and to keep their post quiet. That he had himself often declared he had no command over his own forces, and that it was very well known, that those very forces had formerly an intention (and were near putting it in execution) to plunder the city, that at this particular time I had but very few troops with me, and therefore, for his security as well as my own, I could not be too much on my guard He likewise asked me, if he should bring in some of his principal people to reside with him? I replied, by all means they then took their leave seemingly very well satisfied

I heard nothing from him afterwards till the 15th at night, when he sent me by one of his Chubdars a letter (the copy of which I now inclose you, together with others relative to the transactions here) requiring an immediate answer. The method of his sending the letter, and the purport of it surprised me not a little, and I sent for Golam Allee Cawn,

who was then in the house, to come to my room, and asked him, if he knew the perpose of the letter I had just received from the Nabob. He said, that before he left the Durbar, he heard there was a letter to be sent; and by what he could find, he thought a very improper one after what had passed at our last meeting, and wished, that the Nabob had better advisers, I told him I wished so too, and that I thought it must appear very odd, after I had wrote that morning to the King, and that I had sent circular letters to the Zemindars, to come and settle their accounts with him as Subah, to have the ceremony of proclaiming the King performed, in the capital of the province, by his servant, a Gentoo, whilst he, a Mussulman, remained in his camp in the neighborhood. This affair seemed to me to be of such consequence, that I desired to have nothing more to do with messages, but desired to see himself next day. When I was informed that the Nabob would not come; and by intelligence, that he had most of his Jemmatdars in consultation with him, I, at night, sent to captain Robertson, to keep a good look out, and see that no mischief was done, and I likewise sent Hircarras into his camp, to observe what passed, and bring me an account. At midnight I was acquainted, that their guards were doubled, and a great stir among them. This I find, by the following expression of Golam Allee Cawn, was partly occasioned by Coja Gregory, which he has since dropt in company with Mr. Watts, that he was not afraid to tell Coja Gregory, at the time he was ordering it, that it would be productive of no good, and must give offence to the Colonel. Next morning, in order to be better acquainted how things went, I thought it necessary to go with my usual attendants, to the Nabob's tent, to speak with him about those matters, and finding he was not up, I departed, leaving Mr. Watts with him, to let him know how sensible I was of his ill treatment, having always acted the friendly part by him, and that by these proceedings, he was putting it out of my power to serve him. I then took a tour round his encampment, where I found every thing wore the appearance of tranquility."

Extract of a Letter from Colonel Coote to the Governor and Council. Dated July 17, 1761.

“A few hours before I left Patna, I had the honor of your letter of the 26th of June, together with copies of the Nabob’s and Mr M’Gwire’s letters to the president, as also extrats of the minutes of council

As I have not been the first person, whose actions have been condemned unheard, I therefore cannot look upon it as a particular misfortune attending me alone. The Nabob’s disagreement with me, on acconut of proclaiming the King, which seems to be the source of the indignities shewn me, I should have before now related to the Board, had I looked on it as an affair of any consequence to trouble them with, but as a common occurrence, I related it in my private correspondence with Mr Vansittart (in my letter of the 19th of June, to which I beg leave to refer you) whose weight with the Nabob, as it seemed to me, might have been sufficient to settle any little points of variance. But to my great surprize, the most scandalous constructions are put upon all my actions, and the greatest falsehoods, no sooner propàgated than credited, which word has any weight, will evidently appear by the letter before-mentioned, and what follows

On the 16th of June in the evening, having had different reports brought me, concerning the Nabob’s proceeding, I told captain Eiser, I intended paying him a visit next morning, to endeavor to settle matters with him, and at supper time, desired that gentleman to order the troopers, and my usual attendants, to be ready a little after day-light. About six o’clock next morning, I set out from my quarters to the Nabob’s (which is about two coss) with about twenty-five European cavalry, one company of seepoys, which happened, at that time, to be a fewer number than usually attended me, when I went upon public visits; and I sent Mr Watts on before, to let the Nabob know I was coming to wait on him. By the time I arrived at his tents it was near seven o’clock. The Nabob I find accuses me of going, in a violent manner, through his tents, on the contrary, the place where I alighted from my horse was near the Durbar tent, and the place where I always had alighted, and upon seeing Mr. Watts, I asked him where the Nabob was? Who replied, he was asleep in his Zenana; and as I had reason to suspect

from my intelligence, the last twenty-four hours, that his intentions were not the best, I therefore alighted, took my pistols out of my holsters for my own security (as I seldom ride with a sword) but declare they were not cocked, and I affirm, that I went no further than the Durbar tent, where I sat down for a little time, till, finding the Nabob did not come, I desired captain Eiser to order two troopers, to see that no body of troops came in at the back-part of the tent, and I now declare, that no one was placed on his Zenana. As the Nabob did not come, I went away, and for the rest of this affair, I refer you to my letter to the President.

The Nabob further accuses me, of having endeavored to oblige him to make up matters with Camgar Cawn, and the Curruckpoor Rajah. I declare, I never mentioned them to him in any other light than that, if he could not by any means take them, to make up matters with them; and that I particularly refused to see their Vackeels; and never had any correspondence with them, but by two letters, which I wrote them by the Nabob's desire, copies of which have been transmitted to the President. With regard to the Dinagepoor people, I was petitioned by the sons of the late Rajah (whose country had been taken from them by the Nabob, after taking a nezzar of ten lacks of rupess) requesting, that I would speak with the Nabob in their behalf, and deliver their petition to him, which was all the part I acted in that affair. With respect to the *Rajah of Radshay, Mr Batson desired I would endeavor to serve him with the Nabob as he had been fled by the Royroyan, and his country taken from him. I accordingly represented it to him, since which representation, that poor unhappy man (tho seventy years of age) has been tied

It out to be remarked, that the person, whose sufferings are here so pathetically described, was and the Rajah, but Dewan or Steward to the Raunee of Radshay. This country (the richest in Bengal) had been put under the inspection of the officers of the Durbar, by Jaffier Allee Cawn, who managed the collections jointly with the Dewan. In the same state it now remained. I take notice of this, because it shews how great the Colonel's prejudices against Meer Cossim were, which could make him so readily swallow every story told him against the Nabob, since, in the present instance, it is plain, that he really knew not who the person was, whose cause he so zealously espoused.

up by the heels, and flogged with rattans almost to death. This shocking piece of cruelty, not being thought sufficient, he was put in irons, and remained in that situation, till Mr Batson, thro' his humanity, with difficulty, by his interest, got him freed from his shackles, but the poor old man still continues a prisoner. As to Myrza Kelly Allee, I never mentioned him to the Nabob, nor has any body done it by any authority from me. The only person, whose interest I urged, was the unhappy brother of Meer Jaffier, with whom I was formerly acquainted, and whom I found, on my journey to Patna, at Rajemahl, starving with a large family. I begged the Nabob to do something for him; and he ordered him one thousand rupees *per* month, chiefly through the intercession of Rajebullub, who, by my request, used his interest on that occasion, but that poor man has not profited by this in the least, having hitherto not received a single rupee. As there was a report spread, that the Fougedar of Hoogly was to be turned out, Mr Watts mentioned, in a private discourse with Rajebullub, that the Nabob would give that post to Nundcomar, it might be the means of obliging some gentlemen, whose friendship might be acceptable to him; and this was really hinted from a friendly view towards the Nabob.

The public character I was in, obliged me to receive petitions, and to hear the complaints of every one. I therefore could not do less than inform the Nabob of them, but since I found, that any applications through me were the sure means of hurting the poor people who complained (the Nabob having declared publickly, that whoever applied to the English was not his friend) I afterwards prevented their troubling me with their petitions."

Whether the Nabob's account of this affair be considered, or the Colonel's own, it is a proceeding which can only be accounted for, from the effects of a strong passion, unless it be presumed (which so extraordinary a conduct might justify) that the Colonel had a further view in this insult, to provoke the Nabob to some act of desperation, in order to have a pretence to bring about the measures planned for his destruc-

tion Certain it is, the Nabob, in this instance, had too striking an example of the dangers he had to apprehend, from the violence of the party formed against him

SECTION VII

Major Carnac's Negotiations with the King, and his Disputes with the Board

Major Carnac escorts the Shahzada to the Limits of the Province—Two Letters from the Major, with Copies of his Addresses, to that Prince—Mr Vansittart's Remarks on Them—Answer of the Council to Major Carnac—Other Letters from Major Carnac, Shewing his Disrespect to the Board.—Their Orders in Consequence—Other Letters from Major Carnac to the Board, with Mr Vansittart's Remarks.—The Moderation of the Board on these Occasion

When the orders for Colonel Coote's and Major Carnac's coming to Calcutta arrived at Patna, the Major was attending the King, with a detachment, which was directed to escort him to the limits of the province. During his march, the Major applied to the King for a confirmation of the Company's grants and privileges, but in a stile, and with expressions, which tended to destroy the Company's influence, and the effects of the services which they had afforded him, by resting the whole merit of those services upon his own person and authority. This the King refused, but the elusive pretence, that he would grant them, whenever a proper person should be sent with the usual tribute to receive them. At the same time, he made a voluntary offer of the Dewannee of the three provinces to the Company, upon the same conditions. I call it voluntary, because it no where appears that it was solicited, nor had Major Carnac any authority or orders to solicit such a grant, which could have only served to render the breach between the Nabob and the Company still more irreparable.

This is not the only instance of Major Carnac's eagerness to raise his own importance above the level of his superiors; it could only be by his advice the King addressed his letters, some to the Governor and Council jointly, but most to the Council only, without the Governor. An address, as contrary to the customs of India, where they have no idea of more chiefs than one, as to the Company's established order and method, which has always been for the Governor only, to carry on the country correspondence. The Major, although he approved of this innovation, when it lessened the authority of the Governor, yet could carry on a correspondence with the King in his own name, and promised to continue the same after his arrival in Calcutta. The same arrogance and self-opinion, and the same tendency to subvert all the order of government, and to keep up the spirit of party, appears in many of Major Carnac's letters to the Governor and Council, nothing could be better calculated to that end, than his * remarks upon the orders sent him by a majority; and what else could be the design of those remarks? For he could not be ignorant, that in all councils, and particularly in all the Company's governments, the orders of the majority are to be respected as the orders of the whole Board. It is true, that Major Carnac was too much encouraged in these insults, on the authority of the Board, by some of the members themselves, who not only vindicated all his opinions, but afforded him an argument to disrespect their orders, by signing their dissents to the orders themselves, instead of minuting them in the consultations, an innovation as dangerous, as contrary to the rules of the government they belonged to. The truth of these remarks on Major Carnac's conduct, shall be judged of, by the following extracts from his letters, and the consultations of that time.

*Extract of a Letter from Major Carnac to the Select Committee.
Dated June 16, 1761*

"You have not been pleased, gentlemen, to allow me to have any thing to say or do with regard to Ramnarain, but if it depended on me, I declare no consideration whatever should

* In his letter of the 29th of July, 1761, which follows in its order.

induce me to give my consent to removing a man, whom we are bound to maintain by engagements prior to, and consequently more obligatory, than any we may have since entered into with Cossim Allee Cawn. I have had hints before with regard to this unfortunate Gentoo, to which, if I would have listened, I might probably have turned my campaign to pretty good account, but indifferent as my circumstances are, I thank God; I scorn enlarging them by any means, than would not stand the most public inspection ”

Extract of a Letter from Major Carnac to the Governor and Council Dated June 21, 1761

“His Majesty crossed the Caramnassa this morning He made such long marches from Saseram hither, that it was impossible for me to keep pace with him, and I was forced to leave the army a march behind, in order to get up with him Yesterday evening, on parting, he made me the most public declaration of his particular regard for me, and dismissed me with every mark of honor, that could possibly be conferred on me The accompanying is a copy of two arzees I presented to him last night, with the answers he wrote in the body thereof with his own hand, in the presence of Messieurs Lushington and Ironside, as well as myself He has also wrote to you, gentlemen, with a promise of issuing out his royal sunnud, confirming the Company in all their present possessions and privileges, provided the proper peshcush be paid. And in the same letter, has made you an offer of the Dewannee of Bengal, on condition of your being answerable for the royal revenues, of which he declares, he expects no account while Cossim Allee Cawn has the management thereof. I do not chuse to venture sending you this letter, for fear it should be lost, as I have no duplicate of it; but acquaint you with the purport, that you may be enabled to answer his Majesty; which answer he desires may be transmitted to him as soon as possible ”

Copy of a Translation of an Arzee, wrote by Major Carnac to the King, with the King's Answer superscribed.

“It is above five months since your Majesty honored the tents of your faithful servant with your presence at Gya; and

from your gracious will and pleasure, and in consequence of the address and engagements of your servant (devoted to your high and sacred court) in full confidence graced the Kella of Azimabad, God is my witness, that from the commencement of my service, to this time, I have never deviated, in the most minute circumstance, from the engagement of fidelity which I made with your Majesty, but ever heartily attentive to my duty and loyal attachment, and ready to devote my life to your welfare . and regarding always the strict observance of my fidelity as my chief happiness , to the utmost of my power I have obeyed your sacred commands , and you have graciously declared, that you were pleased with the faithfulness of your servant, exalting me in honor above the clouds Relying on that gracious disposition, which affords a shadow to the highest and the humblest of your slaves, I am in hopes, that what I shall represent to you will obtain your royal approbation For this cause your servant, who is a dependent of the English Company, humbly petitions, that your Majesty will be pleased to order, that sunnuds be granted for all the zemindarrees and factories of commerce belonging to the Company in the empire of Indostan ; at Calcutta in the Subah of Bengal and Madras, and Bombay, and the port of Surat in the districts of Deccan In these four places, which are the principal factories of the English Company, let the company have the privilege of a mint in each ; and let a sunnud after the usual form be granted for the confirmation of the jagheer of Colonel Clive (who is one of the servants of the sacred court, and the patron of this faithful servant , whose attachment and devotion are notorious to the whole empire) which to this day he has been honored with by the royal donations And let your Majesty look upon this your servant (Who is a stranger in these regions) as one of the meanest of the servants of the court, nor forget or blot him from your remembrance ; and to the last breath of my life I shall ever pray, that the Almighty may make your Majesty (whose dignity is equal to Solomon's) an honor and ornament to the throne and everlasting empire of India, an administrator of justice and equity, and a protector of the people of God ; greater than the great King Timor ;

that all the chiefs, and all the inhabitants of the world, may be held in obedience and fidelity by your royal clemency.

Superscribed by the King.

The purport of the arzee is fully understood. In consequence of the faithful attachment of that trusty servant, we agree and consent to it. Whenever the petition for it is sent in form, and the peshcush delivered to the royal Sircar, the petitioned sunnuds we will graciously grant. Besides this, in consideration of the services of that servant, the Dewannee of the Subah of Bengal, on condition of paying the Malguzaree, according to the former amount, and a suitable peshcush shall be granted ”

Copy of Mr. Vansittart's Minute, and the Resolutions of the Board on the Major's Letter.

“The President cannot help observing on the foregoing, that instead of setting forth the attachment which the English nation and the Company have always shewn to the Mogul government, and the sums they have expended in defeating the King's enemies, the Major's whole thoughts are employed in expressing his own services and fidelity, in consideration of which he requests, that the indulgencies therein mentioned may be granted to the Company. He has not sufficiently considered, that it is the services of the Nation and the Company that should be pleaded and recorded on all such occasions, in order to increase their respect and reputation in foreign countries, such pleas may be used in favor of that Nation and Company in future times, when they have any thing to apply for, which is a respect that will not be paid to any personal services. And further, that all those indulgencies he has applied for, were ordered from the Select Committee; and indeed without such orders, he could not justify the applying for any thing; yet he takes not the least notice of the Committee, nor the Governor and Council; which the President mentions as one instance, among many others, of the great desire that most of our military officers have to conceal to the world, that they have a dependence on any civil power

With regard to the King's offer of the Dewannee, the Board are of opinion, that were the Company to accept of it, it would only be a source of perpetual contest and ill-will with the Nabob, but lest such an appointment might at any time hereafter be thought advantageous, we will for the present defer coming to any resolution thereon, and only write the King in answer, that we shall soon our send requests in form "

Copy of a Letter from the Governor and Council (Messieurs Vansittart, Amyatt, Ellis, Sumner and Smith) to Major Carnac. Dated July 6, 1761.

"We have received your letter of the 21st, enclosing copy of two requests you presented to the King, with answers subscribed by him. Those answers are very indeterminate, and far from expressing his consent. They are indeed no way so favorable, as we think we might have expected, considering the good faith, candor and attachment we have shewn him in his most distressed circumstances, and the supplies of money he has received by our influence from the Nabob.

We cannot help remarking upon the stile of your requests, as it may serve for your better guidance on future occasions. You have said much of your own services and attachment to the King, and neglected entirely so fair and just an opportunity of setting forth the reputation and power of our Nation, the attachment which the Company has always shewn to the Mogul government, the sums they have expended, and the blood that has been spilt in defeating the King's enemies in different parts of India, and the particular obligations which he in person owes to the government in Bengal. Such should be the stile of all public applications to foreign courts, in order that they may serve our nation for arguments in all future occasions.

With regard to the Dewannee of these provinces, the Shah's offer is as indeterminate as his answers to your requests, and as it would be a source of continual jealousies between the Nabob and the Company, we do not think it adviseable to sue for it at this time "

Extract of a Letter from Major Carnac to the Governor and Council Dated June 28, 1761

In my last, I mentioned my having a letter for you from his Majesty, relative to his confirmation of all the Company's possessions and privileges, and containing an offer to yourselves of the Dewannee of Bengal; and my unwillingness to send a letter of such consequence by the ordinary conveyance. I have likewise several other letters for you from him, some of a public, and some of a private nature. For fear therefore any inconvenience should result from their being delayed, I shall give them in charge to ensign Swinton, with orders to convey them to you as fast as possible, if the Colonel will give him permission. I have done every thing for the service of my masters, that the little power you were willing to invest me with would admit of my doing. I have obtained a promise from his Majesty, under his own hand, of his royal confirmation of all your possessions and privileges, provided you pay him a proper peshcush, as has been always customary, in return for such grants. It rests with you, whether or not you will be at the expence of procuring them, if you intend it, it is necessary you should, without loss of time, send an able and trusty Gentoo, to reside as your Vackeel with the court, and bring the business to a speedy issue."

Copy of a Letter from Mr M'Gwire, Chief at Patna, to Major Carnac Dated July 6, 1761

"In answer to my request for leaving two hundred rank and file, exclusive of the sick, Mr Reed, by your directions, has acquainted me, that you have orders from the Colonel to include the sick, and that if I should still be of opinion, it is necessary to keep up the number of effective here, I must write to Calcutta for fresh orders, which will arrive before your departure, as you cannot execute your orders, for returning, in less than twenty days

The Colonel, you acquaint me, has sent orders to Sasaram, for captain Hart to return directly, and you have, as I understand, sent the like to captain Champion, from whence

it may be presumed, they will arrive here in about six days. In the mean time, preparations may be made for their embarking, and what is to detain them afterwards, I am at a loss to find out.

However, Sir, that I may execute my orders, without loss of time, I request you will deliver over the command, ordered to remain here, to captain Carstairs, they may be selected hereafter, and as his Excellency is desirous of coming into the city, you will order the centries at the gates to be taken off

I am further to request, an old battalion may be left me in the room of the seepoys, commanded by captain Stubbert, as they are at present unfit for immediate service”

Copy of Major Carnac's Answer to the foregoing Letter Dated July 6, 1761

“As the Board neither have, nor indeed have they the power to put me under your directions, I am not accountable to you for my proceedings here, nor are you to prescribe the time, that may be requisite, for getting every thing ready for the transporting that part of the army, which I am to take down with me. Of this you will allow me to be as good a judge as yourself, especially as there are two or three things to be done, before we set out, which you are probably unacquainted with; both a general muster, and general court martial, to be held, which must employ a few days. You may be assured, however, no time shall be lost, as I am as impatient to get away from Patna, as you can be to have me away; but, in the interim, I will deliver over the command to no one

Cossim Allee Cawn may come into the Kella when he pleases; and I will be answerable for the security of his person, but I will not take off the guards that have been so long posted at the gates. Were that armed rabble about him to have free ingress and egress, some quarrel would inevitably happen between them and our people; which, as well as any accident happening to the city, I will endeavor to prevent, during my continuance in it

I think captain Stibbert's battalion full good enough for any service they can be employed on, at this season of the year; and as they have been all along appropriated for the use of your factory, I shall certainly include them in the two thousand seepoys, directed to be left with you, unless I receive orders from the gentlemen below to the contrary."

Copy of a Letter from the Board (Mes Vansittart, Amyatt, Sumner, and Smith) to Major Carnac July 14, 1761

"We have received a letter from Mr. M'Gwire, dated the 6th instant, accompanied with a copy of your letter to him of the same date

We desire to know by what authority you have kept the command of the army at Patna; because, either in Colonel Coote or you, there is a manifest contempt of our order of the 26th ultimo, which directed, that both you gentlemen should return to Calcutta, and that the troops should be left under the command of captain Carstairs, to follow the instructions of Mr M'Gwire.

The mustering the army, or holding a court martial, are not sufficient reasons, as both those services might be performed in Calcutta We would ask you further, whether it is possible, that an officer, receiving orders for leaving two hundred Europeans, and two thousand seepoys, to assist the Nabob in settling the affairs at Patna, can, without a manifest intention of counteracting our determination, understand, that the sick shall be included amongst the Europeans, and the seepoys, left on service, to be the worst of the army?

It is true, that we should avoid, as much as possible, putting an officer, entitled to a seat at the Board in military affairs, under the orders of any member of that Board, who, on such occasions, would sit below him, and this regard for your rank was one reason, among others, why we did not propose to you to remain at Patna, under the orders of Mr M'Gwire; however, Sir, that you may not think that rule invariable, you will give us leave to inform you, that we can, when the Company's service requires it, oblige any

officer, in their service, to act under the directions of their Governor or factors, at any of their settlement

Neither is it possible the service can be well conducted, on the independent footing which you are pleased to claim ; witness your little regard to the representations of Mr M'Gwire, with respect to the choice of the troops to be left at Patna, as before-mentioned, although the Company's factory, and effects there, as well as the execution of the service for which those troops are to be left, is committed to the charge of that gentleman

To put an end to these disputes, we direct, that on the receipt of this letter, you give over the command of the army to captain Carstairs, with orders to follow the directions of Mr M'Gwire, to whom we have given the necessary instructions concerning the draughting of the troops to be kept at Patna, and the embarkation of the rest for Calcutta

And you will repair to Calcutta yourself, with all convenient speed "

Extract of a Letter from Major Carnac to the Governor and Council Dated July 7, 1761.

"In consequence of an order from Colonel Coote, I left the detachment, with which I had the honor to escort his Majesty at Sasaram the 30th of June, and arrived here the 3d of July ; on which the Colonel resolved to return to Calcutta, and was preparing to set out on the morning of the 4th. In the interim, he received a letter from the Board, which only served to confirm him in his resolution, and he gave me directions to execute their orders, which I shall do with the utmost expedition, being as averse as the Colonel, from having any hand in the business that is likely to be carried on I esteem myself extremely happy in being removed from the command of the army, as I could not have suffered it, whilst I was at the head thereof, to be employed on the purposes for which I find it is intended, without a direct breach of the declarations I have formerly made to you in regard to Ramnarain I cannot help, on

this occasion, laying before you two paragraphs, the one extracted from your letter to me of the 9th of February, viz

“We observe, when Colonel Caillaud began his march to Patna, the beginning of last year, he had particular instructions from Colonel Clive, and the rest of the Committee, to protect Ramnarain, in case of the Nabob’s making any attempt against his person or honor. We believe such an injunction at this time unnecessary, as the present Nabob seems to be well inclined towards Ramnarain. But should it prove otherwise, it is our resolution to have the same regard to the former engagements in his favor, as was then designed; and therefore direct you, in case of necessity, to protect Ramnarain against all violence and injustice, that may be offered to his person, honor, or fortune” The other, from your letter of the 28th of April “We ever intended to preserve Ramnarain in the government of Patna; and have therefore recommended it to Colonel Coote, to give him his protection in all circumstances” Pray how are these reconcileable to the instructions addressed to Mr M’Gwire, of which I have seen a copy, attested to be a true one, by the subsecretary The force to be left at Patna, is expressly said to be, “only to assist the Nabob in settling accounts with Ramnarain, and the several Zemindars of the Patna province” After which is the following article “This you (Mr M’Gwire) are to do in general, to the utmost of your power, in such manner, as he may apply to you; with respect to Ramnarain, it may be necessary to be somewhat more particular Colonel Coote is already directed to assist the Nabob so far, as to suspend him (Ramnarain) from his government, until the accounts are settled, and to put the Nabob’s people in possession of all the revenues. This you will conform to, and let him be brought to an adjustment of his accounts, by such measures, as the Nabob shall think proper” By this Ramnarain is absolutely left at the Nabob’s mercy, and thrown out of that protection, which he has hitherto all along received from the English, and the continuation whereof, he had an undoubted right to expect in virtue of our engagements, and in return for the attachment he has ever shewn us The President mentions, indeed, his having wrote to the Nabob in his favor, which may so far have an effect, as

to prevent his daring directly to get him made away with, but he may easily manage to behave to Ramnarain, in such a manner, as to cause him to make away with himself, which those of his cast have been frequently known to do, when they have happened to be dishonored, be this as it will, the Mharajah is frightened beyond expression. He was with me the day before yesterday in the evening, and represented, with tears in his eyes, his surprize, at finding himself abandoned by those, who had so long supported him. He declared, that as the Colonel was now gone, and I to follow him in a few days, he had no longer any refuge, and must inevitably fall a sacrifice to his enemies, if he continued here; and therefore requested, with extreme earnestness, that I would let him quit the country, and have him safely conducted over the Soane. It is hard to pronounce of any other person's intentions, but we may reasonably presume the Nabob's designs cannot be very good, when he endeavors to secure the execution of them by the force of bribes, I can produce proofs of the offers he made me, provided I would let him act as he pleased with regard to Ramanarain, and few people will doubt, that the notes which Mr Lushington and I received from Rajebullub, and which I keep by me, were sent by the Nabob's approbation, if not by his immediate direction. I am also well assured, very large offers have been made to the Colonel for the same ends, but he had too much virtue and honor to accept them."

Copy of the President's Minute of the 20th of July, 1761

"The President observes, that as Major Carnac has nothing to do but to obey the orders of the Board, and has no right to question or dispute upon them, his letters of the 7th instant will require no answer

It seems, however, by the tenor of many of the Major's letters, and this in particular, that he thinks himself the higher power, and the Board accountable to him. Upon this principle, after quoting the former orders of the Select Committee, in favor of Ramnarain, he proceeds to demand, "Pray how are these reconcileable to the instructions addressed the 26th of June to Mr. M'Gwire?"

Although the Board might do themselves justice upon an officer who thus forgets the respect due to them, yet we chuse rather to refer it to the determination of our honorable masters, to whom it shall, at the same time, be made appear, that those orders in Ramnarain's favor, are now the strongest judgments that can be produced against him, as they are incontestable proofs of our desire to protect him, although the engagements which are so much talked of are no where to be met with. It shall be proved also, that those who profess the greatest friendship for Ramnarain, and who have permitted, if not encouraged him, in refusing or evading, for five months together, to render any account of his administration, are in effect his greatest enemies, by putting it out of our power to protect him longer in so shameful an injustice, in which he has already been upheld, until he had well near carried his point, that of bringing the Nabob to ruin, by a disgraceful residence at Patna, at an immoderate expence, without any income from the province. This, it is imagined, will hardly be said to be the intent of the supposed engagements, and therefore, if any have made Ramnarain believe the meaning of them would be so far stretched, it is they that are the cause of his tears; and it is they that must answer for his unhappy death, if he should destroy himself, as Major Carnac seems to apprehend. It is, however, more than probable, that he will not prove quite so desperate, and that when he is convinced he is not independent of the Subah of Moorshedabad, he will do what he ought to have done five months ago; that is, render to the Nabob an account of his administration, and in such case he will be treated better than he pretends to expect, better a great deal than he deserves.

He has yet hopes, that Major Carnac may keep the command of the army. A delay of twenty days, and Colonel Coote's coming down to Calcutta, might produce fresh orders. A man of Ramnarain's disposition, will construe such a possibility into a certainty, and while he can hope for such a protection at the head of our army, he will continue to think he has a right to an unlimited protection, and continue to evade rendering the Nabob any accounts.

Major Carnac declares himself very freely on this occasion, and gives at the same time a fresh instance of the respect

he has for our authority This passage of his letter of the 17th is worthy the observation of the Board, as well as of our honorable masters, who seldom write to their Presidents and Councils with so great an air of superiority "I esteem myself extremely happy in being removed from the command of the army, as I could not have suffered it, whilst I was at the head thereof, to be employed on the purposes for which I find it is intended, without a direct breach of the declarations I have formerly made to you in regard to Ramnarain"

If more instances of a like nature are wanting, they may be seen in many of the Major's letters, particularly in one to the Select Committee, dated the 16th of June, 1761 "His own opinion and declarations shall be the rule of his actions, and shall supersede the orders of the Board" If our declarations had merited a small part of his attention, Ramnarain would not have been deceived so long The repeated orders of the Select Committee for obliging him to settle accounts with the Nabob, shew, that it was never our intention to screen him from that just demand, the first of those orders was in a letter to the Major, so long ago as the 7th of March, 1761 It is true, we did not fix a day for Ramnarain's rendering his accounts, which is a proof of the regard the Board have shewn him, and of the moderation with which they have acted throughout the whole affair

Week after week, we expected to hear that the accounts had been laid before the Nabob, instead of that, excuse came upon excuse At length, on the 17th of May, we sent the Colonel particular directions in what manner to have the accounts settled, that Ramnarain should be regarded as the deputy of the government of Moorshedabad, that he should give the Nabob a faithful account of his outstanding balances, and the Nabob send his own people to collect them Who would have imagined, that after this, fresh evasions would be admitted for two months more, notwithstanding the Nabob's entreaties and representations of the ruin, in which he must soon be involved, by his useless expences?

The President wrote more than once to Ramnarain, in consequence of the resolutions of the Secret Committee, that

our protection would depend upon his rendering a just account to the Nabob, but he is lately advised by Mr M'Gwire, that Ramnarain, instead of collecting his revenues in a regular manner, has taken, or rather accepted from the Zemindars, large sums by way of presents, which not being brought to account, makes their balances appear much larger than they really are, and his own as much less. An unwillingness to confess this fraudulent attempt, seems to be the true cause of his seeking so many shifts and evasions.

Much more shall be said on this subject hereafter, in order to prove to our honorable masters, that the resolutions lately taken by the Board (or as Major Carnac politely expresses it, the business that is likely to be carried on) were absolutely necessary for preserving the present tranquility, for maintaining the constitution of the government of these provinces, and fulfilling, on our part, the treaty subsisting between the Company and the Nabob, as he has so faithfully done on his."

Extract of a Letter from Major Carnac to the Governor and Council Dated July 29, 1761

"Instead of meeting your thanks, as I imagined, for the great diligence with which I executed your orders, I received, to my great surprize, a letter of censure from you, dated the 14th instant, but it gives me the less concern, as I perceive so few have subscribed their assent thereto.

I have nothing further at present to observe to you, but that you can never oblige a gentleman to do what he thinks unjust and unreasonable, so long as he has it in his option to quit the service, and it is a fortunate circumstance we have this in our power, in a part of the world where, by reason of the extreme distance from redress, we are exposed to such frequent ill treatment, I in particular have experienced, and from no other dement, that I am conscious of, but having been impolite enough to declare my disapprobation of the late measures, yet in this I am not singular, as I verily believe, if the whole Board could be assembled (as in affairs of such importance it seems absolutely requisite that they should, or at least their opinions be collected) the half, if not the majority, would be found to concur with me in sentiment."

Extract of Mr Vansittart's Minute of the 3d of August, 1761

“The President begs leave to observe on reading Major Carnac’s letter, that he mentioned to Mr Ellis some time ago, that his signing his dissent to any letter from the Board, is neither customary nor proper, that the resolutions of the majority of the Board are to be deemed the resolutions of the Board, and to be signed as such by the whole Board, that any member, who dissents from the opinion of the majority, is to enter his dissent, and his reasons, upon the body of the consultations, that the signing dissents in the letters is improper, because it makes known to the world the different opinions of the members, by which means it may be the cause of promoting a misunderstanding, and it also exposes the Board to remarks, such as Major Carnac has not failed to take the occasion of making.

The President further observes, that he apprehends Major Carnac has not confined his remarks on the opinions of the several members of the Board to his answers to our letters, but has made them known even to the Shah and this he takes to be the reason, why the eight letters laid before the Board are addressed some to the Council of Calcutta only, and others to the Governor and Council jointly. The King could not have addressed his letters thus, from any custom or principles of his own, because in all parts of the Mogul empire, they never know or correspond with but one chief, and all other forms of government they will regard as a weakness, of which they will endeavor to take advantage, as is the Shah’s design in the present case, and it is no doubt, in conformity to this system of the country government, that the Company have made it a rule in all their settlements, that the country correspondence should be carried on through the channel of the Governor alone.”

Extract of the Translation of a Letter from Major Carnac to the King

“The letters, which you some time ago was pleased to honor the Council with on certain affairs, were not sent, for want of a trusty person to be charged with them. On my arrival at Patna, I found Colonel Coote was preparing to set

Carry them safe to the council, who will be greatly honored by the receipt thereof. The Colonel will, with his whole heart and soul, exert all his power and influence that your royal orders may be complied with, and speedily send most respectful arzees in answer thereto from the Council. At this writing your servant is preparing to set out for Calcutta in a day or two, and by the help of God will, in conjunction with the Colonel, exert his utmost to have every thing accomplished agreeable to your Majesty's orders. I will not delay to acquaint your Majesty of what may be determined on by the Colonel's and my advice."

Extract of Mr Vansittart's Minute of the 22d of September, 1761

"With respect to withdrawing Major Canrac from the command of the army, reasons were given at the time the resolutions were taken on the consultation of the 29th of June, and the same reasons still subsist, for Major Carnac declared, no longer ago than last Thursday, at the Select Committee, that he would be the judge of what orders he might receive from the Board. The President observes, that no service can be carried on, where there is more than one authority; if an officer is to be the judge of the orders he receives from the Board, the execution of those orders will depend on his judgment, and not on the judgment of the Board."

Copy of Major Carnac's Answer to the foregoing.

"The President has been pleased to alledge, in justification of his having recalled the Major from the command of the forces at Patna, the Major's inveterate hatred against the Nabob, and his declaration, that he would be the judge of the orders he received. For the answer to the first, he refers to his letter which he now delivers in; and with respect to the other, he begs leave to observe, that he is truly concerned orders of such a nature have been given, as to oblige him to make that declaration, and to repeat now to the Board, that he had rather incur the charge of disobedience, than bring dishonor upon the nation, and disgrace upon himself and the forces under his command."

Such repeated insults from an officer to the Governor and Council, under whose orders and authority he held his commission, highly merited some public censure, and the world may be surprized that he escaped it. The same majority of the Board, who gave the orders to Major Carnac, and who were thus insulted, might, and in justice ought to have dismissed him from the Company's service, but we forbore making use of the power which was in our own hands, and referred it to the Court of Directors, to take such notice of these proceedings, as might prevent the like disorders in future. On this and all occasions it will be found, that I have chosen the most moderate measures, and particularly avoided shewing any marks of resentment against those who had violently opposed me, judging this to be the most likely method of abating the rage of party.

SECTION VIII

Mr. Ellis's Appointment to the Chiefship of Patna ;
and his Disputes with the Nabob

Mr Ellis succeeds to the Chiefship of Patna—His Instructions from the Board—Debate upon the Instructions—Mr Ellis arrives at Patna—He gives Orders for seizing one of the Nabob's Officers—Letter from the Nabob to Mr Ellis, and his Answer—He seizes another Officer of the Government, and sends him to Calcutta.—The Nabob's Letter to Mr. Ellis on that Subject—Letter from the Nabob to Mr Vansittart.—Mr Ellis sends a Detachment of Seepoys, to search the Fort of Mongheer for Deserters.—Informations given to the Nabob upon this Proceeding The Seepoys being refused Admittance, take Post near the Fort, and continue there three Months—Lieutenant Ironside searches the Fort, and the Seepoys are recalled.—Two Letters, giving an Account of a Dispute between Mr Ellis and the Naib of Patna—Many

Letters on the subject of these Disputes and the Debates of the Board upon them—Mr Vansittart's Conduct in the Course of these Debates—Alarms occasioned by these Disputes—An Attempt to raise Suspicious against the Nabob—Jealousy on both Sides

Hardly had the alarm, occasioned by Colonel Coote's disputes with the Nabob at Patna subsided, when a * considerable change happened in the Council, with this additional misfortune, that it brought Mr Ellis into the chiefship at Patna; an event from which I dreaded bad consequences, foreseeing he would set on foot continual disputes with the Nabob's people; and I did my utmost to guard against his danger, by the clear and explicit instructions I proposed to be given him, and which, after a long debate, were approved by a majority of the Board, determined by the casting voice of the President. The instructions proposed, and the opinions given, were as follows

Instructions for Mr Ellis.

"Captain Carstairs, the commanding officer of the troops at Patna, is ordered to act under your directions. The reason for our keeping up so considerable a force there, is to be in readiness to assist the Nabob, in reducing to obedience and good order by Zemindars of his dependance that may give him cause of complaint, by withholding their rents, fomenting disturbances, or otherwise. Our honorable masters, sensible of the impropriety of protecting a servant against his masters, and of the bad consequences that may result therefrom, have cautioned us very particularly on that subject, in their last general letter. We think such their caution very judicious, and that nothing but jealousy and ill-will, between the Nabob and the Company, can be the consequence of our interfering in the support of any Zemindar, or other person holding office, grant, or authority, under the government. It is expressly contrary to our engagements with the Nabob; and besides, must end in the ruin of the person so protected, who, presuming on our inter-

* The change in the Council was occasioned by the dismissal of Mes Sumner, M'Gwire, and Playdell, and soon after Mr. Smith likewise resigned, and went to Europe. In their places Mes Cartier, Hastings, Johnstone, and Hay, came into Council.

position, throws off his respect to his master, and consequently shuts up all the ways of accommodation. Every one that has been admitted under such protection, from the beginning of Jaffier Allee Cawn's government, may be quoted as an instance of the truth of this observation. We enjoin you, therefore, not to interfere, directly or indirectly, in any affairs of the country government, or with the people belonging to it, but when the Nabob applies to you for the assistance of any of our forces, to be sent to any part of the country, under his jurisdiction, for the execution of any service, you are to take the opinion of the officer commanding our troops, whether the force under his command is sufficient for the execution of the service proposed, or what part of it is requisite to be sent. If he judges this force sufficient, you are to direct him to proceed, and do his utmost for the execution of the said service, or if the whole force is not necessary, to send such a detachment as he judges sufficient. But if the commanding officer should give his opinion, that the force, under his command, is not sufficient for the execution of the proposed service, then you are to transmit to us the most speedy intelligence, that we may send you a reinforcement. After the Nabob's departure from Patna, you are to give the same assistance to the Naib or Deputy, he may leave there, for the management of the affairs of his government.

Debate upon the foregoing Instructions

Some of the Board being of opinion, that Mr Ellis should have the power of judging of the nature of the services, on which the Nabob might request the English troops to be employed, and, in consequence of that judgment, to comply with his request or not, upon which the question being put,

Mr Hastings thinks he should not have the power, but represent to the Council, if he thinks the Nabob requires our troops upon any service hurtful to the English character, as he has no conception of any such service.

Mr Smith is of the same opinion.

Major Carnac thinks, that Mr Ellis should be a judge of the nature of the service, as well as the sufficiency of the force required for that service.

Mr Amyatt thinks, that the putting our chief at Patna, with the troops committed to his charge, under the orders of the Nabob, is dishonorable to our masters, an indignity to the Board, and an unprecedented case till the chiefship of Mr M'Gwire, when Mr Amyatt dissented to it, in the proceedings of the Select Committee the 18th of June. The power of calling for our force whenever, and for what service he pleases, without the chief's being allowed to judge of the nature of those services, may be attended with such fatal consequences, that it would be the height of imprudence to entrust any Nabob with it, especially one who we have too much reason to suspect, would be glad of an opportunity to make an ill use thereof, in order to throw an odium upon us. Mr Amyatt cannot therefore, subscribe to the instructions now before the Board, while they contain an article of such dangerous tendency.

Colonel Coote is of the same opinion with Mr Amyatt.

The President approves of the orders as they now stand, being, in his opinion, best calculated to prevent disputes, and most agreeable to our honorable masters intentions."

Mr Ellis arrived at Patna, about the middle of November, just after the Nabob had marched from thence for the Bouge-poor country. Mr Ellis's prejudices against the Nabob's promotion, and disaffection to his person, had been too publicly expressed, and had been made too much the subject of his common conversation, to escape the Nabob's notice long before this period, and in effect had greatly alarmed him, for the influence, which such a temper might have on his affairs. His suspicions were soon confirmed by an order sent to captain Carstairs, a very short time after Mr Ellis's arrival at Patna, to seize and imprison an officer of the government, named Munseram, on a complaint of a Gomastah of the factory. The Nabob was then at Arwel, about forty miles from Patna, a distance not so great, but that he might (had that respect been deemed due to him) have been acquainted with the complaint, before such extremities were proceeded to, and neither the Company's privileges, nor the English honor, suffered by such a condescension. Captain Carstairs, either regarding it in this light, or, upon enquiry, finding the complaint of less consequence than it had been made to appear by the Gomastah,

evaded the execution of this order, but acquainted the Nabob with it, and contented himself with desiring him to reprimand Munseram in the following letter, dated the 31st of January, 1762

“I have received a letter from Mr Ellis, the chief of the factory at Patna, to this purport “That one Munseram Hircara, in the Purgunnah of Arra, has stopped some opium belonging to Mr Hay, notwithstanding there was a dustuck with it, and will not let it pass, that I must therefore take him prisoner, and freeing the opium from his hands, dispatch it forwards” Regarding your Excellencys favors, I have judged it not proper to imprison Munseram, but submit this matter to your Excellency; and request, that you will write a reprimand to the said Munseram, and command him to release the opium I request a speedy answer to this address, that I may write accordingly to Mr Ellis”

This forbearance of captain Carstairs made no difference in Mr Ellis’s intentions, nor prevented the Nabob from seeing to what lengths he would go on greater provocation, nor he long without receiving fresh arguments for this opinion

A complaint having been made to the Nabob against Mr. Gray, the Company’s resident at Malda, by the Naib of the province of Purnea, the Nabob sent a copy of the complaint to Mr. Ellis, and desired him to take cognizance of it His letter and Mr. Ellis’s answer I subjoin hereto, as nothing can set the behavior and temper of each in so fair and just a light

From the Nabob to Mr Ellis Dated January 22, 1762

“Some time ago you wrote to me concerning the ill behavior of the officers of Purnea At this time I am informed, by a letter from Meer Sheer Allee Cawn, the Naib of Purnea, of great acts of oppression committed by Mr George Gray, chief of the factory at Malda, of his seizing and imprisoning the Peshkar of Heeramun, the Zemindar and Wabadar of Tajpoor, and sending Seepoys and Europeans to purchase grain, and erect new factories in every district of Purnea. A copy of this letter, with a letter written by that gentleman

to Sheer Allee Cawn, I send you enclosed, that you may be informed of the particulars. Since the ties of friendship and alliance have been established between me and the English Company, and our interests in this country are united, if you imprison my people in this manner, to the ruin of my lands, and the impoverishing of my revenues, such a proceeding is very foreign from the friendship and good understanding which should subsist between us. I desire that you will take this affair into consideration, and, regarding our several concerns as united, direct me how I am to act, and it shall be done accordingly. When you have read Mr Gray's letter please to return it."

Copy of Mr Ellis's Answer to the above Dated February 4, 1762.

"Your Excellency's letter, enclosing a letter from Mr George Gray, and the copy of one from Meer Sheer Allee Cawn, I have read with great pleasure, and have understood all the particulars. I have before this repeatedly represented to you the complaints, which have been made to me against the Zemindars of Purnea. Now Gray's letter has clearly proved the insolence of the Zemindars, and the justice of my complaints. It is fact, that the insolence of the Zemindars and officers in every quarter exceeds all bounds, and that the Company's business has been entirely obstructed and ruined. It appears from Mr Gray's letter, that he complained to Sheer Allee Cawn twice or thrice against the Zemindars, but receiving no answer nor redress, he was under the necessity of taking such measures. At this time, a person in the districts of Mongheer having seized some saltpetre of the Company's, I have taken him prisoner, and sent him to Calcutta. Of this I inform your Excellency. Having learnt the contents of Mr. Gray's letter, according to your orders I send it back inclosed."

The Nabob was so much provoked by this letter, and the fixed resolution, which he now plainly perceived in Mr Ellis, to take every occasion to affront him, that he from this time renounced all correspondence with him.

The person mentioned in Mr. Ellis's letter, to have been sent a prisoner to Calcutta, was an officer employed by the

Nabob as collector of the rents of Punchmahla, in the districts of Mongheer His name was Coja Antoon It was his misfortune to be an Armenian, and an agent of Coja Gregore (an Armenian also) whom the Nabob had treated with some marks of confidence and esteem He had been accused of purchasing five maunds* of salt-petre For this he was seized, and brought prisoner to the factory at Patna, by a party of Seepoys sent from thence for that purpose The charge could not be denied, he confessed that he had bought the salt-petre, and for the use of the Nabob But as the sole privilege of purchasing that article in the Bahar province had been granted by a perwannah from the former Nabob, and confirmed by the present to the Company, this was deemed an infringement of the English rights, equivalent to a robbery, and was termed such Rajah Rajebullub, the Naib of Patna, repeatedly and earnestly solicited Mr Ellis's clemency in behalf of the unhappy delinquent, but his remonstrances against this insult on the government could not move Mr Ellis, an example was to be made of such a crime, and such an offender, and he was sent down to Calcutta, a prisoner and in irons, to be punished as he deserved Lest however this crime should not have sufficient weight, another charge was likewise discovered, and sent after him, viz that he had treated with contempt the Company's dustuck on a certain occasion, by giving the person who carried it a certificate of the goods, having been duly passed by the principal chokey, and though upon enquiry it appeared, that he neither stopped the goods, nor detained the dustuck, yet this was made use of as an aggravation of his former offence, and a fresh proof of the Nabob's disregard of our privileges, and the insolence of Armenian authority I wish I could add, that the blame of this proceeding had been confined to Mr Ellis, nor received a sanction from the Board True it is, that they declined inflicting any punishment on him themselves By their orders he was remanded to Patna, and from thence (after a confinement of three months, and a journey of above 900 miles, with all the horrors which the prospect of an ignominious death, or at least the loss of his ears, could give him) was delivered over to the Nabob, who was desired to punish him

* A maund is a weight of eighty pounds

How severely the Nabob felt the effects of this insult, will appear from the following letter, which was the last that he ever wrote to Mr Ellis *

“Your letter I have received, you write that, “the Company’s Gomastahs have the free liberty of trading every where, that it is needless to enumerate particulars, that you desire me to write a perwannah to Sheer Allee Cawn, to forbid his officers to stop any goods of the Gomastahs in Purnea ”

I have just received intelligence, that you have sent a large force, and carried off a collector of the government who was at Punchmahla, in the districts of Mongheer If that person had committed any fault, it would have been proper to have informed me of it, since my interests and the Company’s are united It ill became you to seize an officer of my government, who was intrusted with affairs of great consequence, and then to desire a letter to Sheer Allee Cawn Since my servants are subjected to such insults, my writing can be of no use You are the master, send for any of my officers, Zemindars, Tahsildars, or Fougedars, where and whomscever you please How much my government and authority are weakened by these proceedings I cannot describe ”

It may not be amiss to insert in this place, an extract of a letter which I received from the Nabob about the time that these disputes arose, which will serve to shew, how little the Nabob was disposed to enter into such contests, or to obstruct the Company’s trade or privileges It must be remembered, however, that we had no complaints of the Company’s business being interrupted either at Malda, which borders on Purnea, or in any other part of the country, though their name has been so freely made use of on this occasion But the truth is, every struggle made by the country people against the oppressions and extortions of the private English Gomastahs, was immediately construed as an attack upon the Company’s rights

* The date of this letter does not appear, but it must have been wrote about the 4th or 5th of February, and before the receipt of Mr Ellis’s to the Nabob just mentioned

Extract of a Letter from the Nabob to the President Received February 10, 1762

“At this time Mr Ellis, the chief of Patna, writes, that the Purnea and other Fougedars molest the Company’s business I have, therefore, wrote expressly to the Purnea, Fougedar, &c. not to interrupt the Company’s trade, but always to assist them I before wrote to the Bengal Fougedars, and others, not to impede the Company’s business in any respect, and to advise you of any thing that came before them I am at a great distance, therefore, should any thing happen, write to the Fougedars, and others, and they will act as shall tend most to benefit the Company’s trade, and the business of my Subahdarree ”

The next subject of contention arose from an information given Mr Ellis, that two of our deserters had taken shelter in the fort of Mongheer, then governed by Shujan Sing, as Naib to Coja Gregore. Mr Ellis applied to Raja Rajebullub, the Naib of Patna, for an order to Shujan Sing to deliver up the deserters, or suffer the fort to be searched for them, and contenting himself with a verbal reply from Rajebullub, that he would write to Shujan Sing upon the subject, immediately sent a company of seepoys to search the fort, and take the deserters

Whether the Rajah did actually send Mr. Ellis word, that he would write to Shujan Sing, and neglected it, or the messenger (no uncommon practice of Durbar attendants) had invented that answer for him, certain it is, that no such order was sent, nor indeed had he any authority to send one, the fort of Mongheer being garrisoned by the Nabob, and entirely independent of the Naib of Patna In effect, when questioned by the Nabob on that head, he not only denied his having wrote such an order, or that he had ever been applied to for one, but by his letters to the Nabob, at the beginning of the affair, appears to have been almost the first that gave notice of it, and with expressions of the greatest alarm, on account of so violent a proceeding. He acquaints the Nabob with his remonstrances to Mr. Ellis against it, his entreaty to him, to recall the seepoys, and that gentleman’s declaration in reply, that he would not recall the seepoys, till the serjeant who commanded them had been admitted into the fort.

These particulars will appear from the following letters.

*Extract of a Paper of News sent to the Nabob from Patna.
Dated February 4, 1762*

“Four gurrries before night, two or three companies of seepoys and Europeans, with their baggage, passed by land through the Kella, by the eastern gate God knows what is their design, and whither they are going In consequence thereof Sedderam, the Dewan of *Goorgheen Cawn, came to the Mharajah, and they have been sitting together for two hours, in close debate upon this matter The Mharajah has strictly enjoined Laal, and Rambuksh, and the other Hazzarees, and the †Telingas of Goorgheen Cawn, not to admit any European or English seepoy within the city, but to be on their guard Conformably to the orders of the Mharajah, all the Hazzarees, and the seepoys of Goorgheen Cawn are on their guard ”

*Translation of a Letter from Raja Rajebullub to the Nabob
Copy received in Calcutta, February 22, 1762*

“Shujan Sing, the Naib at Mongheer, has wrote to Sedderam, the Naib of Coja Goorgheen Cawn, that some time ago the seepoys surrounded the fort, but not succeeding, they went to two gardens, which are near the fort, to the northward and southward, and from thence to Seetacoond (which is situated near the river) where they yet remain Shujan Sing represented to them, that there were no Europeans in the fort, and carried two of their own people into it, and shewed them every place about it, and tho’ no Europeans were to be found, they were not satisfied, but wanted to send two serjeants But Shujan Sing apprehending they might have some view, would not permit the serjeants to enter the fort, this account I sent to Mr Ellis, thro’ the means of Golaum Mahomed Cawn, to know why they acted in this improper manner, and that, at several times, he was dispatching many Europeans and seepoys from Patna, towards Mongheer fort, on which account the inhabitants were much terrified, and had run away, that those who lived round Mongheer were driven to great distress, and the Zemindars, seeing all this, were dilatory in paying the revenues, and

* Coja Gregore

† Seepoys

desiring to know what were his intentions, that it was better for him to recall his people, and if, after enquiry, the Europeans should be in the fort, I would get them, and deliver them up Mr Ellis answered plainly, "Till the serjeants go into the fort, I will not recall the men" I apprehend he will shortly send more people This I have represented for your information "

*Copy of a Letter from Mharajah Rajebullub to the Nabob.
Dated March 26, 1762*

"Your Excellency's perwannah, signifying, that formerly Mr. Ellis wrote, and now Mr Vansittart has wrote also, that when the company of seepoys went towards Mongheer, I gave a letter in the name of Shujan Sing, the Naib of that place, for the search and examination of the said fort, that your Excellency is amazed at this information, that I never gave you the least notice of this affair, and that I should inform you fully of the truth of this matter, I have received with pleasure

I know not in truth any thing of this affair, neither did any person ever demand, or I write such a letter; had any such demand been made, what could have induced me to have given such a letter? Or had there been an absolute necessity for me, I would have first acquainted you with the particulars, and waited your orders upon them This affair is utterly false and untrue "

Loose as the country discipline is, it required little sagacity in Shujan Sing to discover, that it was a part of his duty, as well as a proper caution of self-security, to deny the party an entrance into the fort which he did by shutting the gates, and threatening to fire upon them, if they approached within gunshot of the walls This was complained of as the highest excess of insolence in Shujan Sing; and the Nabob was desired to punish him, for doing what he would have deserved to lose his head, had he not done

On this weak pretence was the party continued at Mongheer, for three months. Mr Ellis (supported by the Board) insisted on their being admitted to search the fort, and the Nabob, as tenaciously refused it, exclaiming all the time against

our breach of faith, and continual and unprovoked acts of hostility against him. At length, yielding to my persuasions, he consented, that any person sent from me might search the fort. This commission was given to lieutenant Ironside, who accompanied Mr Hastings on his journey to the Nabob, and he was admitted accordingly, but found no deserters, and upon the strictest enquiry, as well as the declaration of a French invalid, who was entertained in the fort, and who obtained his discharge at the same time, had all the reason in the world to be convinced, that none had ever in it.

The event of this enquiry being made known to Mr Ellis, he was obliged, by the order of the Board, to put an end to the disputes, which he did by a written order to captain Carstairs, to recall the seepoys, in consideration of the serjeant (who had indeed attended lieutenant Ironside) having been admitted to search the fort.

If Mr Ellis's real intention, by this open act of hostility, was not to provoke the Nabob to retaliate it, it will be hard to assign any other reason for so extraordinary a proceeding, and harder yet to conceive, upon what grounds he should expect to recover the deserters, by the method which he professed to take for that purpose, the fort of Mongheer being near three miles in circumference, encompassed by the river on two sides of it, and a large town on the other, and within crowded with houses, insomuch, that five hundred men might have been lodged within the walls when the party first arrived, and conveyed away without being detected in their escape; or they might even have been concealed in the fort, with almost an equal probability of security, from any search that could have been made for them in so wild and intricate a place.

But without searching for the hidden motive of this proceeding, the consequences were but too evident, in the conviction which it gave the Nabob of Mr Ellis's unconquerable resolution to create a breach between him and the English, in the contempt which it brought upon his government, and in the encouragement which it gave to the disaffected persons about his court to conspire against his life, in which they had nearly succeeded.

I shall conclude this article by observing, shall thought every argument was used to make good the charge against Shujan Sing, and the test it was put to ended entirely in his favor Yet not the least satisfaction or apology was made to the Nabob, for the indignities which had been offered him ; on the contrary, occasion was taken, from his complaints against Mr Ellis, to lay a fresh charge against him, of disaffection to the Company, and a distrust of the English honor

Whilst this affair was in agitation another dispute arose, which for brevity I shall relate in the words of Rajebullub, as contained in the two following letters.

Translation of a Letter from Mharajah Rajebullub to the Nabob

"To-day a man, mounted on a horse belonging to Mr. Ellis, chief of the English factory, was passing by the eastern gate into the Kella, a Coffree, who commanded the seepoys belonging to Goorgheen Cawn, and who had the command of the gate, asked the horseman, whom the horse belonged to ? The man refused to tell him the owner's name, and gave him ill language Upon this provocation, the Coffree took hold of the horse's bridle and stopt him. The horseman drew his dagger upon him, which the Coffree seized and took from him. The horseman went to Mr Ellis, who sent some seepoys to seize and carry the Coffree before him On intelligence of this, I called the seepoys of the factory and the Coffree before me, and enquired into the affair in preference of the Hircarra of the factory It appeared, that the fact was as I have related it Afterwards speaking kindly to them, and giving them beetle, I dismissed them They took their leave of me, but did not go to the factory, and not being able to sit at the gate, six seepoys stationed themselves in a shop of the Bazar, in the passage which leads to my house, demanding the Coffree, with some gold mohrs, which were plundered I sent Golaum Mahomed Cawn to the chief, to expostulate with him, for making such trifles a matter of debate, and to desire him to recall the seepoys He would by no means consent, but replied in anger, "till the Coffree is brought into my preference, I will never recall the

seepoys" Since in this manner the affairs of the government suffer indignity, and I am not impowered to do any thing without your commands, I request you will speedily favor me with your orders upon this affair, that I may act accordingly"

Translation of a Letter from Mharajah Rajebullub to the Nabob.

"The substance of a quarrel which happened between Mr Ellis's people and the Coffree belonging to Goorgheen Cawn, and of the six seepoys being stationed at a shop in the Bazar, in the way to my house, I have before represented in an address to your Excellency, which you will have received

Several times, both yesterday and today, a person came from the factory to demand the Coffree By the means of Meer Abdoola and Golaum Mahomed Cawn, who formerly passed and repassed into the factory on business, I returned a suitable answer At length the chief declared, that if the Coffree was not sent, it would be treating him with contempt, and if he was sent, for one instant only, he should be immediately dismissed To-day therefore the Coffree was sent The chief, enquiring the occasion of the difference, told him, he forgave him his offence, and at the same time dismissed him, and withdrawing the seepoys, called them home At present there are no seepoys at this place"

These, and such like disputes, became, at length, almost the only subject of the letters, which passed between me and the Nabob, of these I shall produce one or two by way of example, together with Mr Ellis's own letters, and some extracts from the consultations upon the same facts

*Copy of a Letter from Mr Ellis to the Governor and Council.
Dated January 26, 1762*

"From the late frequent interruptions given to our business, I am necessitated to acquaint you of the general disregard shewn to the English dustucks throughout the country,

but more particularly so in those parts where the Armenians have any influence

In pursuance of our honorable masters order, *per* Lord Mansfield, a quantity of turmeric was purchased near Mow, which when ready I sent a dustuck for, but to little purpose, for Coja Antoon (the prisoner sent to Calcutta) declared it of no effect, and had the insolence to give one himself under the seal of one Coja Gregory, alias Goorgheen Cawn, an Armenian, which I have now the honour to inclose you. Upon my asking him, how he dared presume to give a dustuck for the Company's goods? He replied, "to prevent their being stopped, which mine would not have done, because we are not sufficiently known."

I have frequently complained to the Nabob of these insolences, and have constantly received evasive and dissatisfactory answers, once, indeed, on a representation made him at the instance of Mr George Gray, he sent me a letter for Meer Sheer Allee, the Purnea Naib which he informed me, was an order to give every assistance to the gentleman residing at Malda; but I find it proved of no effect, as I suppose Mr Gray has already acquainted you.

Mr Howit has had two boats, with a dustuck, stopped in the Purnea country, for near three months, and there are many more, on different parts of the river, in the same situation. This disregard of the dustuck, may be attended with the worst consequences to the Company's business, as private merchants; I therefore submit it to your determination, whether (since the Nabob seems to allow of it) it would be most eligible for us to punish severely any who may impede the carriage of merchandize, having an English dustuck."

Extract of a Letter from the Chief and Council at Patna (Mes Ellis, Lushington, and Howit) to the Governor and Council January 28, 1762

"Some days ago Mr Smith, being at Mow, informed the chief from thence of one Coja Antoon, an Armenian,

having seized five maunds of salt-petre, and sent it to Mongheer; in consequence of which, a party of seepoys was detached to bring the Armenian prisoner to this factory. On being examined, he acknowledged that fact, as likewise the inclosed letter, in answer to one which our gomastah wrote to him on the subject

Having not the least prospect of any redress from the Nabob for this contempt of the perwannah, we have thought proper to send the Armenian under a guard to Calcutta; not doubting, but that you will cause such a punishment to be inflicted on him, as may deter others from the like practices in future"

Extract of a Consultation, held at Calcutta the 11th of February, 1762 (Present Mes Vansittart, Amyatt, Johnstone and Hay)

"Coja Antoon, an Armenian, born at Delly, residing at Mulky, on behalf of Sedderam, the Naib of Coja Gregory (who rents eight gauts in that part of the country) having been seized and sent down by the chief and council at Patna, for having presumed to give a dustuck for goods belonging to the Company, which had before their own proper dustuck, likewise for taking from the Company's* Nunneas five maunds of salt-petre, and asked, whether he wrote them, and what were his reasons for so doing?

Coja Antoon acknowledges the dustuck and letter to have been wrote by him, and declares, that he did not tear or take away the Company's dustuck, but only took a copy of it, and returned it with a dustuck, under the seal of Sedderam, to enable the goods to pass the gauts belonging to Sedderam, that it was always the custom to do so, and that he did*the same with the Nabob's With regard to the petre, he says, a Nunnea. belonging to the Sircar, came from the opposite side of the river. in order to purchase ten rupees worth of petre; that he thereupon sent for one of the Company's Nunneas, and desired him to let the other have the

* The people who work the salt-petre

petre, to which he readily consented, that as soon as the petre was obtained, he sent the Nunnea, belonging to the Sircar, with the salt-petre across the river, accompanied by one of his own servants, to prevent his being stopped

The Board being of opinion, that upon the whole, Coja Antoon has taken upon himself an authority which he has no right to, and it being requisite, that he be made an example of, to prevent others from the like practices in future, but as he is a servant of the government's, it properly belonging to the Nabob to chastise him.

Agreed he be sent to Patna under a guard, and that the gentlemen there deliver him to the Nabob with a letter, which the President is desired to write to him, insisting upon his punishing Coja Antoon in a public manner, to prevent others from carrying our dustucks in question, and we desire the gentlemen at Patna, to inform us particularly what punishment he inflicts upon him"

Extract of a Letter from Mr Ellis to the Governor and Council Dated February 13, 1762

"A Company of seepoys was detached down the river, in quest of deserters, of which I apprized Rajebullub, and desired an order for the serjeant of the party to be admitted to search the fort of Mongheer This he assured me was sent down; but the serjeant, on his arrival near Mongheer, having dispatched a messenger to desire admittance, received an answer from one Shujan Singh (Coja Gregory's deputy) that if he did not keep out of the reach of his guns, he would fire on him! and, at the same time, he posted all his people round the walls; upon which the serjeant, who had positive orders to give no offence to any person whatever, went about two coss off. where he remains, with his party, in the utmost distress for provision, Shujan Singh, having forbid any to be sold them I have not yet ordered them back, because there is certain advice of four of our deserters being concealed in Mongheer fort This, gentlemen, is another instance of Armenian insolence"

Translation of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor
Cons February 22, 1762

“This day, which is the 19th of the month Rejub, I have heard by a letter from Shujan Sing, Naib of the fort of Mongheer, and from the advices of my Hircarras, that two or three companies of seepoys were sent out by Mr. Ellis, the chief of the factory at Patna, on the report of some soldiers who had deserted from the factory, to the east of Patna; who accordingly arrived on a sudden, near the fort of Mongheer, and marched against it, but finding the gates shut, they surrounded the fort. The Naib of the place fastened all the gates, and sat within in fear of his life and honor. I am ignorant what provocation has induced the gentleman to send seepoys to attack the fort of Mongheer. I have ever regarded the solemn and sacred obligations of the treaty, which subsists between us, and have, in no instance, failed in any of the duties of friendship. But why you, gentlemen, in defiance of the treaty, should thus commit hostilities against my fort, and my servants, I cannot conceive. Depending on your justice, and the inclination which you have shewn to befriend me, in all my affairs, in conformity with the treaty, I have wrote you of this affair, and send you the advices above-mentioned for your information. I am here taking such measures for regulating the concerns of this quarter, as you might approve of, and have stationed men in the forts and tannahs. If this is contrary to your inclination, intimate it to me, that they may be recalled. What necessity was there to send an armed force against my people? Whatever you judge adviseable and proper on this occasion, do you determine, and inform me, that I, who regard your satisfaction, beyond every other consideration, may act agreeably thereto. The disgrace which my authority has suffered, is beyond description.

P. S. Mr. Ellis having wrote to me, and requested a perwannah to Sheer Allee Cawn, not to stop any goods, I have at this time received advice, that for a trifling cause, that gentleman has disgraced and carried away Coja Antoon, the Aumil of Punchmala Perganah, in the jurisdiction of

Mongheer, a prisoner to the factory The answer, which on this occasion I wrote to him, I send you inclosed, and desire you will read it”

Translation of a letter from Rajebullub to the Nabob

“This day being Sunday, the 27th of the month Jemmady-ul-sany, at noon, Bya Sedderam, the Peshkar of Coja Goorgheen Cawn, came and acquainted me, that Coja Antoon, an Armenian, who is one of his (Goorgheen Cawn’s) kinsmen, and appointed by him to the charge of the affairs of Punchmala, &c in the districts of Mongheer, was seized and carried away by about four hundred Europeans and seepoys in the English service, who were dispatched to that place The affair is this It was reported, that he had bought a small quantity of salt-petre, which he was accused of having plundered from the factory. I was going to send Golaum Mahomed Cawn to enquire into this affair, when Bya Sedderam again sent me word, that they had brought Coja Antoon to the factory Accordingly, I sent Golaum Mahomed Cawn to Mr Ellis, the chief of the factory, to represent to him, that Coja Antoon was a man of credit, and entrusted with affairs of great consequence under the government, and that to treat him in so violent a manner was improper; that if he would send him to me (which was proper) I would examine him. But this he would by no means consent to, but replied, that the man had done great prejudice to the business of the factory, and that he would put him in irons, and send him to Calcutta. I again sent word, that he ought to send the said Coja to me; and if Mr Ellis had any claim upon him, it should be debated before him He answered, “I will neither release him, nor send him to you, but he shall not be ill treated” I have wrote this for your information, and wait your orders regarding this affair.”

Copy of a Letter from Shujan Singh to Dewan Sedderam.

“This day, being the 13th of the month Rejub, in the afternoon, a company of English troops arrived and encamped first at Suffiabad, about two hours afterwards, having suffia-

bad, they entered Mongheer by the road of the Bazar, and passing near the eastern gate, came at once into the garden, which is a gunshot to the north of the fort, in a treacherous and designing manner, and there pitched their tents. As I was upon my guard in the fort, they could not surprize it, but went into the garden, and placed guards around the fort. Their design is certainly to deal treacherously by us, though what their motives are cannot be known, nor have they declared themselves. As their force is small, they have wrote to their chief, that the fort is so well secured, that they cannot attack it, but of a reinforcement be sent them they will storm it. For this reason I write to you to acquaint you, that there is no danger from one or two companies; but if the chief of the factory at Patna should send a large force to their assistance, it will not be in my power to oppose them. We are but one hundred new raised burkundasses, with the seepoys and peons which belong to the garrison, and are ready to sacrifice ourselves to the service of our masters. As you are in the place of my commander, I request you will dispatch two or three hundred good men speedily by water to my assistance. I shall do my duty, but you know that I have but a few men with me, and I before represented this to you. I request a speedy answer, and a supply of three or four thousand bullets, and some lead. If the latter arrives I can make bullets. What happens hereafter I will advise you of."

A
NARRATIVE
OF THE
TRANSACTIONS IN BENGAL.

*Translation of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor
Dated March 26, 1762.*

“Your friendly letter, dated the 17th of Shaaban, I have received, and I rejoice at the news of your welfare. You wrote that, “Mr. Ellis applied to Mharajah Rajebullub, as Naib of Azimabad, and obtained from him a letter to Shujan Sing, the Kelladar of Mongheer, which he sent him, and that the Mharajah knowing himself to be Naib, write a letter and gave it; that the Kelladar would not suffer the serjeant to go into the fort to look after the soldiers, and made a disturbance for a trifling affair; that I should write a perwannah to the said Kelladar, and order him to suffer the fort to be searched for the soldiers; and that he be punished in case they be found there”

Whatever you write is proper. yet, from my first accession to the government, I have perceived, that many English gentlemen were ill affected to me, and that the country was not in my own hands. The cause of the disaffection of those gentlemen I know not; you may. The cause of the country's not being in my hands is this; that from the factory of Calcutta to Cossimbuzar, Patna and Dacca, all the English chiefs, with their gomastahs, officers and agents, in every district of the government, act as collectors, renters, zemindars and taalookdars, and setting up the Company's colors, allow no power to my officers. And besides this, the gomastahs and other servants in every district, in every gunge, pergunah and village,

carry on a trade in oil, fish, straw, bamboos, rice, paddy, beetle-nut, and other things; and every man with a Company's dustuck in his hand, regards himself as not less than the Company. In this case I never can have any authority as long as I live. Nevertheless I believed, and assured myself, that you would not listen to what slanderers might say of my proceedings, and that whenever I write to you about the oppressions of the gomastahs, you would punish and keep them within bounds. But now, from the letters which I have twice received from you, it is evident, that whatever I write, you regard as a falsehood, and that whatever those gentlemen write, with a view of vilifying me, and rendering me contemptible, that you give credit to. I have no remedy.

Rajebullub as Naib might have written, and given a letter about such an affair, when I was not within two or three days journey of Patna, but whilst I am at hand, what authority has he to proceed in such an affair without my knowledge? Therefore he strongly denies that he wrote such a letter, as you must have known before this from his letter which I sent you. This circumstance ought to be enquired into; because, if he did write, and give such a letter, and then deny it to me, it is certain that he had a design to disturb the friendship between us, and in that case I will punish him as he deserves, as a warning to other incendiaries.

How could Shujan Sing give liberty to any one to enter the fort? There is a great difference between sending a company and a single serjeant, since, from the union between us, I look upon the Company's forces as my own, and their forts and mine as the same. In this business one note or one serjeant would have been sufficient. What occasion was there for sending a company? I myself have never entertained a European in the fort, and what power has Shujan Sing to entertain any without my knowledge? What service could my affairs reap from four or five Europeans? Or what important employment could I give them, that I should offend my friends for so trifling an occasion? And since I well know, and you yourself are sensible, that if I should apply to you for two or four hundred Europeans, you would immediately grant them; why should I entertain four or five in secret? And what is Shujan Sing's

fault? I have not allowed entrance into the fort, the reason is, that Mr Ellis commits open acts of hostility against me, raises calumnies against me, corresponds with my enemies, and instead of a single letter sends two hundred sepoys, and all that he has written to you is utterly false. I have made a strict enquiry, and I am certain there is not an English deserter in the fort of Mongheer. Till you and the gentlemen of the council do me justice in this affair, and send me some person from Calcutta to enquire into it, and bring the slanderers to shame, I will upon no account permit the fort to be searched. That gentleman has invented this false charge against me to-day, and you upon his information, without any enquiry, order me to let the fort be searched. Another day, if he writes that a dependant of yours, or an European, is concealed in my tent or house, and that I am an enemy of the Company's, you will believe him, mistrust me, and order me to suffer a search to be made there likewise."

Extract of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor Dated May 24, 1762

"You write me, that "by carrying on so long a correspondence in so trifling an affair, which is nothing more than, whether search shall be made for some European deserters, from whence you perceive, it is the intention of some designing persons to breed a dissension between me and the Company, that if Shujan Sing had permitted the serjeant to go into the fort, and look for the deserters, there would have been an end of the dispute, that I should believe you firm to the treaty and your engagements, nor hearken to the suggestions of designing persons, but remove them from me"

Though I have ever continued firm to the treaty, and to my engagements, though I have maintained my faith to you inviolable with my heart and soul, and am resolved whilst I live to persevere in the duties of friendship, yet Mr Ellis, from his inveterate enmity against me, invents falsehoods, and writes them to you. It grieves me, that you should pay such regard to what he writes, conclude every thing that I write to be false, and still tell me to let the fort be searched, and treat this affair, which is the greatest mark of indignity and distrust, as a trifle.

It is amazing you have not discovered who is the designing person between you and me I have no designing person about me If upon enquiry any such be discovered, I will punish him as he deserves If I write, that such a person in your society is the designing man, you will not believe me. Before this, I sent you inclosed a letter of the Nabob Salar Jung's Naib of the Vizir, from thence you must have seen what person is an enemy to my country and life You are my protector, and your chief sitting at Patna writes in enmity to me to the court, and proclaims with a loud voice in publick company, that "I am going to the south, and that he will send two thousand Europeans, who shall level the fort of Mongheer with the earth, that his Majesty is about to restore the Nabob Jaffier Allee Cawn, or the family of Serfraz Cawn, that he has written letters to the Company, and it will be seen what answer will arrive." How long shall I write on these matters? Or what profit do I get by writing?"

*Extract of a Letter from Lieutenant Ironside to the Governor.
Dated April 27, 1762*

"Early this morning Mr. Hastings arrived at Mongheer, About a mile and a half from the town he found a party of ours encamped, consisting of one serjeant, and a compleat company of seepoys, who came some time in February last, and remained here by order By a strict prohibition of the Nabob, produced by the Kelladar, they have been constantly refused admittance into the fort, and whenever they approach the town, either single or in small bodies, the gates are always closed against them The serjeant mentions to have received notice about the latter end of February of two Europeans, who were said, by the town's people, to be then in the place; but that he himself has never seen them, nor heard of them since, any where about the country.

In consequence of yours and Mr Hastings's orders, I was in the fort to-day for some hours, the serjeant and two seepoys with me, who, as well as myself, were acquainted with the place We dispersed several ways, and made a strict but ineffectual search

One European indeed I met with, a lame Frenchman, who has been a long while in the Nabob's service, who lost an arm in it, and tells me, he was sent to this garrison about six months ago. I examined this man very particularly concerning deserters, and accompanied my questions with promises of freedom, and a handsome recompence, if he would discover to me where they were. but he absolutely assured me, that there was not only none here at present, but that he had never seen a single European the fort since his coming.

Upon enquiring in the town, the same answers were returned. From these accounts I am apt to believe, whatever deserters may have taken shelter there, they have been long gone from thence. The extreme misery of the wretch, to whom I offered the gratuity, seems to confirm this opinion, since he scarcely would have rejected such terms of protection and reward, for declaring what could in no manner affect him to his detriment. He is very anxious for his liberty, which Mr Hastings intends to solicit for to the Nabob."

The stile of Mr Ellis's letters, was evidently calculated to inflame the minds of such of the members of the Board, as had taken up the same prejudices against the Nabob with himself, and were ready to second his views. Accordingly, upon all occasions, when these representations were received from Patna, some one was always ready to propose the most violent measures, for example, when advice was received from Mr Ellis, of the seepoys being refused admittance into Mongheer fort, to search for the deserters, it was proposed, that an additional number of troops should be sent to force an entrance, and when Coja Antoon (sent down prisoner by Mr Ellis, for purchasing five maunds of salt-petre) arrived in Calcutta, it was moved by some, that he should be publicly whipped, and Mr Johnstone strongly urged, that he should have his ears cut off, and as there was at this time a large majority of the Board in this disposition, or I may rather say that, at this time, I had not even one to support me, I was in continual apprehensions, that some violent measures would take place, and make an irreparable breach between us and the Nabob, I therefore made it my study, by moderation, to abate this violent spirit which prevailed. I forbore to make any remarks on the steps

which had been taken by Mr Ellis, and could not then be remedied; and rather seemed to approve of what was passed, to prevent their going to greater lengths, and keep things quiet upon the footing they then were, until orders could be received from the Company. Guided by this principle, when Coja Antoon arrived in Calcutta, I joined with the rest of the Board, in approving of Mr Ellis's seizing him; and by that concession, brought them to agree to his being sent back to the Nabob, and referred to him to be punished. In the same manner, when the seepoys, sent by Mr Ellis to search the fort of Mongheer, were refused admittance, and had posted themselves at four or five miles distance, I agreed with the Board, in ordering them to remain there quiet, until an officer was admitted to search for the deserters, and by repeated representations to the Nabob, of the necessity of his acquiescing so far, at length obtained his consent. This explanation of the reasons of my conduct, on these occasions, seemed necessary, as I think I am more liable to censure, for having so far approved of Mr Ellis's unjustifiable proceedings, than for all the support I have given the Nabob, in the exercise of his due authority, although I have been frequently reproached with having defended the rights of his government, beyond the bounds of justice.

Notwithstanding all the assurances I could give the Nabob, he was made so extremely uneasy by these continual insults, that his own people, and the whole country, could not help observing it. Those who were disaffected about his person, did not lose the opportunity of encouraging his enemies by reporting, that the English were on the point of breaking with him, that they had sent an army against Mongheer fort, that more forces were coming up from Calcutta, and that he, unable to contend with the English, was resolved not to return from the Bowjepoor country, but retire into the Deccan. At the same time, they were continually insinuating to the Nabob, that Mr Ellis was actually resolved to attack him, and that Colonel Coote was coming up with the same design*. It is

* About this time a conspiracy was detected against the Nabob's person, which was carried on by Seeteram Dewan, Sheik Sadoolla Jemmatdar (two of the Nabob's chief confidants) and Narain

not to be wondered, that such reports, corroborated by the insults Mr. Ellis had actually committed, should create in the Nabob strong suspicions, and altho' I am persuaded he had an entire confidence in my friendship, and know, that I would do my utmost to prevent any infringement of the agreement between him and the Company; yet he had experienced that my power was not sufficient, and that he depended, as he observed in several of his letters, on the will of many, and some of those his irreconcilable enemies

Nothing is so difficult as to remove suspicions of this kind when once they have taken root, especially if there be any advisers who have an interest in fomenting the quarrel In

Sing, and Muttroomul Hircarais It was discovered by some intercepted letters from the conspirators to Pulwan Sing, and the other rebel zemindars of Bowjepoor I shall insert only one of them, which will serve to shew, by the arguments made use of, the unhappy consequences of Mr Ellis's conduct, and the encouragement it gave to the Nabob's enemies

Translation of a Letter from Seeteram to Raja Pulwan Singh, the principal Bowjepoor Rajah

"I long much to see you, I have already wrote you the particulars, which you have doubtless perused God grant you may soon return, to your own country, and there is great probability that will soon happen, for the Nabob Cossim Allee Cawn, and the Europeans, are at variance, and Mr Ellis (chief of the English factory at Patna) and Goorgheen Cawn, are great enemies to each other, and Mr Ellis has sent an army of seepoys to take Mongheer fort In this situation the Nabob cannot remain in this country It appears, that he will take the Delly road, on account of the disputes between him and the Europeans Shuja Dowla will shortly be in possession of this province, and you will be in possession of your zemindarree, so make yourself quite easy"

As soon as the Nabob had possession of these letters, he summoned Seeteram in the presence of several hundreds of people, many of them of distinction, who were assembled on this occasion, and produced other proofs of his guilt He appealed to the assembly for their sentence on him, which was unanimous, that he was guilty, and deserved to suffer death, and he was executed accordingly A few days after Narain Singh, and Muttroomul, underwent the same trial, and the same fate Sheik Sadoolla, who was encamped at some distance, refused to obey the summons The Nabob detached a body of forces against him, with orders to bring him before him alive or dead He stood upon his defence, and was killed.

such a case, every assurance of friendship is represented as a design to deceive and unguard, and then to take an advantage ; and when such representations can be strengthened with notorious instances of recent affronts, there is hardly a possibility they should not gain credit

Whilst these commotions were encouraged at Patna, the enemies of the Nabob were not idle below, they invented a large parcel of letters, and handed them to Mr Batson, chief of Cossimbuzar, as copies of a correspondence between the Nabob, his uncle Torab Allee Cawn (who was his deputy at Moorshedabad) and Coja Petrus, an Aimenian merchant of Calcutta These Mr Batson transmitted to the Board, they brought with them many marks of forgery, but one in particular, which was sufficient to convince me, as they spoke of a man, who was said to have been sent with a message from the Nabob to me, of which man and message I had never heard. However, all my assurances had little weight with minds filled with such warm prejudices, and it had well nigh been resolved to seize Coja Petrus, and all his papers, upon no better evidence than these supposed copies, although confuted by their own contents However, it was agreed to proceed on an enquiry with the greatest secrecy, in order to arrive at some proof, but the more we enquired, the stronger was the appearance of forgery, although we could not positively trace it to the first author

Such pains taken to sow dissensions and jealousies on both sides, could not fail to produce a quarrel, and that very shortly Although the Nabob consented to all that I proposed, with respect to Coja Antoon, that he should be dismissed his service, and with respect to the deserters, that an officer sent by me should search the fort of Mongheer Yet such reiterated affronts left upon his mind a fixed resentment and extreme uneasiness, and gave him an unhappy instance of the strength of the party opposed to him, and of my inability to secure him against their open and secret designs And on our part, although I was convinced myself, that the Nabob had neither the means nor the inclination to set himself up against us, yet so many reports were spread about of an approaching rupture, many must necessarily be deceived ; some for want of

an opportunity of being better informed, and more by depending on the information of such, as were always willing to believe what they wished, and therefore gave that turn to every piece of intelligence however inconsistent with reason

SECTION IX

Mr Hastings's Deputation to the Nabob The State and Causes of the Disputes between the Officers of the Government, and our Agents in the inland Trade

Reasons of this Deputation—Instructions to Mr Hastings—Mr Amyatt's Motion for an additional Clause Debate and Opinion thereupon—The Clause agreed to—Copy of it.—Mr Amyatt's further Minute—Mr Hastings arrives at the Nabob's camp—The Nabob's Answer to the Board's Message.—Mr Hastings endeavours ineffectually to reconcile Mr. Ellis with the Nabob—Two Letters on that Subject—Letter from Mr Hastings to the Board—Several letter between Mr Hastings and Mr Vansittart—Letters from the Board to Mr Hastings and Mr Ellis—Mr Ellis's Answer—Rise of the Disputes between the Nabob's Officers and our Agents Letters on that Subject between Mr Vansittart and Mr Hastings—Mr Hastings returns to Calcutta—Complaints from the Nabob and his officers, regarding our Agents and Gomastahs

Things could not stand long up on the point to which they were now brought Every word and action of the Nabob's was construed into a declaration of a design against the English, and particularly from the chief and council at Patna suggestions of this kind were frequent, whilst, on the part of the Nabob, every ordinary motion of ours was represented to him in such colors, as would most add to his apprehensions of our intending to break with him. This lurking disease, if not speedily removed, must soon break out with violence, and the most effectual remedy I judged, would be to send a person, in whom the Nabob had great confidence, to assure him,

that his suspicions of our intending to break with him were groundless, to desire him not to give ear to those who studied to represent every thing in the worst light, to advise him to forget what had passed between him and Mr Ellis; and finally to endeavor to bring about a reconciliation between them, in which good work I hoped Mr. Ellis would readily join With these views I proposed to the Board, to send Mr Hastings on a deputation to the Nabob, which was agreed to, and the following instructions prepared

Copy of the Governor and Council's Instructions to Mr Hastings Dated Calcutta, March 15, 1762

"We have observed, for some time past, an uneasiness or jealousy in the Nabob's conduct, which we can attribute to nothing but the false reports and representations of mischievous persons, and being desirous of convincing him, that we wish for nothing more, than to preserve the present tranquility of the country, to avoid all disputes, and to conform to the terms of the treaty subsisting between him and the Company We think proper to depute you, in whom the Nabob has great confidence, to make him those assurances on our behalf

At the same time we should be extremely glad to discover who have been the secret authors of this growing jealousy We imagine, there may be some as well amongst the persons living under our protection, as about the Nabob's person You may assure the Nabob, that we shall severely punish those who belong to us, whenever we can fix the guilt, and you will strenuously recommend to him to do the same on his part

The sooner you can set out on this commission the better, that the bad effects, which the want of confidence between us and the Nabob might occasion in the country, may be prevented"

The next Council day but one, Mr Amyatt made a motion in the following terms

'Mr Amyatt recollects the President mentioned, that twenty lacks of rupees were promised by Cossim Allee Cawn to the Board, but that he would not consent to this money's

being received till the debt to the Company was paid . as that is now satisfied, Mr Amyatt is of opinion, it should be made a part of Mr Hastings's instructions, to endeavor to recover the promised twenty lacks of rupees , and when recovered, that instead of being distributed amongst the members of the Board, which could not fail raising a suspicion, that our assents to the revolution were bought, the money should be brought to the credit of the Company”

As Mr. Amyatt could not sincerely think the Company had a right to make such a demand upon the Nabob, it is impossible to assign any other reason for this motion, than an intention of frustrating, by so unjust and vexatious a dispute, the good end proposed from Mr Hastings's deputation, and effectually shutting up all the ways of reconciliation, by a demand, which every one knew the Nabob would reject with astonishment. However, Messieurs Johnstone and Hay joined heartily in this demand; and whether they thought major Carnac's opinion would add weight to their resolutions, or whether they were unwilling to deprive him of a share, in every opportunity of insulting the Nabob, or whether it was the major's own desire to be a party on this occasion, it was moved*, that he should be called to the Board, although it is very certain, according to the Company's regulations, he could not sit there on such a subject

* The following is the substance of the debate, upon the motion for calling major Carnac to the Board upon this occasion

“Mr Johnstone moves, that the opinion of the colonel and major should be asked, with regard to the instructions to be given to Mr Hastings

The question being put, whether the colonel and major should be desired to attend ?

Mes Hay, Johnstone and Amyatt are of opinion, the Company's intention, in their sixty third paragraph, mentioning military affairs and matters, relative thereto, implies, that colonel Coote and major Carnac are to be present, and consulted in affairs of such publick nature, as deputations, alliances, and in drawing up instructions, for whoever may be sent in such publick character, on the part of the Board, when the national honor, and the Company's business, are interested. The Governor thinks, that the Company's instructions, in the sixty-fourth paragraph of their commands, of the 13th of March, 1761, are very plain, that neither colonel Coote, nor

The opinions given by the several members, and by myself, with respect to the proposed demand, were these following.

Mr Hay's Minute

"As it appears to me, from the President's declaration, that the bond for this money was given to the members of the Board, that were then present in Calcutta, and that Mr. Holwell was one of them; from its being the only advantage gained by the treaty with Cossim Allee Cawn, except his promise to get the Nabob Meer Jaffier Allee Cawn to make over the revenues of the lands, now possessed by the Company, for the maintenance of our troops in his service, and that the only expence and risk of putting in Cossim Allee Cawn, for which he promised and gave a bond for these twenty lacks, must fall on the Company I think, that they have an undoubted right to the money, and that it should be demanded of the Nabob on their account, and in case he refuses payment on account of the bond's being returned, that he should be made to understand, that it was returned without proper authority, and not by an order of the Board"

Mr Johnstone's Minute.

"Mr Johnstone thinks Mr Hastings should be directed to ask this sum, promised by Cossim Allee Cawn, in consequence of service to be rendered him by the representatives of the Company, and by their power and influence, which may therefore be considered as the Company's, otherwise, the proceedings of their servants, in the advancement of Cossim Allee Cawn, would be liable to the suspicion, that

major Carnac, are members either of Board, or Select Committee, excepting in cases where military affairs only are under debate These are the words of the Company's letter, and need no explanation, and are apparently intended to limit the meaning of the word *relative*, which stands in the foregoing paragraph, and which can be understood only of negotiations to be carried on with any foreign power, with a view to some projected military operation He thinks the instructions to Mr. Hastings are no ways relative to military affairs, yet it is not at all disagreeable to him to have the advice of those gentlemen, if the rest of the Board think it will be for the good of the Company."

their motives were other than those they have declared, that when Cossim Allee Cawn tendered his bond to the members then present in Calcutta, the Company might have expected their agents to have accepted and transferred it to their account, from the same spirit of disinterestedness, as the only immediate advantage then offered, especially as the Company ran the risk, and supplied the force and expence required for this revolution and he joins in opinion with Mr Hay, that as the bonds were not returned by a regular deed of the council, the amount may still be demanded and recovered of the Nabob”

“Major Carnac is of opinion, the demand proposed to be made to the Nabob, by Messieurs Amayatt, Johnstone, and Hay, of the twenty lacks, ought to be done, were it only in justification of themselves; for, however innocent the gentlemen of the Board may be, the world probably imagines, that they have all received some pecuniary consideration, in return for having appointed Cossim Allee Cawn to the Subahdarree; whereas, from this demand being made, the contrary will appear upon record. If the Nabob refuses, which I think he will and ought, we are justified at once, and if he grants it, there is so much gained to the Company”

The President's Minute

“That a right judgment may be formed, whether the demand proposed by Mr. Amyatt, to be made upon the Nabob of twenty lacks of rupees is reasonable or not? It seems necessary to recite here all the circumstances of the case, on which he would found the claim I have informed the Board more than once, and particularly in consultation January 12, 1761, that Cossim Allee Cawn (now the Nabob) at the time of concluding the treaty with him, in the month of September, 1760, desired to make a present to myself, and the other gentlemen of the Select Committee, then at Calcutta I have as often mentioned, that I immediately and absolutely declined the said offer, for myself and the rest of the gentlemen, observing to Cossim Allee Cawn, that in the agreements entered into with him, we had no other view, but the restoring order to the country, and settling a more certain fund for

supplying the unavoidable expences of the Company, then so ill provided for, that our troops at Patna had been some months without their pay, at the same time, that the Nabob's own affairs were in so distressed a condition, that he was every day in danger of losing his life, by the mutinous attempts of his troops

The paper which Cossim Allee Cawn delivered me, containing this proposal, I returned the very moment I had read it. It was wrote in Persian, and, to the best of my recollection, was to the following purport: "That three months after his appointment to the neabut, or deputy government, under the Nabob, Jaffier Allee Cawn, he would give twenty lacks of rupees to Messieurs Vansittart, Holwell, Caillaud, Sumner and M'Gwire." These four gentlemen entirely approved of my refusal of this offer; and what I said on the occasion to Cossim Allee Cawn, who was however a good deal surprized and uneasy at it. Afterwards at Moorshedabad, when Jaffier Allee Cawn declared his resolution to retire to Calcutta, and Cossim Allee Cawn was proclaimed Subah of the provinces, he renewed the same offer, and I again declined it in the same terms, adding that if he found himself capable of raising money enough to answer the monthly payments of the Company's balance, and satisfy the troops of Jaffier Allee Cawn, and had besides any thing to spare, he might make the Company a present of five lacks over and above his agreements, to be sent to Madras, to help to defray the expences of the army before Pondicherry; to which he immediately consented.

About two months after the Nabob sent me a compliment of a bill for 25,000 rupees, upon the occasion of the birth of my son. I laid this before the Board, in consultation January 12, 1761, and declared, that as I had rejected for myself, and the other gentlemen of the Select Committee, all offers of private emoluments, and had not received a single rupee from the Nabob, so neither would I, while a doubt subsisted with respect to the money he had engaged to pay the Company, or the long arrears of his predecessor's troops; accordingly, the 25,000 rupees were paid into the Company's treasury.

Since that, the Nabob has, by surprising diligence in the regulation of the affairs of his government, discharged not only the payments due to the Company, with the addition of the promised five lacks, but has also satisfied his predecessor's and his own troops, notwithstanding the cession to the Company, of Burdwan, Midnapoor and Chittagong, made a very large deduction from his revenues

The amount the Company have received from the Nabob, is about twenty-six lacks of Sicca rupees *, as *per* receipt in full, entered after consultation February 8, 1762 And from the said countries ceded as before-mentioned, we have received to the 31st of January last, above fifty-three lacks of current rupees †, as *per* abstracted account transmitted to the honourable Court of Directors by the Warren After this, I cannot see upon what pretence we can demand of the Nabob a further sum of twenty lacks of rupees If we were in distress for money for carrying on the Company's affairs, and were on that account under the necessity of requesting of the Nabob to lend us such a sum, I have that opinion of him, as to think that he would comply with the request if in his power, or even give it, if such an application was to be made to him as a favor requested for the Company

And on the other hand, if the demand of such a sum is set up without the least plea, I think he will not only excuse himself from complying with so unreasonable a claim, but will also look upon it as a mark, that we are not inclined to observe on our part the treaty which he has so well fulfilled on his, and in which it is agreed that shall ask nothing more than the monies therein promised, and the cessions therein stipulated Consequently such a demand would very much add to the uneasiness which the Board have of late observed in the Nabob, and which, one and all, have expressed a desire of finding out the cause of, and removing The demand now proposed tends to aggravate that uneasiness instead of removing it I hope such is not Mr Amyatt's view in making the

* A Sicca rupee is worth about 2s 8d $\frac{1}{2}$, reckoning the current rupee at 2s 4d

† A current rupee is reckoned worth 2s 4d

proposal; but it is hard to conceive from what motive it can have proceeded. Certainly it is not from pure regard to the Company, nor from any conviction of the justness of the claim; for he never thought of offering the Company what he received of the Nabob Jaffier Allee Cawn's present to the Council and Committee; nor ever gave it as his opinion that the Company had a right to it.

For my own part, I think that neither the Company nor I, nor any other person, have any other claim or demand upon the Nabob of any sort, that there is not even an appearance of justice in Mr. Amyatt's proposal, and that the prosecution of it could have none but bad consequences."

The Majority of the Board agreeing, that proposed demand should be made upon the Nabob, the following postscript was accordingly added to Mr Hastings's instructions.

"And we further direct you, to apply to the Nabob for the twenty lacks of rupees, the amount of the bond he gave at the time the treaty was made with him, to the members of the Select Committee then present in Calcutta; to which sum, notwithstanding they returned the bond, we conceive the Company have a title. You will therefore use your best endeavors to recover the same as soon as possible, as the tranquillity of the country, by the success of our arms, has undoubtedly enabled him to discharge the above obligation."

Mr. Amyatt judging it necessary to make some reply to the arguments contained in my minute, it is here inserted, lest it should be said, that anything is omitted, although not material to the present subject.

"The minute given in by the President the 22nd of March, has not in the least altered the sentiments of Mr. Amyatt, in regard to the demand proposed by him to be made from Cossim Allee Cawn, of the twenty lacks of rupees for the use of the Company, as he finds nothing in the minute to invalidate the reason which induced him to propose that the demand should be made; nor did any minute or expression of Mr. Vansittart's ever imply such money was not to be received, but the contrary, and only rested the payment of it

to the Nabob's generosity ,after his other expences were defrayed, which was not risking much; for while we remain so powerful in this country, such a promise the Nabob will look on as binding as a bond and the taking a bond might have had appearances , for it is acknowledged, that a paper was received from him, containing a promise of twenty lacks of rupees to Mess Vansittart, Caillaud, Holwell, Sumner, and M'Gwire Now it is not to be imagined, that he would have offered so large a sum to these gentlemen, to the exclusion of the other members of the Council and Select Committee (an offer before unprecedented) but as a consideration to engage them to conclude with him a treaty. from whence he was to reap so much advantage, without regarding the opinions of the rest of the Board As therefore they could have no right to receive money upon such terms, and Mr Amyatt is willing to believe they have not; if they thought proper of themselves to sign a treaty on the part of our Honorable Masters, the consideration for so doing ought to be paid to those who were to be the only losers, in case of ill consequences arising thencefrom

The parallel between the present received by Mr Amyatt in common with the whole Board, as well as with the army and navy , and this of twenty lacks, intended for five gentlemen only, is as unjust, as it would be to make a parallel between the two revolutions; the one established in consequence of the overthrow of a common enemy. the other in direct breach of the former engagements, the act of only part of the Council, and to which, had all the members been consulted, the majority would probably have objected Mr Amyatt wishes he could agree with the President, that the Nabob is well disposed towards us , if that were the case, there would be no necessity at this time of our sending Mr Hastings up to him The whole tenor of his conduct demonstrates the contrary ; he is keeping up, and daily increasing a rabble of an army, at an immense expence ; which he can do from no other motives, but from distrust, and a desire of being independent of us, as he may command. by virtue of the treaty, the service of our troops for all occasions He now remains at the extremity of the country, through his suspicions of us ; and in order to be at a great distance from our settlements, has

determined on removing the seat of his government to Rajemahl; and indeed it is no wonder he should entertain these suspicions, as he can have no security that we will keep our faith with him, better than we did with his father-in-law, to whom we were bound by engagements, more solemn than those since entered into with him, nor can be ever acquit himself of his own treachery to Jaffier Allee Cawn, which must ever keep alive the suspicions now burning in his heart Mr Amyatt does not allow the smallest degree of merit to Cossim Allee Cawn, for having discharged the payments due to the Company and his troops; his being in a condition to do so, was entirely owing to the happy change of affairs by the defeat of the Shahzada The same success would have equally enabled Meer Jaffier to do so But moreover, Cossim Allee Cawn has taken the opportunity of the tranquility of the country, to commit the most unheard of exactions and oppressions; and (as a further proof of his regard for us) more particularly against such as were our avowed friends; Ramnarain, with many others, are now the unhappy instances thereof, by the giving up of whom, and becoming in every thing since subservient to the Nabob's views, without keeping up any interest or friendship with any other of the leading men of any rank or consequence, as dare so much as visit, or have the least connection with any of our chiefs of commanders, as their letters to the Board at different times can testify ”

To which I only answered these few words to close the subject

“The President begs leave to observe, that the treaty entered into with Cossim Allee Cawn, properly came under the province of the Select Committee, and the members thereof, who were present in Calcutta, were unanimous in their opinion of it As to the remarks on the consequences of that treaty, they are the same as have already been often mentioned; and upon which we may expect shortly the sentiments and directions of our Honorable Masters ”

Mr Hastings set out the 9th of April on this commission, and arrived at Patna the second of the month following; here

he expected to have met Mr Ellis, and to have conferred with him upon the subject of that gentleman's late disputes with the Nabob, but he was then at Singia, a country-house about fifteen miles distant from the factory, and continued there during the whole time of Mr Hastings's stay at Patna, which was five days. Disappointed of this interview, Mr Hastings proceeded to Serseram, where the Nabob then lay encamped, and delivered to him the substance of the commission, which he had received from the Board. The Nabob expressed much offence at the charge of his having shewn a jealousy of the English, and listened to the suggestions of those who strove to create a misunderstanding between him and the Company. He declared with warmth, that though he had cause to complain of individuals amongst the former, yet he regarded the English in general as his best friends, and the Company as his support, and that he knew of no person that strove to create a misunderstanding between him and the Company but Mr. Ellis, repeating all the grievances which he had suffered from that gentleman. He afterwards gave Mr Hastings a reply in writing, to the message which he had brought, in the following terms

Translation of the Nabob's Reply to the Representations of the Board.

"That you, gentlemen, should unreasonably demand twenty lacks of rupees of me, surprizes me greatly. This is a behavior unbecoming men of dignity, in whom it is doubtless improper, after having refused a thing, to repent of it, and demand it in the name of their masters. It is true, I formerly offered to give such a sum to Mr Vansittart, and some other gentlemen, but they positively refused to accept it, saying, "We are well-wishers of the Company, and desire nothing for ourselves; give the Company the three provinces of Burdwan, &c. and that is sufficient." Now most of the gentlemen, to whom I made this offer, have left the country; and as to the one or two who still remain here, I do not think that they will demand it of me. You, Sir, who are come to this place to bring so unjust a claim, on what pretence, and with what design do you do so? You ought to keep in view,

gentlemen, the agreement I made with you, in relation to the affairs of the Company ; wherein, when I agreed to give them the three provinces of Burdwan, &c. you promised, on their part, and gave it me in writing, that after having received these provinces, you would not ask a * farthing more of me.

Having accordingly fully complied with my agreements, I did besides, at the instance and desire of Mr Vansittart, and of my own free will, give the Company five lacks of rupees over and above , willing thereby to give Mr Vansittart a credit with the Company, and that they might regard me as their friend in every respect By the grace of God, I have compleatly fulfilled the treaty, and have not, in a single instance, deviated from it Yet, gentlemen, notwithstanding this treaty you solemnly made with me, and ratified with the seal of the Company, you now demand a sum of money from me, which I have never borrowed of you, nor obliged myself to pay, nor have you, in any manner, the least claim on me. I owe nobody a single rupee, nor will I pay your demand This new custom which you are endeavoring to set up, in violation of the treaty between us, this custom so calculated for raising a disturbance, I will not admit nor hear of

You say, that I should remove out of my mind, whatever jealousy I may have of the English This particular surprized me much , for from what, that I have said, does this jealousy appear ? And who has reported such a falsehood to you ? It is proper that you should make due enquiry into this affair I have before wrote to the Governor, of the proceedings of your dependents , and it is the way of the world, that amongst fathers and sons, brothers, friends and intimates, differences will sometimes arise, but soon give place to friendship and benevolence , nor were any of these matters of such consequence, that from them you should suspect my sincerity, and send me a message so different from the rules and language of friendship

You are pleased to say, there are mischievous and malevolent men, who propagate scandalous stories of you, gentlemen I have before wrote repeatedly, that whatever

* In the original *a dam*, the fortieth part of a rupee

villain, in my counsels, dare speak ill of you before me, the moment he were known, he should be punished. Now if such an one is known to you, gentlemen, write me his name, that I may make an example of him. Many new factories have been established in every part of the country, both on the Company's account, and by private gentlemen; and a trade carried on in all sorts of goods, such as it was never, yet the custom to trade in. To this day, neither I nor my people, have ever offered them the least obstruction, nor caused them the loss of one rupee. It grieves me, that without cause or enquiry, you, gentlemen, suffer such suspicions to take place in your hearts, and declare them to me, your friend. Who it is belonging to yourselves, that is continually speaking ill of me, propagating calumnies against me, and representing me to you as your enemy, is not unknown to you. The acts of violence committed by Mr. Ellis before my face; the insults on my people, and the disturbances raised in the country, my authority rendered contemptible to all Indostan; and obstructions thrown in the way of every business of the Government, in the province of Bahar. All these have I fully represented in my letters to Mr. Vansittart from the beginning till now, nor shall I dwell on such a subject afresh; because I am well persuaded, that Mr. Vansittart, and the gentlemen of the Council will make a strict enquiry into this affair, and bring to condign punishment whoever, without cause or reason, has acted as my enemy; that, for the future, no one may give interruption to my business, nor interfere in the affairs of my government. Until you make enquiry into his behavior, and bring him to punishment, my authority will never be established.

You say, I shall look upon the friendship and treaties of Englishmen as sincere and inviolable. I have been long convinced, gentlemen, that our friendship would by no means be interrupted; and in spite of the mischievous slanders of malicious men, the foundations of our amity would be unshaken; because I know for certain, that the English never break their treaties and agreements, and that all their enquiries are sincere and impartial."

As this reply taxed Mr Ellis by name, with being the author of all the animosities then subsisting between him and the Council, and in terms which left no room for any future reconciliation, Mr Hastings (that the first design of his visit might not be frustrated in the beginning) prevailed upon the Nabob to consent, that he should defer sending it to the Board, till he had written to Mr Ellis, and sounded his disposition with respect to the means of putting an end to the difference between them. He accordingly wrote to Mr Ellis the following letter

Copy of a Letter from Mr Hastings to Mr Ellis Dated Sersaram, May 13, 1762

“It was a disappointment to me, that I could not see you at Patna before I proceeded to the Nabob’s camp. You cannot be ignorant of the commission which I have received from the Board, with which my inclinations so heartily concur, that I should have eagerly embraced every occasion to create a good understanding between the Nabob and every person employed in any part of consequence under the Company, knowing how essential such a temper is to the success of our affairs, I was in hopes, that a meeting with you might have enabled me the more effectually to promote this design, as you could have instructed me with the causes of the late disagreements between yourself and the Nabob, and pointed out such expedients, as were the most likely to remedy them

Your motives for denying me that opportunity (which, though but as a compliment due to a member of your own Board, I might have expected) are best known to yourself. However, setting aside all personal considerations, I am yet willing to give you and the world a proof of my desire to remove every occasion of distrust or dissension which may disturb the public affairs, in offering you freely my assistance, to promote a better disposition between the Nabob and yourself, than I find at present subsisting

I will not conceal from you, that he charges you with attempting to breed a disagreement between him and the

Company, and has declared it in his reply to the message, which I carried him from the Board.

I confess, I am not pleased to interfere in such a subject; but would rather wish to conciliate matters, were it in my power. For this reason, I have deferred delivering the Nabob's reply in my letters to the Board, till I receive your answer, with which I hope to be soon favored."

To this Letter Mr Ellis made the following Reply Dated Singia, May 17, 1762

"I am this moment favored with yours of the 13th. It was impossible for me to know, that our meeting was in any degree necessary, unless you had told me so, for to this time I am no further acquainted with what commission you have received from the Board, than what was once mentioned in a private letter, viz to remove the Nabob's jealousies; neither do I think any member of the Board could reasonably expect that I should pay him the compliment of travelling fifteen miles at this season, when he never advised me of his approach, without which I could be at no certainty, either as to the time of his arrival, or stay at Patna; and indeed common report informed me, of your having set out for the Nabob's camp some days before it seems you did

The laudable desire you express, of removing every occasion of distrust or disagreement that may disturb the public affairs, be assured, shall meet with every assistance in my power; nor can you wish more ardently for the effecting so good a work than I do myself. The causes of the Nabob's late behavior I cannot account for, unless it be, my not having concurred in sentiment with those gentlemen who raised him to the musnud. From the time of my taking charge of the Company's affairs in this province, I have ever been solicitous to keep up a harmony and good understanding, not only with the Nabob, but his officers; they on the contrary have been most industrious to destroy it. Twice has the city of Patna been alarmed with a report, that the English intended to attack it; and in consequence thereof, guns mounted, guards

augmented, gates shut, and admittance denied to every one belonging to the factory, and all this without the least plausible pretence whatever being given. The falsehoods industriously propagated of my design to take Mongheer you can be no stranger to, nor the ridiculous light in which they appear. On all occasions the English are represented as the Nabob's greatest enemies; and it is notorious, that no man who values his favor dares appear in the factory

The Nabob accuses me of attempting to breed a disagreement between him and the Company, after what he has accused other gentlemen of, nothing of this kind is surprizing. However, a general charge amounts to every little. This term he has given, without any grounds, to my seizing Coja Antoon. I had before made repeated complaints to him of the interruption given our business, which being little or not at all regarded, it became a duty incumbent on me to take other measures, for securing one of the most valuable branches of the Company's commerce. Of the insults received in the seizure, detention, and loss of my boats I have acquainted you; as likewise the affront the Nabob has given me, in not answering my letters, but notwithstanding the first or second instance of this kind, I continued writing to him on business, till my *hircaras* were ill treated in his camp

The first grand step towards obtaining the desired end, will be for the Nabob to remove from about his person all those who at present poison his mind with false and idle stories. Let him esteem the English as his best and only friends, and as such place an entire confidence in them. If any cause of disgust appears, let him apply to those who are intrusted with the management of the Company's affairs to have the matter cleared up, which he may always be assured of. For my own part, I shall never do any thing, but what I will assert to him and the world, and I appeal to Rajebullub, or any other person in office at Patna, whether upon any complaint being lodged against our servants under my jurisdiction, I have not given them a speedy and ample satisfaction; and all I desire is, that they would act in the same manner towards the servants of the government who insult and treat

us ill. This would create a mutual confidence, and put an end to the present dissension”

It is plain from this letter, that Mr Ellis thought of nothing less than a peaceable accommodation ; and to attempt in any longer might only serve to make matters yet worse, by adding fuel to the mutual resentment already sufficiently inflamed Mr Hastings therefore judged it needless and improper to oppose any longer the Nabob's desire ; that his reply should be sent to the Board He accordingly dispatched it with the following letter, and sent Mr Ellis a copy of the part of it, which concerned him, inclosed in a letter, which he wrote to him at the same time, of which I shall also insert an extract

Copy of a Letter from Mr Hastings to the Governor and Council Dated Jammore, May 24, 1762

“Upon my arrival at the Nabob's camp, I informed him of the substance of my instructions, and added such assurances, as I judged most conducive to remove any distrust that might have arisen in his mind His reply I have the honor to transmit to you, in the inclosed paper, which I received from him, signed with his own hand, and I shall wait your further commands for my conduct, in relation to the matters contained therein

I will not take upon me to judge of the disputes which have arisen between the Nabob and Mr Ellis ; nor am I properly qualified to give my sentiments upon them, being as yet only acquainted with the complaints of the former But I think, I cannot better acquit myself of the task which you have enjoined me, and which my duty to the service requires from me, than by offering my opinion in general, that in all differences between the Company's servants, or inferior agents, and the government, if proper justice cannot be obtained from the Nabob, or those authorised to act under him, application should be made to the Board, and no person be allowed on any pretence to use violent means for the redress of his own grievances ; this method, till lately, has been constantly and

universally observed in all our concerns, not only before the restoration of the Company's privileges, but by those who have since had the administration of their affairs, and who will hardly be suspected of having neglected the honor of the nation, or the interest of their employers. In effect, it is only by reserving to yourselves the privilege of deciding on all matters of contention, that the authority of the Board can be maintained, or the publick tranquility secured."

Extract of a Letter from Mr Hastings to Mr Ellis Dated Jammore, May 27, 1762

"Had you reply to my first letter contained any circumstance that would have served to remove the unfavorable opinion, which the Nabob has conceived of you, from the late contests between you, I should gladly have pursued the sentiments with which I undertook my present commission, and have endeavored to persuade the Nabob, to omit the mention of your name, in his reply to the message which I brought him from the Board. But as you have proposed nothing but what, if insisted upon, would have widened the breach, instead of closing it; and all his letters to the Governor have been filled with complaints of your behavior, which he has declared he will not retract, I have left him to pursue the dictates of his own resentment. This complaint having been sent through my hands, I will deal so open with you, as to give you this timely notice of it, by sending you an extract of that part of his letter which concerns yourself."

To these I will add some other letters of my correspondence with Mr Hastings, which relate to the disputes between the Nabob and Mr Ellis, and shew the pains ineffectually taken to make peace between them.

Extract of a Letter from Mr Hastings to the Governor Sersaram, May 13, 1762

I desired Mr Ironside to inform you yesterday of our arrival at Sersaram on the 9th instant. I proceeded directly to the Nabob's tent. He received me with great politeness, and enquired in a friendly manner after your health. This visit

passed only in general conversation The next evening I opened to him the subject of my commission from the Board, which I gave him in writing, and pretty nearly in the correspondent words of the letter, the postscript excepted, which I read to him from the original, and (not without some difficulty) explained to him

He expressed much dissatisfaction, that he should be charged with entertaining a jealousy of the English, which he said, argued some misbehavior in him towards them, as the consequence of such sentiments, and challenged me to mention one instance of his having betrayed a want of confidence in the Company, or deviated from the treaty with them It is true, he added, he had frequent subject of complaint against the English dependents, but that made no alteration in his engagements with their principals, or his particular obligations to you He was as little pleased with the assertion, that the people about his person had given occasion to any difference between him and the English He desired that they might be named, and declared, that on whomsoever such a fact was proved, he would put him to death But (proceeded he) "If you are yet at a loss to know who it is amongst yourselves, that strives to create a misunderstanding between us, I will name him. It is Mr Ellis, who, by his acts of violence committed on my servants, and the unprovoked attacks, which he is daily making upon my authority, has not only given encouragement to my enemies, and the disaffected people in my own service, but has given occasion to such reports to the discredit of my government, at the court of Shuja Dowla, as might be of the worst consequence to my affairs "

With regard to Mr Ellis, I am at a loss how to act, his behavior, in my opinion, has been so imprudent, and his disaffection to the Nabob so manifestly inveterate, that a proper representation of it, cannot fail to draw upon him the severest resentment of the Company But besides my aversion to violent measures, the length of time before the Company's notice of these affairs could reach us, and the support that the most glaring misconduct in him would meet with from a majority of the Board, have inclined me rather to make choice of such means, as may be more likely to conciliate, than inflame our

mutual animosities With this view I have wrote to Mr Ellis a letter, of which the inclosed is a copy, and will acquaint you with his answer If he accepts of my offer, I will do him every good office that I can with the Nabob If he declines it, I will not only let the Nabob pursue his own measures, but will even join him, in endeavoring to confute the aspersions which have been made use of, to ruin his credit with the Company."

Extract of a Letter from the Governor to Mr. Hastings Dated May 26, 1762

"I had the pleasure to receive this morning your favor of the 13th The Nabob's answer to the representations you made him on the part of the Board, is exactly uniform with all his former declarations, in regard to the disputes that have arisen between him and Mr Ellis, and this uniformity is a strong proof with me, that he speaks with a good conscience, and has reason on his side However, as I love peace and quietness, and have learnt to make allowances for the different tempers and passions of different men, I approve entirely of your endeavors to conciliate matters between the Nabob and Mr Ellis, and wish, that the last may accept of your good offices, if not, you can do no otherwise than represent fully to the Board, the Nabob's answer to the subject-matter of your instructions "

Extract of a Letter from Mr Hastings to the Governor Dated Jammore, May 26, 1762

"The world, judging only from facts, sees the Nabob's authority publicly insulted, his officers imprisoned, seepoys sent against his forts, and is told, that the chief of the English, in these parts, disavows the Nabob's right to the Subahship The obvious end of such symptoms is an open rupture The Nabob's enemies receive encouragement from this hope, and the traitors about his person, use it as an argument to them to persist in their revolt Shuja Dowla is informed, that the English have actually 'commenced hostilities with the Nabob, nor need I take notice how fatal such a notion might prove to the Nabob and to us, was not Shuja Dowla too much engaged with other designs, to take advantage of the weakness of this government.

When I accepted of this commission, I pleased myself with the hopes of being an instrument of reconciling all differences between the Nabob and the English, and putting an end to all animosities. This I now find an impossible task, the gentlemen who have taken upon them to condemn his promotion, have too publicly proclaimed their disapprobation of that measure, and their hatred to the Nabob, which have been repeated to him, probably with exaggerations. He has been told, that Mess Amyatt, Ellis, and Carnac, have in their letters to their friends in England, used every argument to procure an order from the Company, to annul the measures taken in favor of him, and represented his character in the most hateful terms, that Mr Fullerton was also charged to assist in person their project of deposing him, and that they have sworn together to his ruin, that they have discovered a flaw in the title to the Subahship from our treaty, &c &c. True or false, the Nabob has received these stories from their intimate acquaintance, who may have forged a part, but could not have invented the whole."

I had always flattered myself with the hopes, that the Company's approbation of the revolution in favour of Meer Cossim would have been such, as to have restrained the designs of the party formed against him, and these hopes were greatly encouraged by the letter which arrivd in the month of April; but the second, which arrivd not till a month after, was expressed in such ambiguous terms, as might easily be construed by a party spirit into a disapprobation of it

The following are extracts of both letters

Extract of the Company's general Letter to Bengal Dated June 19, 1761.

"Upon perusal of the said several letters and papers, we have the agreeable satisfaction of finding, that the great revolu-

The Nabob's expression was, that they had wrote to the Company, which, at this time, neither Mr Hastings nor I had any conception of, as no such letter had passed thro' the usual channel, but it seems he meant the letter which had been written privately by those gentlemen, and some others of the Council, to the Select Committee in England, which has since appeared in print

tion in the Subahship there-in-mentioned, has been and is likely to prove greatly advantageous to the Company We have not now time to enter into any particulars on this happy event, and can therefore only recommend, and leave it to you, to act in such manner as shall be most for the Company's interest.

We clearly see, that this revolution has been happily brought about, principally by the good conduct and address of our President Vansittart, and we accordingly sincerely and heartily return him our thanks for his great services, and disinterested behavior on this occasion."

Extract of the Company's general Letter to Bengal Dated September 30, 1761

"This is the third revolution in Bengal, wherein the very being of the Company has been, and from their consequences may still be at a stake Your advancing Jaffier Allee Cawn to the Subahship, in the room of Serajah Dowla, was undoubtedly a necessary, measure, as well for the good of the country in general, as the intreest of the Company in particular. Your afterwards deposing Jaffier Allee Cawn, and setting Cossim Allee Cawn in his room, we hope also was done with the same view Upon this presumption and confidence, that no other motives whatsoever had any influence upon you. We must look on the measures pursued on his occasion as unavoidable, at the same time we cannot help observing, that it is by the great regard the Company have always had to a faithful obsearaance of their agreements, they have acquired and hitherto preserved a reputation with the natives of India We could have wished therefore the situation of affairs would have admitted keeping terms with Jaffier Allee Cawn, that even the least handle for a pretence might not have been offered to prejudiced people, to make use of to throw any reflection upon the transaction"

The gentlemen who had joined against the Nabob, did not fail to turn this last paragraph to their own purpose; publishing it throughout the country with their own interpretations, and confidently declaring, that the next step would be an entire disavowal of his promotion, with orders in consequence

to restore Meer Jaffier. These declarations soon reached the Nabob's ears, as no doubt was intended, and Mr Hastings advised me of the effect that it had upon the Nabob very soon after in the following letter

Extract of a Letter from Mr Hastings to the Governor Dated Mongheer, July 14, 1762

"I informed you some time ago, that the natural inference which might be drawn from the extract of the last letter from the Company, was so little in favor of the Nabob, or the late revolution, that I had evaded giving him a translation of it, and only told him, that the Company had applauded the measures which had been taken in his promotion, and recommended the strictest union and harmony with the new Nabob, for a prevention of the like necessity, and for the credit of our faith. Not many days after, the Nabob himself repeated to me the whole substance of that extract with such lightnings, as a party spirit would naturally give to it, and told me, that Mr Ellis had declared, that this disapprobation of the revolution would be followed by an order from the Company to upset it, and that he expected great changes when the next ship arrived. The Nabob's good sense made it no difficult matter for me to satisfy him how improbable such an event was, but I mention this only to shew, how every occasion is caught at, to support the credit of an inveterate faction, and I suppose this will hardly be attributed to the Nabob's invention, or that of the people about him."

Although the many endeavors used to accommodate the differences between the Nabob and Mr. Ellis had proved ineffectual, and I saw I had it not in my power to give the Nabob any satisfaction for the injuries complained of, I was desirous of trying the only expedient yet left, that of engaging the Nabob to forge what was passed, and could not be remedied; and, on the other hand, to engage Mr Ellis, to live on better terms for the future, and refrain from renewing the disputes by fresh provocations. With this view I proposed to the Board, to make an application to this effect to the Nabob, through Mr Hastings; and to give fresh injunctions to Mr Ellis, which was accordingly done in the following letters.

*Copy of a Letter from the Governor and Council (Mes. Vansitart, *M'Gwire and Hary) to Mr. Hastings Dated July 8, 1762.*

“We have received a letter from Mr. Ellis, advising us of the Nabob’s refusal of his visit; and the President at the same time acquainted us with the reasons the Nabob gave you for this refusal. We have received also another letter from Mr. Ellis of the 25th, advising us, that Rajah Nobit Roy upon his appointment to the Neabut of the Bahar province, was forbid by the Nabob to pay him the usual compliment of a visit. The sum of the Nabob’s reasons is this, that having had indignities offered him by Mr. Ellis, and having made publick complaints against him, he thought it would be absurd to receive a friendly visit from him. We mentiond in our last letter to you the reasons given by Mr. Ellis for those proceedings, of which the Nabob so much complains, viz his sending seepoys to Mongheer, and his seizing Coja Antoon. We shall not repeat those reasons, as it is not our intencion to call to mind old subjects of dispute, but rather to shew the Nabob, through your means, the necessity of forgetting them, and endeavoring to establish a general good understandings

We may say, both of the Nabob and Mr. Ellis, that they have been too ready to give credit to reports injurious to each other, and this it is easy to see has been the reason why things of themselves, of little consequence, have been made object of such violent contests. If facts are thus exaggerated by reports, in the compass of these provinces, what may we expect to be said of them in other parts of Indostan? Certainly nothing less, than that the disputes between the Nabob and the English chief at Patna, foretell a breach of the friendship between the two governments, and this may encourage his enemies and ours to attempts, which otherwise they would not dare to mediate; Nay, this has always been the Nabob’s own argument, and a very just one, altho’ he now seems to consider it a private quarrel between him and Mr. Ellis; we think it can by no means be regarded in this light, because in its consequences it must affect the

* Who was just at this time restored to the service

public, for if such a rooted ill-will between the Nabob, and one of the Company's principal servants, is suffered to prevail, the evil cannot but increase, and the flame spread daily, more of the dependents of such government will insensibly adopt the motives of each party, and a succession of perjured minds will arise, prepared to take every opportunity of somenting the quarrel, and rendering it at length irreconcilable. We desire therefore that you will use your utmost endeavors, by the arguments which we have now mentioned, and all others, that may occur to dispose the Nabob seriously and heartily to do his part, towards the dispelling of all animosities; we have as strenuously recommended to Mr. Ellis to do his part, of that we hope a cordial and friendly intercourse may in future subsist between them

But should this, contrary to our hopes, be found impracticable, we shall at least expect, that the disputes between them be so far accommodated, as to be concealed from the world and that all the usual ceremonies, and publick marks of respect, be reciprocally paid and received. So much is absolutely necessary both for the Nabob's reputation and the Company's, and we may add, that the safety and tranquility of the Nabob's government is more particularly concerned. Mr Ellis, by proposing a visit to the Nabob, on his arrival at Patna, paid the respect due from his station to the rank of the Subah, and we hope the Nabob, after having this our advice explained to him, will not again omit the compliment due from him to a member of this Board"

Copy of a Letter from the Governor and Council (Messrs Vansittart, M'Gwire and Hay) to Mr. Ellis. Dated July 8, 1762

"We have received your letters of the 23d and 25th instant; the first advising of the Nabob's refusing your visit, the other of his forbidding Nobit Roy, to pay you that compliment upon his appointment to the Neabut of the Benhar province. Mr. Hastings transmitted to the President, by the Nabob's desire, his reasons for refusing your visit; of these we send you a copy, and purposely avoid entering into any debate upon them, as instead recalling to mind past disputes, we are endea-

voring to shew the Nabob and you, the necessity of having them entirely forgot, and a general good harmony established.

Inclosed we send you a copy of our instructions to Mr Hastings on this subject. The reasons therein contained, will convince you how much the tranquility of the country, and consequently the good of the Company, is interested, in putting an end to these animosities. An intercourse between the Nabob and you, so far as it regards your public characters, is absolutely necessary, and we shall always insist on it; but we wish for more, and strenuously recommend to you to let nothing be wanting, on your part, to establish a hearty friendship between you."

Mr Ellis, instead of complying with so salutary an advice, persisted always in the same violent sentiments, and wrote the following answer to the Board

*Copy of a Letter from Mr Ellis to the Governor and Council
Dated July 23, 1762*

"I have been favored with yours of the 8th, inclosing an extract of Mr Hasting's letter to the President, and a copy of your instructions to that gentleman, which I sincerely wish may have the desired effect, but fear the Nabob has acted too long without controul, to listen now to any advice however salutary

Though I never hope to be on a footing of friendship or intimacy with the Nabob, yet knowing how necessary it was for the Company's affairs, and more particularly so for his own, to save appearances, I did not think he would have refused an interview, which instead of occasioning a quarrel, as he absurdly observes, might perhaps have laid the foundation of a future good understanding, but it seems he can construe the occasion of complaints that have arisen, either into a public concern, or a private quarrel with Mr Ellis, as may best suit his own conveniency

Any overtures that the Nabob may make towards a reconciliation I shall readily embrace, but after the manner in which I have been treated by him, one can come from me, without

being greatly derogatory to the public character I have at present the honor to bear

Rajah Nabit Roy has been permitted to pay me the compliment of a visit, which I have returned "

A reciprocal animosity, which carried itself to such public acts of violence, but too loudly proclaimed itself to the world, and it was soon known, or at least universally believed, that a party was formed amongst the English, and that a very powerful one, whose aim was to upset the Nabob, and the frequent quarrels raised with him, were looked upon as the effects of that design. As upon such occasions, the dependents never fail to adopt the sentiments of their superiors, nothing was heard of all over the country but outcries on the one hand, against the tyranny and oppressions of the English and their gomastahs, and on the other, against the insolence and encroachments of the Nabob and his officers. Hence arose a fresh matter of contention, more dangerous than any of the past, because it was not confined to one place, nor regarded mere points of honor, but was diffused throughout the whole country, and touched the tenderest part of self-interest on both sides, the very being of the Nabob's government, and the freedom of the English commerce. In effect, this proved the crisis of the long depending contest; and became, from the violence with which it was carried on, the cause of the rupture which the party so earnestly wished for, little attending to the unhappy consequences which it might, and which I am sorry to say, it actually did produce. This became the subject of many of the letters which passed between Mr Hastings and me, whilst he remained with the Nabob, some of the most material are here selected.

Copy of a Letter from Mr Hastings to the Governor Dated Bauglepoor, April 25, 1762

"I beg leave to lay before you a grievance, which loudly calls for redress, and will, unless duly attended to, render ineffectual any endeavors to create a firm and lasting harmony between the Nabob and the Company. I mean, the oppressions committed under the sanction of the English name, and through

the want of spirit in the Nabob's subjects to oppose them This evil, I am well assured, is not confined to our dependents alone, but is practised all over the country, by people falsely assuming the habits of our seepoys, or calling themselves our gomastahs. As on such occasions the great power of the English intimidates the people from making any resistance ; so, on the other hand, the indolence of the Bengalees, or the difficulty of gaining access to those who might do them justice, prevents our having knowledge of the oppressions, and encourages their continuance, to the great, though unmerited scandal of our government

I have been surprized to meet with several English flags flying in places which I have passed , and on the river, I do not believe that I passed a boat without one By whatever title they have been assumed (for I could only trust to the information of my eyes, without stopping to ask questions) I am sure their frequency can bode no good to the Nabob's revenues, the quiet of the country, or the honor of our nation, but evidently tends to lessen each of them

A party of seepoys, who were on the march before us, afforded sufficient proofs of the rapacious and insolent spirit of those people, where they are left to their own discretion Many complaints against them were made me on the road , and most of the petty towns and serais were deserted at our approach, and the shops shut up, from the apprehensions of the same treatment from us

You are sensible, Sir, that it is from such little irregularities, too trivial perhaps for public complaint, and continually repeated, that the country people are habituated to entertain the most unfavourable notions of our government , and by them the English credit suffers much more than by matters which are made of greater consequence in the debates between the Nabob and us.

You have already pointed out one method, by which the truth of the complaints against our gomastahs, may be inquired into and redressed, which I shall not fail to represent in a proper manner to the Nabob But nothing I fear will reach

the root of these evils, till some certain boundary be fixed between the Nabob's authority and our privileges

Was I to suppose myself in the place of the Nabob, I should not be at a loss in what manner to protect my own subjects or servants from insults, but whilst the principle prevails, that no point (however little beneficial to ourselves) is to be given up to the Nabob, and that his authority upon every occasion should be checked for the security of our own, I should hardly venture to propose to any one, besides yourself, to restrain the power of our gomastahs, to the immediate concerns of the Company or their servants, to which we ourselves are limited by our firmaun, and our treaty with the Nabob, and where any persons, assuming the English name, are guilty of acts of violence or oppression to any of the Nabob's subjects, and within his jurisdiction, that the magistrates take such measures as his office, and the matter in question, may require for preventing them, without making any distinction in such cases betwixt our agents, and the dependents of the government

As the power of executing justice must be lodged somewhere, and our servants, if injured, have always the means of appealing, we may be certain, that the magistrates will be very cautious how they give any such cause for complaint, as may endanger their dismissal, which should be insisted on as the slightest punishment for any notorious perversion of justice

With regard to the abuse of our flag, in defrauding the government of its duties, I know no method so likely to prove effectual, as those which have been repeatedly recommended, and which it is needless for me to mention

I shall forbear saying any thing fully to the Nabob, concerning the complaints against our people, till I am favored with your further opinion on this subject, that I may know from thence how far I am to proceed towards settling this point with the Nabob, and preventing all future differences, that may arise from the present uncertain and perplexed situation of affairs "

Extract of a Letter from the Governor to Mr Hastings.
Dated May 2, 1762

“Since I wrote you last, I have been favored with yours of the 18th of April from Dewansera, 23d from Shahabad, and 25th from Bauglepoor. The observations contained in the last, concerning the unjust authority exercised all over the country in the English name, deserve immediate attention. Indeed I have always thought it a great grievance, injurious to the Nabob in his revenues and government, and to us in our reputation. You know too that I have done all in my power to remedy it. I have frequently requested of the Nabob, to make the Drogas of the Chokeys do their duty more carefully, and oblige every boat to produce my dustuck, or that of the chief of one of our factories, and where no dustuck appears, to stop them till they pay the customs.

The Nabob wrote me, that the Drogas of his Chokeys were afraid to stop a boat with English colors, and that the peons in the boats would not stop. Whereupon I sent him, according to his request, thirty dustucks, or orders under my hand and seal, importing, that all boats should be stopped, and either produce their dustuck, or pay the duties.

Very likely the Drogas of the Chokeys are unfit for their office, they should be men capable of distinguishing a real dustuck from a counterfeit, and of judging, by the date, whether it has been already returned, and fallaciously made use of a second time, to prevent which, an indorsement should be made at every Chokey upon every dustuck that passes, and where a boat carries English colors, without having a dustuck, it should be stopped, and the property particularly enquired into, and if it is found to belong to a subject of the Nabob, I think he would do right to confiscate the whole; if to a subject of ours, the Droga should send it back with a guard to the first English factory, with a letter to the chief, desiring, that the flag might be taken away, and the proprietor, peon, or manglee, who was guilty of the abuse, punished. I really can think of no other precautions for putting a stop to this evil, unless it be to place Chokeys of my own at convenient distances, with writers furnished with the above-mentioned instructions.

for examining the dustucks, &c and which, if the Nabob thinks it will be useful, I am ready to do at such places as he shall point out

The number of boats should likewise be compared with the dustuck, and the quantity of goods, in each boat, examined with as much exactitude as the nature of them will admit; and where it is found to exceed the quantity mentioned in the dustuck, the overplus should be confiscated

The extravagant power, set up by our gomastahs in many parts of the country, is an abuse equally demanding redress, and it would be but just and fair, to desire the Nabob to order his fougedars, and other officers, to take cognizance of these irregularities, and prevent by force (if necessary) their interfering in any affairs of the government. Could these fougedars and other officers be depended on, and we be assured they would not make use of that force to take away the weavers, and otherwise impede the Company's business, I should immediately advise and consent to this measure, which indeed is the natural, and I fear the only effectual remedy, and is what the Nabob has an undoubted right to do. I will try what effect a fresh and strict order to all our gomastahs and subordinates may have towards preventing their interfering in the affairs of the country; and let the Nabob order his officers to be full and particular in representing to me any circumstances of their misbehavior, directing them at the same time not to suffer the gomastahs, or their peons, to seize or judge between any inhabitants of the country, excepting the Company's weavers, not to take any officers in the country, as Izardars, Wadadars, &c. These I hope may be some steps towards redressing this grievance, and let the Nabob's officers, on their part, be cautioned not to oppress the Company's weavers, or in any manner interrupt their business.

I will order a list to be given of all the Company's gomastahs, with the places of their residence, from Calcutta and all the subordinates. These may be permitted to have each a flag at the place of their residence, but all other English gomastahs shall be forbid to set up flags in any part of the country

An order is already made and published, forbidding any Europeans from going up the country, without first applying for leave to the President and Council, and giving security for their good behavior, and that they will not meddle in the affairs of the country. At the same time we have directed lists to be given, of all that are at present in the country, by the gentlemen who employ them, and the same order we have sent to all the subordinates, and all who cannot produce security for their good behavior, shall be called away. These regulations I had an opportunity of forwarding, upon a complaint made against one Mr Ivie, at Raugunge, who is ordered down to Calcutta, for pretending to decide causes between the inhabitants.

Read all this letter to the Nabob, and assure him, I will do what more may be necessary, to give him full authority over his government."

Extract of a Letter from Mr Hastings to the Governor.
Sersaram, May 18, 1762

"I explained to the Nabob what you wrote to me concerning the abuse of the English name and authority, and the expedients proposed for their removal, which I extracted from your letter, and gave him written under the following heads.

First, that strict orders be given to the Drogas of the Chokeys, to require every English boat that passes to produce a dustuck, under the seal of the government, or any chief of the subordinate factories, and in case of a refusal, that they compel the boats to bring to

Sceond, that every boat with English colors, and not having a dustuck, be stopped, and if the goods be English property, that notice be given to the chief of the nearest factory, that it may be enquired into, but if it be a property of a subject of the sircar, that the Nabob take what notice of it he may think proper

Third, that strict orders be given to the officers and fougeldars of the sircar, if any English gomastah commit any act of oppression, or interfere in the affairs of the government, to

forbid them, and if they refuse to hear reason, to use force to make them desist.

Fourth, that strict orders have been sent from the Presidency, that none of the gomastahs, or servants of the factories, intermeddle with the affairs of the government, and that the officers of the sircar be likewise strictly enjoined, not to obstruct the Company's business, or oppress the people employed in it

Fifth, that no grants of wadadarrees, farms, or other offices of the government, be allowed to the Company's gomastahs

Sixth, that the company's gomastahs shall be allowed an English flag at the place of their residence. but no private gomastahs shall have an English flag, or assume any distinction from the English name

Seventh, that, by an order from the Presidency, no European shall be employed in the country without a permission from the Board; and giving security, that he will not interfere in any affairs of the government

Upon the two first heads the Nabob remarked, that it was to no purpose for him to give such orders to his officers, though backed with your dustucks, since both have proved ineffectual to restrain the presumption of our people, who seldom chuse to produce their dustucks, and if the officer acts as his duty requires him, a complaint is instantly sent to the next factory of the insolence of the Chokeys, the indignity offered to our flag, and the infringement of our dustucks, seepoys are dispatched to seize the offender, and others, dreading the like treatment, let pass all boats indiscriminately, and amongst them many that have no dustucks

In the third article I have deviated a little from your instructions; as I believe you will be convinced, that the gomastahs are not to be kept in awe by threats alone, but some coercive power must be allowed the magistrates, without which the gomastahs, knowing the difficulty of finding out the truth of facts so remote from our enquiries, will be conti-

nually intermeddling in matters which do not concern them. I make no doubt, but the officers of the government will be tempted, as they have many times done, to abuse their authority ; but the Company's business, and the English name, will suffer less by a few instances of this kind, than by the unlimited power often assumed by our agents. An example made of the first attempts of the magistrates to oppress our people will intimidate others ; but to have every little grievance on either side referred to the Nabob or yourself, will be a source of perpetual disagreement, and the enquiries will be found so perplexed, that I doubt, if any redress will be obtained on either side.

Notwithstanding this alteration, the proposal is not satisfactory to the Nabob, as long as a power is lodged with the gentlemen of our factories, on every complaint of the gomastahs, to send out parties of seepoys, against such as they pretend have misbehaved to them. This evil is therefore first to be redressed.

To the fifth, the Nabob gives his entire assent, and desires, that the gomastahs, and all other under our protection, be forbid to take or solicit offices under the government, which he has found very detrimental to the peace of the country.

The sixth, I hope, expresses your intention as the private gomastahs have no need of the protection of the English name, to carry on their business at the Aurungs, nor can claim any privilege above other traders, besides that of bringing away their goods when provided with the Company's dustuck.

To these the Nabob desired another article might be added, though implicitly included in the foregoing, viz that the gomastahs shall not force their goods on his subjects against their will, or at their own prices, nor compel the workmen to provide goods for them at unreasonable rates, but that every man be left at his own option to buy or sell, as he finds his advantage in either.

As the Nabob has no objection to any of the means which you have so often proposed, for preventing the disputes between his people and the Company's, but only to the want of a proper authority, to enforce the execution of them, he desires, that whatever regulations you may judge necessary, for the above end, may be drawn up in form, and sent him with the seal of the Company; and if your name added to it, be not sufficient to prevent future cavils, that it be signed likewise by the rest of the Council. Such a warrant will limit, beyond the possibility of a dispute, the extent of our privileges, and his authority, and point out the means, by which he may preserve his government entire, without incurring the imputation of trampling on the rights of the Company."

Extract of a Letter from the Governor to Mr Hastings
Dated June 27, 1762

"It is a natural right which the Nabob has, in common with all other governments, to prevent by force, if fair means fail, any injury being done to his subjects by any other persons. It would be almost absurd to give a consent to this by any public act, and perhaps not quite proper, for fear of encouraging too much the government's people, to exercise this right sometimes in an unjust cause. But wherever unlawful attempts are made by our people, the officers of the government must prevent them, by fair means, if possible, if not, oppose them by force, and it is what no reasonable man can complain of."

I have chosen to insert these letters, because they will shew that the regulations, which I afterwards agreed upon with the Nabob, were not hastily resolved upon, but were the result of a long consideration, and the strongest necessity. In the month of June the Nabob came to Mongheer, where he fixed his quarters for the rains; and Mr Hastings then took leave of him, and returned to Calcutta.

Here the Nabob, being more at leisure to attend to the complaints of his officers and subjects of the overgrown power assumed by the English agents and gomastahs, I daily received letters from him on those subjects. I shall here insert some

of the letters from the Nabob and his officers, in which those grievances are set forth in the most striking colors

Translation of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor.
Received May 1762.

“You write me, that there must be mischievous men about me, who by their slanders want to stir up enmity between me and the English gentlemen, that I should search out those promoters of dissension, and bring them to due punishment. Sir, from the time that I entered into an agreement with you, and marched out of the Bengal province to these parts, I never infringed the treaty by obstructing a single person, gentleman, or seepoy, or boat, or commodity of yours, nor have I sent a single peon for the customary commissions from the districts which I granted to the Company, but have entirely left off concerning myself about those districts, and have not once wrote to you on any affair relative to them: since then nothing has been done on my part, which might disturb the friendship and treaty subsisting between us, how can there be any room about my person for designing and mischievous men? And this is the way your gentlemen behave, they make a disturbance all over my country, plunder the people, injure and disgrace my servants, with a resolution to expose my government to contempt; and from the borders of Hindustan to Calcutta, make it their business to expose me to scorn. In every pergunah and every village, they have established ten or twenty new factories, and setting up the colors and shewing the dustucks of the Company, they use their utmost endeavors to oppress the reiats, merchants, and other people of the country. The dustucks for searching the boats, which you formerly favored me with, and which I sent to every chokey, the Englishmen by no means regard, but bring shame and disgrace upon my people, holding themselves in readiness to beat and abuse them. Having established these new factories, they carry on such business as the Company never heard of; and every Bengal gomastah makes a disturbance at every factory, and thinks himself not inferior to the Company. In every pergunah, every village, and every factory,

they buy and sell salt, beefle-nut, ghee, rice, straw, bamboos, fish, gunnies, ginger, sugar, tobacco, opium, and many other things, more than I can write, and which I think it needless to mention. They forcibly take away the goods and commodities of the reiat, merchants, &c for a fourth part of their value, and by ways of violence and oppressions, they oblige the reiat, &c to give five rupees for goods which are worth but one rupee; and for the sake of five rupees, they bind and disgrace an Assammee*, who pays me one hundred rupees malguzarree†; and they allow not any authority to my servants. Near four or five hundred new factories have been established in my dominions; and it is impossible to express what disturbances are made in every factory, and how the inhabitants are oppressed. The officers of every district have desisted from the exercise of their functions; so that by means of these oppressions, and my being deprived of my duties, I suffer a yearly loss of near twenty-five lacks of rupees. In this case, how can I keep clear of debts? How can I provide for the payment of my tribute to the king, and for the expences of my army and my household? In the pergunah of Dinagepoor, of which I have appointed and sent Ramnaut Bahdree collector; besides the old factory, twenty new ones have been established in one gunge*. I have sent for your information a list, specifying the number of the factories, and the names of the gomastahs, which I received from the said collector. And every one of these gomastahs has such a power, that he imprisons the collector, and deprives him of all authority whenever he pleases. Therefore I desire you will speedily put a stop to this method of buying and selling straw, bamboos, &c which the Company never practised. As I never interfere in any of the districts which I gave up to the Company, it is proper, that in like manner you and the chiefs, and other Englishmen, should not interfere in any of the districts which, by your favor, belong to me. By the grace of God, I neither have transgressed, nor do, nor will transgress the treaty and

* A person on whom a claim is made, dependant

† The rents, or land-tax.

* A large market for grain

agreement which I have made; why then do the chiefs of the Englishmen render my government contemptible, and employ themselves in bringing a loss upon me? Be kind enough to take these matters into consideration without delay, for they expose my government to scorn, and are of the greatest detriment to me”

*Translation of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor
Received in April 1762*

“You write me, that “as the provinces are free from disturbance all men have engaged in trade, that this is a means of benefiting the reiat, and rendering the country populous; that I should fully inform you of the names of all such as lay aside their trade, and give interruption to my business, together with the particulars of their proceedings; and that you will punish them according to their deserts”

It is true, that by the flourishing of trade, and the free intercourse of merchants, a country is rendered populous; but the gomastahs, who have gone into the country on the part of your gentlemen, regardless of what any one says to them, insolently use violent means to carry on their traffick, and whenever a gunge or golah has been established, they act as zemindars, taalookdars, and renters, and leave my officers no authority, and besides this, they send other peoples goods with their own, under the protection of their dustucks. As you have desired me to write you the particulars of the oppressions of your gomastahs, after the arrival of Mr Hastings, I will send you a circumstantial account of them”

*Translation of a Letter from Syed Rejub Allee, Zemindar of
Beerbazoo Perganah Received the Middle of the Year 1762.*

“From the beginning the Company’s factory has been in Beelcoochy, and a cloth business has been carried on there; and I do not neglect doing, to the utmost of my power, whatever the gomastahs of the factory desire, nor was any oppression practised. Whoever traded in copper, toothernague, or

cotton, which was sent to the factory by the Company, traded freely, and at the market price Now from Calcutta, Dacca, Cheelmary, and Rangamatty, numbers of Englishmen and merchants, and the people of Monsieui Chevalier, &c bring into the pergunah, copper, toothernague, cotton, tinkal, salt, beetle-nut, tobacco, rice, muggadooties, *Seringa-boats, lack, stick-lack, dammar, dried fish, &c and all these people assuming the name of the Company, force the reiat, who never dealt in such commodities, to purchase them at an exorbitant price Besides this, they violently exact large sums for presents, and for their peons expences, and take, at a low rate, whatever oil, &c they buy. By means of these oppressions, the merchants, peons, reiat, &c of the pergunah, have taken to flight, and the hauts†, gauts‡, gungest||, and golahs§, are entirely ruined Moreover, they prevent the reiat from carrying on their business, they rob and plunder them wherever they meet them on the road, and giving colors and certificates to the merchants of the pergunah, who formerly paid duties, they will not suffer any to be taken from them, and the zemindars people, reverencing the name of the Company, cannot obstruct them Thro' these oppressions, the revenues of the government have been absolutely ruined, and the Company's business obstructed. Being without redress, I send you a vackeel, with a representation of the state of the pergunah, he will inform you of all particulars. I hope, that regarding my distressed condition, you will send a seepoy, with a dustuck, to take my country under his protection, and will order the gomastahs of the Beelcoochy factory, to put a stop to the power of such as trade by force and oppressions, to make every one refund what profits he has exacted by violence, to put oppression and injustice to flight, and to have the Company's business carried on as formerly I have acquainted the vackeel with the particulars, and he will inform you of them.”

* A large kind of canoo, made on the borders of Assam.

† A weekly market

‡ A custom-house

|| Wholesale markets

§ Houses for grain

Translation of a Letter from Doolabram, a Renter to the Nabob

"The trade of the salt and batty-wood, in the chuckla of Silhet, has for a long while been granted to me ; in consideration of which, I pay a yearly rent * of 40,000 cawns of cowries , but now Mr †, and Chandermun, and Coja Marcat, English gomastahs, having brought a large quantity of salt into the aforesaid chuckla, oblige my gomastahs, by force and oppression, to purchase it at an exorbitant price , and having by violent means, taken the batty wood trade into their own hands, they have put a stop to my business, whereby I suffer a very great loss Yet the fougedar has oppressively exacted from me the usual rents, plundering my house, and forcing me from my home ; and my gomastahs, by reason of the oppressions of the English gomastahs, and the rigor and violence with which the malguzarree is exacted, have taken to flight I therefore hope you will do me the favor, to order a perwannah to be wrote to the fougedar, either to put a stop to the power of the English gomastahs, or else not to demand the rents from me "

SECTION X.

The Increase of the Disputes—Mr Vansittart's Journey to Mongheer, and Regulations agreed upon with the Nabob.

Great Alarms of an approaching Rupture between us and the Nabob—Increase of the Complaints on both Sides—Letters containing the Complaints against the English Agents and Gomastahs—Letters containing the Complaints against the Nabob's Officers.—Debates and Orders of the Board upon the

* Value about 10,000 rupees

† The name not legible in the original

Occasion—Resons for Mr Vansittart's Journey to Mongheer.—He arrives at Moorshedabad—Letter from his to the Council—Letter from the Council to Mr Vansittart, desiring him to settle a Plan for the private Trade, with an Account of Duties inclosed—He arrives at Mongheer—Conferences with the Nabob—Letter from Mr Vansittart to the Council, with Translations of two Letters, one from Mr Cartier to Mahomed Alee, the Collector of Dacca, and one from Mes Johnstone, Hay and Bolts, to the Fougedar of Purnea—Letter from Mr Vansittart and Mr Hastings to the Council, with the Regulations proposed—Letter from the Nabob to Mr Vansittart, containing a Summary of his Complaints—Mr Vansittart's Answer to the Nabob, containing the Regulations promised thereupon, which was the Subject of the ensuing Disputes—Mr. Vansittart proceeds to Patna Complaint made to him by the Nabob's Deputy at Patna—Dispute about the Burbunna Gate—Dispute about the Gunge—Mr Vansittart's Answer to the Deputy's Complaints—Mr Vansittart sets out from Patna for Calcutta—He calls at Mongheer, and takes Leave of the Nabob—The Nabob sets out on an Expedition to Napaul—State of his Forces at this Period—Letter from the Council to Mes Vansittart and Hastings, in Answer to theirs from Mongheer—Mr. Vansittart arrives at Cossimbazar—His Letter to the Board from thence—He returns to Calcutta

I strove as long as possible to remove these disorders by private cautions to the gentlemen concerned ; but finding those means ineffectual, I was obliged to lay them before the Board, where, however, for the most part, they met with as little attention. They were usually construed as forged pretexts of the Nabob, to pick a quarrel with us, and encroach upon our rights. I was reproached with the credit which I gave to the Nabob's representations, and every gentleman, who was interested in them, regarded me as his personal enemy. In short, though the complaints became every day more frequent, yet not one was ever redressed, nor even thought worthy of an enquiry ; and all that I could do was, by palliating what I could not remedy, to keep the Nabob in temper, and prevent an open quarrel from breaking out between us.

Soon after, I was for two months confined from business by a dangerous illness. Being unable in this interval to apply the same palliatives and cautions, which had hitherto checked the progress of these disputes and struggles between the Nabob's officers and the gomastahs, they were carried to the greatest licentiousness on both sides. The first I heard of business after my recovery was, that a war was breaking out with the Nabob, complaints crowded in upon me from all parts, the officers of the government declaring, that their authority in every place was trampled upon by the English gomastahs, so that they could no longer preserve the least order, in the management of the business committed to their charge, nor collect the revenues of the government, and that the usual duties which had been paid by the English merchants on salt, and some other articles of private trade, were now withheld and refused, and, on the other side, the gentlemen of the subordinate factories, and the English gomastahs, asserting they had paid the usual duties, notwithstanding which many of their boats were stopped. That the nature of these complaints which afterwards produced such consequences, may be the better understood, some of the most material shall be here inserted

Copy of a Letter from Serjeant Brego to the Governor
Dated Backergunge, May 25, 1762*

"The situation of affairs, at this place, obliges me to apply to your Honor for instructions for my further proceedings.

My instructions which I brought here were, that in case any Europeans or their servants committed any disorders, they were to be sent to Calcutta, notwithstanding any pretence they shall make for so doing

Notwithstanding the rigor of these orders, I have ever made it my business (when any thing trifling happened) to endeavor, by gentle means, to persuade the gentlemen's gomastahs here to act in a peaceable manner; which although re-

* A serjeant sent with six seepoys, by the Nabob's desire, to assist the zemindar of Backergunge

peated several times, has had no effect, but, on the contrary, has occasioned their writing complaints of me to their respective matters, that I obstructed them in thier business, and ill used them; and in return, I have received menacing letters from several gentlemen, threatening, if I interfere with their servants, to use such measures as I may repent; nor have the gentlemen only done this, their very gomastahs have made it public here, that in case I stop them in any proceeding, they will use the same methods; for the truth of which I have good proofs.

Now, Sir, I am to inform you what I have obstructed them in; this place was of great trade formerly, but now brought to nothing by the following practices.

A gentleman sends a gomastah here to buy or sell, he immediately looks upon himself as sufficient to force every inhabitant, either to buy his goods, or sell him theirs, and on refusal (in case of non-capacity) a flogging or confinement immediately ensues. This is not sufficient even when willing, but a second force is made use of, which is, to engross the different branches of trade to themselves, and not to suffer any persons to buy or sell the articles they trade in; and if the country people do it, then a repetition of their authority is put in practice; and again, what things they purchase, they think the least they can do is, to take them for a considerable deal less than another merchant, and oftentimes refuse paying that, and my interfering occasions an immediate complaint.

These, and many other oppressions more than can be related, which are daily used by the Bengal gomastahs, is the reason that this place is growing destitute of inhabitants, every day numbers leave the town, to seek a residence more safe; and the very markets, which before afforded plenty, do hardly now produce any thing of use, their peons being allowed to force poor people; and if the zemindar offers to prevent it, he is threatened to be used in the same manner

Before, justice was* given in the public cutcherree, but

* Exercised

now every gomastah is become a judge, and every one's house a cutcherree, they even pass sentences on the zemindars themselves, and draw money from them by pretended injuries, such as a quarrel with some of their peons, or their having, as they assert, stole something, which is more likely to have been taken by their own people; but allowing they were robbed, I believe no gomastah's authority extends so far, as to take his own satisfaction on the government

Having thus far acquainted your Honor with the behavior of the gomastahs here, I am to request your Honor's interest, that in case I am to put your orders in execution, I may be bore harmless therein, and I beg leave to conclude, being with all respect, &c

*Translation of a Letter from * Mahmood Allee to the Governor.
Received the Beginning of October 1762*

"His Excellency the Nabob was pleased to appoint me collector of the pergunahs in the province of Dacca; but several people of that place have ingratiated themselves in the favor of the gentlemen of Luckypoor and Dacca factories, and greatly detrimented the affairs To this purport his Excellency has wrote you, and directed me to acquaint you with every thing relative to the gentlemen of the factory

Therefore I now lay the whole before you, and send by Mirza Mysudeen a perwannah from his Excellency, which he will present to you In the first place, a number of merchants have made interest with the people of the factory, hoist English colors on their boats, and carry away their goods under the pretence of their being English property, by which means the Shahbunder and other customs are greatly detrimented. Secondly, the gomastahs of Luckypoor and Dacca factories oblige the merchants, &c to take tobacco, cotton, iron, and sundry other things, at a price exceeding that of the bazar, and then extort the money from them by force, besides which, they take diet money for the peons, and make them pay fine for breaking their agreement. By these proceedings, the aurungs and other places are ruined. Thirdly, the gomas-

* Collector of Dacca

tahs of Luckypoor factory have taken the taalookdars taalooos from the tahsildar by force for their own use, and will not pay the rent. At the instigation of some people they, on a matter of complaint, send Europeans and seepoys with a dustuck into the country, and there create disturbances. They station chokeys at different places, and whatever they find in poor people's houses they cause to be sold, and take the money. By these disturbances the country, is ruined, and the reiat cannot stay in their houses, nor pay the malguzarree. In many places, Mr Chevalier has by force established new markets, and new factories, and has made false seepoys on his own part, and they seize whom they want, and fine them. By his forcible proceedings many hauts, gauts, and perganahs are ruined, and the malguzarree of the government suffers greatly. I therefore hope you will send, for the security of the reiat, two Europeans or seepoys with a dustuck, which may put an end to these proceedings, and tend to the benefit of the inhabitants. Please to send letters to the chiefs of Dacca and Luckypoor, to write to their gomastahs in the districts, not to oblige the merchants to take tobacco, cotton, &c and not in any respect to detriment the aurungs, and then the sircar will get the revenues. Other matters Mirza Mysudeen will relate to you, you will please to consider them, and then the affairs of the government will prosper."

** Copy of a Letter from Mr Ellis to the Governor and Council
Dated Oct 7, 1762*

"To prevent any blame being hereafter thrown upon us for the deficiency of our investment, we are now to inform you, that at Jehanabad, the principal cloth aurung, our gomastahs, delolls, &c have been peremptorily ordered to desist from purchasing, and quit the place. Upon their non compliance, they have been threatened and abused in the most vile and gross terms; and the washermen employed in whitening our cloths have been actually beat, and peons put over them, to prevent their going on in their business. Rajah † Nobit Roy (to

* Complaints against the Nabob's officers

† Then Naib at Patna

whom our chief has twice complained of these proceedings) declares, that the person who thus insults us, and impedes the Company's business, is independent of him, so that it would seem he is sent by the Nabob merely for this purpose

If such insolence is suffered to pass unnoticed, we can have no hopes of compleating our investment, for who will serve us, whilst they thereby subject themselves to such severe and ignominious treatment from the country government ?

For the carrying on the Company's business, it is evident we must be obliged to repel force by force ; and shall do so, unless we receive your honors, &c orders to the contrary "

Copy of the Resolution of the Board (Messrs Vansittart, Amyatt, M'Gwire, Hay and Watts) on the foregoing Letter October 18, 1762

"Agreed, we write immediately the following answer, that we inclose a letter from the President to the Nabob, on the subject of their complaints, and hope it will be effectual in removing all interruptions in the Company's business, but at all events, as we have it sufficiently in our power to procure satisfaction for any injury that may be done the interests of our employers ; they are on no account to make use of force, without our express directions, that they do not mention in their letter, that they have made any application to the Nabob, to put a stop to the difficulties they represent, and which certainly they ought to have done, when they were informed that the person they complained of, was independent of the Naib of Patna At least it should have occurred to them, that such application was necessary, before they should propose to make use of force "

Extract of a Letter from the Gentlemen at Luckypoor, to the Governor and Council Dated October 14, 1762

"We must beg leave to observe to you, that within these few days, every boat, which we have sent out of the river, has been stopped at the different chokeys, notwithstanding they have the chief's dustuck Our gomastahs and people used ill

and confined, and a very exorbitant duty demanded; and our servants in general greatly insulted all over the country. Upon our sending to some of these places to enquire the reason of this extraordinary behavior, answer was given, that they had orders from the Nabob to stop and demand duties from every English boat that passed, and on no account to let them go free, as the English dustuck was of no consequence in the country, and for this purpose the force at every chokey is augmented. This has occasioned an entire stoppage to our trade, greatly to the detriment of our private fortunes, as we have now large quantities of goods, detained at the different Chokeys, which we cannot get released, unless we submit to pay the extravagant custom they require, and were we to do that, our boats are liable to be stopped, at the very next Chokey, and the same duty again demanded. Of these circumstances we think it necessary to advise you, and hope speedy measures will be taken to procure us redress. We are under daily apprehensions, that a custom will be demanded on our cloth purchases, which must be of great prejudice to our Honorable Employers."

Extract of a Letter from the Chief and Council at Chittagong, to the Governor and Council Dated October 14, 1762.

"We last night received a letter from the Dacca gentlemen, advising us, that the extraordinary insolence of the natives in every part of their districts, has given them the greatest reason to apprehend troubles in the country, and that the natives seem to confirm these surmises by their own declarations, that their trade is almost put an entire stop to, their flag used with contempt, and their privileges ridiculed, that this being their present situation, they request we will let them have another company of seepoys, for the protection of our Honorable Masters property at their factory, that the Company appointed there are very sickly, and many men unfit for actual service, that the sooner we send them this detachment the better, as also some ammunition; that the Company shall again be returned, when their affairs are put upon a better footing. In consequence of these advices, we have ordered a

company of seepoys, with some ammunition, to proceed to Dacca, with all expedition, which we hope will meet with your approbation. At the same time, we also received a letter from the gentlemen at Luckypoor, requesting a supply of ammunition, which we have ordered to be sent.

We must observe to you, that within these few days past, we have received advice from our gomastahs, in different parts of the country, that our business is entirely put a stop to, by the Nabob's people, and our boats not suffered to pass the chokeys, the zemindars demanding very considerable duties to be paid them, declaring they have orders from Cossim Allee Cawn so to do, and unless we use force to prevent it, they will see his directions strictly complied with. Several of our boats are now lying confined at different chokeys."

Extract of a Letter from the Chief and Council at Dacca, to the Governor and Council Dated October 8, 1762

"We think it our duty to inform you, that the outrages committed in these parts by the government's people, for this month past, have arrived to such a height, as to put almost a total stop to our business. At every chokey our boats are stopped, the people insulted, and the flag used with the utmost and most gross contempt. Our advices from Silhet give us the same intelligence, further adding, that* muchulcas have been taken from many inhabitants, prohibiting them on no account to have any connections with the English. As this spirit of insolence increases to a very surprizing degree, and we have daily the mortification to hear of repeated insults and violences offered to our privileges, we are under an apprehension, that the Company's business will in a few days share the same fate as all private has. To prevent and remedy these evils, we must depend upon the measures you may take in consequence of this information.

As appearances are so very unpromising, we have wrote to the gentlemen of Chittagong, for a reinforcement of a

* Written obligations

company of seepoys, which shall be again returned them, when affairs begin to clear up”

Extract from Consulation of the 18th of October (Present Mes Vansittart, Amyatt, M'Gwire, Hay and Watts)

“Agreed, we write to Dacca in answer to their letter of the 8th instant, that we must needs say, from the information of the above * letters, there is reason to fear their gomastahs and agents have made use of very unwarrantable practices in their trade; and perhaps the several disputes and interruptions they complain of, have been owing to that cause; but as we are always able and willing, when the necessity of circumstances may require, to procure them redress for any injuries they may suffer in their trade, or otherwise we direct, that they forbear making use of force without our permission and orders; and therefore desire they will return to Chittagong immediately, the company of seepoys which they have wrote for from thence; and if any complaints of interruptions in their business are hereafter made by their gomastahs, let Mr Cartier send a person to enquire into the truth of the affair, with a letter to the proper officer of the government, to desire he will put a stop to such obstructions; that inclosed, are letters from the Governor to Jessarut Cawn, the Naib, and Mahomed Allee, the collector of the revenues; which we hope will prevent any further disorders, at least, until the President can make the necessary regulations in concert with the Nabob; that the above-mentioned copies of letters we have forwarded to them for their information and reply, in case there should be any facts in them misrepresented; and we desire they will send, on their parts, a particular state of their complaints to the President, who will take the proper measures to obtain them satisfaction and indemnification for all losses and damages; that they must likewise take effectual care, that none of their gomastahs or agents do in future use any kind of force or authority in carrying on their trade, least the disputes, occasioned by such practices, should in the end affect the Com-

* Serjeant Brego's, Mahomed Allee's and others, then read at the Board

pany's business, neither must their gomastahs be allowed to set themselves up as magistrates in the county, in hearing disputes between the inhabitants, imposing fines, &c

Agreed, we likewise add to the Luckypoor letter, the several instruments contained in the above letter to Dacca, to regulate themselves by, in case any disputes should happen with them"

Extract of Consultation of the 1st of November, 1762 (Present Mes Amyatt, M'Gwire, Hay and Watts)

"Agreed, to write an answer to Luckypoor, referring them to our letter of the 18th of October for directions how to regulate themselves with regard to the obstrucions they complain of, till such time as the President can arrive with the Nabob, and enquire into, and settle these disputes on a solid plan for the future safety and freedom of our trade, desiring them in the mean time to send us an account of the duties they have usually paid, and the fresh customs which are now demanded, for the President's guidance in settling the matter

Agreed, to write to Chittagong, advising them, in answer to the above letter, that as the President is gone on a visit to the Nabob, and intends to enquire very particularly into, and settle all the disputes of the nature they complain of We desire they will send us a particular account of their complaints, what was the amount of the former duties, and what fresh customs are now demanded, for his (the President's) guidance in so doing, but that, in the mean time, we must forbid them making use of force to redress themselves without our positive directions, that regarding the disputes at Dacca, we have sent the gentlemen there our orders and directions, under the 18th of October"

Notwithstanding the lengths to which these disputes were carried, and the warmth and ill humor which appeared on both sides, I had yet one resource left for an accommodation, which I doubted not would succeed I mean an interview with the Nabob, which I had long intended, and which he had often strongly pressed I was determined, therefore, to

take this opportunity, when a change of air was necessary for my health, to pay him a visit at Mongheer. I flattered myself this would prove an effectual method of re-establishing a confidence between us, putting an end to the disputes, which had arisen, and providing a plan for the security of the provinces against foreign enemies.

The points in dispute were not any interests of the Company, but the extent of the privileges of our private trade, the duties to be paid on certain articles, and the overgrown authority of our agents and gomastahs, points which had been often disputed by the former Nabob Jaffier Allee Cawn, as has been already mentioned. That I might have all the necessary informations, orders were sent from the Board to Luckypoor and Dacca, to transmit an account of what duties they had usually paid upon their private inland trade; on the other hand, I wrote to the officers of the government, that I should soon see the Nabob, that all difficulties would then be removed; and in the mean time, that they should be very careful not to obstruct the business of any of the English gomastahs, but receive such duties as had usually been paid, and give their rowanas * or dustucks.

I asked leave of the Board to take Mr. Hastings as my assistant, and made the necessary preparations for my journey with all expedition, as my setting out on a friendly visit to the Nabob, could not but have one immediate good effect, throughout the country, by shewing, that there was no foundation for the alarm of an intended rupture.

The 20th October, I set out from Calcutta, and arrived the 3rd of November at Moorshedabad, where I had many conversations with the Naib, or deputy, Syed Mahomed Cawn, on the subject of the disputes which had arisen in all parts of the country. He laid before me a multitude of complaints, which came within his province, and I did what was in my power to redress such as required it, on my part also, I made known to him the representations which had come from our factories against Mahomed Allee, the collector of Dacca, and

* Passports

the adjacent districts ,who seemed to be the most forward of the Nabob's officers in encouraging the disputes Syed Mahomed Cawn, professed a very bad opinion of Mahomed Alee, and assured me, he had urged the Nabob to remove him All that I saw at Moorshedabad, confirmed my hopes of an easy conciliation, and I wrote the Board the following letter, transmitting them, at the same time, the Nabob's answer to Mr Ellis's complaints of the 7th of October

Copy of a Letter from the Governor to the Council Dated Cossimbazar, November 9, 1762

"I find, that the interruptions which the gentlemen at Chittagong, Dacca, and Luckypoor, have met with for some weeks past, are owing to the bad disposition of Mahomed Alee, the person last appointed by the Nabob to collect the rents of that part of the country Syed Mahomed Cawn, the deputy Governor of Moorshedabad, evpresses as much resentment against that man, as we do ourselves ; and assures me, that he had represented him in such a light to the Nabob, that he is persuaded he will be immediately dismissed from his office. This is a point I shall urge to the Nabob, if it is not done before I arrive at Mongheer , and further, that he be punished for his insolence, and obliged to make satisfaction for all losses which may have been incurred by the delays he has occasioned In the mean time, I have the honor to transmit you four orders from Syed Mahomed Cawn, to the said collector, warning him of the bad consequences of his present conduct, and charging him not to obstruct the business of our factories , I send one likewise from myself. These forwarded to the respective factories, will, I hope, remove all obstructions ; and, on the other hand, Syed Mahomed Cawn desires, that our gentlemen will take all possible care to prevent their gomastahs and agents from interfering in the business of the government, or using force in buying or selling.

I have not yet the Nabob's answer concerning the disputes between the uncle and nephew, for the zemindarree of Babooupour As soon as I receive it, I shall forward it to you, that

you may give the necessary directions to the chief, &c at Luckypoor

The answer I have received from the Nabob to Mr Ellis's complaint, I now inclose with a translation I think it would be proper to send a copy to that gentleman, with directions to apply to the Naib at Patna, if in future he should meet with any interruptions in his business, and if the Naib either refuses, or has not authority to remove them, then to apply to the Nabob himself, from whom, if he does not obtain such redress and assistance as the case may require, then to make his representation to the Board, with copies of his letters to the government, and the answers received By this we shall be saved the trouble of hearing complaints, except in cases where our interposition becomes really necessary"

*Translation of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor
Dated November 1, 1762*

"I have received with great pleasure your friendly letter. You wrote, that "you learn from Mr Ellis, the chief of the factory at Patna, that cloths have been provided for many years at the aurung at Jehanabad for the Company, now Pervoo Roy, the aumil of that place, obstructs the weavers in providing the cloths; and when they are made, hinders the washermen from dressing and washing them, to the great prejudice of the Company's business, and you desire, that I will give strict orders to the aumil, not to molest the Company's gomastahs, and to assist them on every occasion"

Sir, wherever that gentleman has an opportunity, he fails not to make complaints of his business As he has found my officers in no instance faulty, he has wrote to you the impertinences and complaints of the washermen; you well know, that the washermen pay no duties, and that the 'aumils have no authority to interrump them, or prevent their washing and dressing the cloths Was this affair really true, he would immediately have informed Rajah Nobit Roy of it, and he would have immediately wrote to the aumil about it, but as it is altogether without foundation, he chuses to make a false com-

plaint to you Do you yourself consider this affair. Nevertheless, I have sent strict orders to the Rajah to write to the aumil, that he on no account obstruct the currency of the Company's business; and that, on application from the gomastahs of the factory, he afford them due aid and assistance."

The Board having received the accounts of duties on private inland trade from Luckypoor, sent the same to me for my guidance in settling that point with the following letter

Copy of a Letter from the Council to the Governor Dated Calcutta, November 15, 1762

"We have received your letter of the 9th instant, and are thereby glad to find, that the interruptions of the trade, which have happened towards Dacca, Luckypoor and Chittagong, are only apparently owing to the bad conduct, and ill disposition of the collector Mahomed Allee; we make no doubt therefore, but a representation from you to the Nabob of this man's bad behavior, will be the means of obtaining ample satisfaction and restitution for all losses sustained in that quarter And as we hear that the trade in the countries of Purnea and Rungpoor has likewise met with great interruptions, we must beg leave particularly to recommend to your attention the getting these obstructions also removed, and obtaining retaliation for the losses of any individuals, who may make their complaints to you.

We have forwarded to Dacca the orders to be delivered to Mahomed Allee; and have desired the gentlemen there to write to Luckypoor and Chittagong, of the receipt and tenor of these orders; and afterwards, of the effect they may have upon Mahomed Allee's conduct

We have under this date wrote to Patna, with a copy of the Nabob's letter, and directions agreeable to what you advise; but we must beg leave to observe that the terms in which the Nabob makes mention of Mr. Ellis are indecent, and very improper, and ought not to be encouraged We have too good an opinion of Mr. Ellis's veracity, to suppose that he would advance a falsity to the Board; and we hope there-

fore, that you will endeavor to prevent such indecencies from passing in future, when we are treating with the Nabob on public matters.

Inclosed we transmit you an extract from a Luckypoor letter, explaining the shahbunder duties which they have always paid, and the nature of the fresh extortions which are now demanded, which we imagine may be of service to you, in finally settling these matters upon a solid plan

Extract of a Letter from the Gentlemen at Luckypoor to the Board Dated November 6, 1762.

The duties we have hitherto paid to the shahbunder are as follows.

	Rup.	A.	P.	
* On salt	9	14	3	per 100 maunds
On tobacco	0	4	0	per maund.

On this first article, we believe we have paid rather more than the Dacca factory, but hope you will get it settled on an equal footing With regard to the fresh customs now demanded, the chokeys do not require any stipulated sum, but fleece our gomastahs and people of all they can, and if our boats are freed from one chokey, they are sure to be stopped at the next, and our servant confined and treated very ill. The instant we had advice of our boats being stopped at these places, we sent to them to know the reason, and desire their release; but answer was always given, that they had orders from he Nabob for so doing, and therefore could not release them."

I desire that particular notice may be taken of the words, "*Inclosed we transmit you an extract, &c. which we imagine*

* The prime cost of salt, purchased by the gentlemen of Luckypoor factory, was usually about 60 rupees *per* 100 maunds, so that the duty they paid, amounted to about 15 *per cent.* on the prime cost

The prime cost of tobacco, purchased by the gentlemen of Luckypoor factory, was usually about two or two and a half rupees *per* maund, at which last rate duty they paid amounted to 10 *per cent* on the prime cost

may be of service to you, in finally settling the matters upon a solid plan *, because it will be found in the sequel, that the Board denied they ever gave me an authority for settling that point.

I left Moorshedabad the 12th of November, and arrived at Mongheer the 30th, where the Nabob received me with all the usual marks of respect and friendship. Hardly a day past, but I went with Mr Hastings to visit the Nabob, or he came to us. His constant topick was the ill treatment he had received from Mr Ellis, and the injustice done him by me and the Council, in not resenting such proceedings. As I knew it was out of my power to give him any satisfaction in that point, I answered, that all these disputes were long passed, and he should think no more of them; and that now he and I were met together, such regulations should be made, as would be satisfactory to both parties, and prevent any disputes in future. He was always warm upon this argument; and I found that he and Mr Ellis could never be friends; however, I hoped, that the occasions of dispute might be removed, and their enmity lie buried within their own breasts.

He next complained of the innovations in the private trade, as salt, beetle-nut, tobacco, &c and the insolent authority usurped by our gomastahs, employed carrying it on in the distant parts of the country. He urged, that we had no right to this trade from our firmaun, that it occasioned incredible damage and disorder to his government, and this for the advantage only of particulars; and in short insisted, that we should continue it no longer, but confine our private trade in the same manner it was, before the government of Meer Jaffier. Although I was of the same opinion with the Nabob, as to the rights of the firmaun; that they could not be construed to extend further than the trade in articles imported by shipping, and the manufactures and products of the country for exportation; yet I was unwilling to give up an advantage, which had been enjoyed by the Company's servants, in a greater or less degree, for five or six years; and therefore

* See page 210

told the Nabob, that as to the inland trade, or the trade from place to place in the country, in the articles of the produce of the country, we meant only to carry it on upon the same footing with other merchants, that we had always paid more or less duties to the government on this trade; but as the rates were not fixed and regulated, many disputes arose on that account; that we would inform ourselves of the rate of duties paid by the Moors and other merchants; and according to that give a general order, that duties should be paid in all parts.

To this the Nabob consented with great difficulty, and declared, that if after this regulation any more disputes should arise, and the duties agreed on should not be paid, he should have no remedy left, but the laying all trade entirely open, and giving a general liberty to the merchants of the country, and all other nations, to carry on their commerce custom-free

It is needless to enumerate all the Nabob's complaints of the insults exercised against his government, not only by our subordinate factories, but by every private merchant; they were indeed endless, amongst them were two letters, which I thought necessary to send down to the Council, one from Mr. Cartier, the chief at Dacca, to the Nabob's collector there; the other from Mes Johnstone, Hay and Bolts, to the fougedar of Purnea. The following are copies of the letter I wrote to the Council on this subject the 15th of December; and of one which I wrote jointly with Mr Hastings the same day, to inform them of the regulations we proposed making with the Nabob.

*Extract of a Letter from the Governor to the Council
Dated at Mongheer, December 15*

"Inclosed I send for your perusal two Persian letters, delivered to me by the Nabob, with their translations One from Mr Cartier to Mahomed Allee, the collector of the Dacca districts, which, if I understand it right, (for the expressions are rather obscure) is wrote in a very improper stile, and tends to encourage and promote those evils, which

we have taken so much pains to remedy ; I mean, a jealousy and distrust between us and the Nabob ; I request you will be pleased to call on Mr. Cartier for an explanation of his meaning, and give him such a caution on the occasion, as to you shall seem necessary.

The other from Mes Johnstone, Hay and Bolts to Sheer Allee Cawn, fougedar of Purnea, endorsed by Mr Bolts in English, and written I imagine by him, in the name of the Partnership. Whoever reads this letter, must naturally conclude no other government subsisted amongst us, since it was left to Mr Bolts to assert the privileges of the firmaun, and vindicate, in the name of the English, the freedom of the Company's dustuck. Such notions propagated in the country, must needs be prejudicial to the Company affairs, by weakening their government ; and it is for this reason, the Company have forbid letters to be written to the country government, by any person excepting the President, or with his approbation. I never refused to apply for redress for any grievance that the gentlemen in the service, and all other inhabitants of the settlement, have applied to me about ; and in case of my illness or absence, Mr Amyatt was ready to give them the same assistance. I must therefore recommend to you to inflict such censure or punishment on Mr Bolts, as shall seem to you necessary for preventing such irregularities in future. I could wish also, that it were made a rule for the chiefs of the subordinate factories, and all others, when they write letters to the country government, to sign them, that in case of their being produced afterwards, they may be known to be authentic."

*Translation of a Letter * from Mr Cartier to Mahomed Allee.*

"Several chokeydars and cutwauls, and collectors and zemindars, and other officers in the town, and its dependencies, are guilty of violent proceedings towards the gomastahs, and people of the English Company, and gentlemen ; rob and plunder, and regard not the English flag and dustuck. The news of this has reached my ears ; as the chiefship of the

* This and the following letter are referred to in the foregoing.

factory here belongs to me, therefore, for the sake of justice, and to establish the Company's business, I acquaint you with these proceedings, and desire you will in answer inform me, why such proceedings have happened; yet I am persuaded you are not the author of them, and much less the Nabob. As you are acquainted with the secrets of this affair, I therefore send to you for a full and proper explanation of it. You know what a disturbance will arise between us, and by the grace of God you have seen, and will see, what our strength and power has shewn itself, and will shew itself. Your prudence, and the care and preservation of your greatness, would dictate to you to turn out the disturbers; but by turning them out the credit and power of the high * name will be lessened. I hope you will write me the particulars of all these oppressions, that I may be acquainted with the whole proceedings, and may likewise know whether you are a friend or not. As circumstances are represented erroneously by vackeels, I have therefore committed them to writing."

Translation of a Letter from Mes Johnstone, Hay and Bolts to Meer Sheer Allee Cawn, Fougedar of Poorneea

"Our gomastah Ramchurn-doss, being gone into those parts, meets with obstructions from you, in whatever business he undertakes, moreover, you have published a prohibition to this effect, that whoever shall have any dealing with the English, you will seize his house, and lay a fine upon him. In this manner you have prohibited the people under your jurisdiction. We were surprized at hearing of the affair, because that the royal firmaun, which the English nation is possessed of, is violated by this proceeding; but the English will by no means suffer, with patience, their firmaun to be broke through, we therefore expect, that upon the receipt of this letter, you will take off the order you have given to the reats; and in case of your not doing it, we will certainly write to the Nabob, in the name of the English, and send for such an order from

* This is rendered literally from the original Persian, but in both, the sense is obscure. It seems to mean the Nabob, and to be an ironical allusion to the title conferred on him by the King, which is Allee, or *High in Rank*.

him, that you shall restore fully and entirely whatever loss the English have sustained, or shall sustain by this obstruction; and that you shall repent having thus interrupted our business, in despite of the royal firmaun After reading this letter we are persuaded you will desist from interrupting it, will act agreeably to the rules of friendship, and so that your amity may appear, and will by no mean, stop the Company's dustuck "

Copy of a Letter from the Governor and Mr. Hastings to the Council. Dated at Mongheer, December 15, 1762

"We have had many conferences with the Nabob on the subject of the late complaints; which appear to have been chiefly occasioned by the private inland trade, or the trade from place to place in the country. He enlarged much on the licentiousness and oppressions exercised by our gomastahs, especially on those distant parts of the province, where his government is less established, and too remote for our enquiries into their behavior. He argued, that the trade of those parts consisted chiefly in articles produced and sold in the country, from which former Nabobs had always restrained all Europeans and to which he did not conceive, that we could claim any right from our firmaun

We agree with the Nabob in opinion, that the true intent and natural meaning of the firmaun granted to the Company was to give to them their servants a free trade, clear of all customs, in all articles of commerce, to be imported or exported by shipping. From such commerce, a mutual advantage is derived to our country and to his, but the trade from place to place in the country, in salt, bettle-nut, tobacco, and other commodities produced here, bringing no general benefit to the country, but to particulars only, who have the same in their hands; we do not think the firmaun can be understood to include them, with a the privilege of the dustuck, or to grant us a right to trade therein, on any other footing than the natives themselves, that is, paying the usual customs to the government; for if we had a right to trade therein custom-free, and the natives must pay customs, it follows, that no one but our-

selves could carry on any trade, which we cannot suppose the firmaun inteded *.

It is fact, that the Nabobs of these provinces, did formerly restrain the Europeans from carrying on this trade upon any footing, and by farming out the several articles to particular merchants, drew to themselves a considerable revenue.

After the defeat and death of Serajah Dowla, and the establishment of Jaffier Allee Cawn in the subahship, by the assistance of the English, we began to take a share of this trade, which share has been from day to day increasing. It has, however, always been a subject of dispute with the country government, our right never having been admitted by them, nor regularly claimed and established by us; and the government's duties have generally been paid

But not contented with this, the English gomastahs, in different parts, have lately begun to insist upon this trade as a firmaun privilege, equally with the foreign trade, and refuse to pay any customs. The government's people, on their part, demand the customs, and upon refusal stop the goods, and this contest has been the occasion of many of the complaints received by us and the Nabob

As, on the one hand, we do not see any reason why the English gentlemen, and other inhabitants of Caluctta, and the

* The Company, in their answer to the complaints of the Dutch, page 163, seem plainly to declare that this is their opinion, their words are as follow

"The acceptance of this grant (for the sole purchase of salt-petre) by our servants, they complain of as injurious to them, and as inconsistent with that free trade, to which they claim a right under the Mogul's firmauns

In support of this measure, we might observe, that those firmauns, general as they are, are not to be construed as universal, but to be understood with this limitation, that they do not operate to the prejudice of any subsisting right or usage, much less of such rights as could not be abolished, without a considerable diminution of the public revenues. Whatever of trade, therefore, has been ordinarily monopolized and granted in farm, it might be contended, may still be so enjoyed, and granted without infringement of those firmauns, the design of which was, to admit European traders to the same freedom of trading with the Mogul's own subjects, and surely not a better."

subordinate factories, should carry on the inland trade, with the Company's dustuck, or in any other respect, more advantageously than the country merchants; so, on the other hand, we think it would be a great hardship, if we, and all belonging to us, were not admitted upon an equality with the merchants and inhabitants of other parts of Bengal, and suffered to trade, on equal terms, in all commodities, and in all places, provided our agents and gomastahs do not set themselves up for magistrates in the country, and carry on their business by force and oppression. Practices of this sort, in many of the English agents and gomastahs, and an abuse on the part of the Nabob's officers of the power put into their hands, for the restraint of such practices, have been the causes of the many complaints lately received.

In these sentiments, the regulations we have proposed to the Nabob for fixing the manner of carrying on this trade in future, and preventing any disputes between his officers, and our agents and gomastahs, are as follow.

First, that for all trade imported or to be exported by shipping, the Company's dustuck shall be granted, and it shall pass unmolested, and free of customs as usual.

Second, for all trade from one place in the country to another, in commodities produced in the country, as salt, beetle-nut, tobacco, &c the Company's dustuck shall not be granted, but it shall go with the dustuck of the buxbunder, shahbunder, or other office of the country government.

Third, that at the time of taking out the said dustuck, and before the dispatch of the goods, the duties shall be paid according to the rates, which shall be particularly settled and annexed to this agreement

Fourth, that the said duties, so to be paid before exportation, shall be the whole that are to be paid, so that after the dispatch of the goods, nothing shall be paid at any chockeyes in the road, nor at the place of sale.

Fifth, that all goods, being furnished either with the Company's dustuck, or that of the government, shall meet with no obstruction or delay. The guards and chokeys on

the road shall have nothing more to do, than to demand a sight of the dustuck, unless they shall observe the boats to be laden with a larger quantity of goods, than are mentioned in the dustuck, in which case, they are to give immediate notice to the nearest English factory, as well as to the nearest officer of the government, that orders may be sent to have a strict examination; but they are not to detain them in the road

Sixth, if any one should attempt to pass goods without a dustuck, either from the government or the Company, or shall clandestinely procure a Company's dustuck to pass salt, tobacco, or other produce of the country, from place to place, for inland trade, such goods shall be seized and confiscated. The guards and chokeys in the road are to stop them, and to give notice to the nearest English factory, as well as the nearest officer of the government

Seventh, if any person, not having a dustuck, shall attempt to pass boats or goods clandestinely, under the cover of, and in company with, other boats or goods, having a dustuck, such boats or goods so attempted to be passed clandestinely, shall be seized and confiscated

Eighth, the gomastahs in every place shall carry on their trade freely, and as merchants, and shall, on no account, use force in buying or selling. If any disputes arise in the course of their business, they shall not attempt to redress themselves, but shall make their complaints to the fougedar, or other officer of the government, and have the matter tried before him. In like manner, if any merchant or inhabitant shall be aggrieved by any English gomastah, he shall make his complaints to the fougedar, or other officers of the government, and the gomastah being duly summoned, shall appear before him to answer to the charge, and have the matter determined

Ninth, to deter the fougedars, and other officers of the government, from being guilty of any partiality, they shall be enjoined to transmit to the Nabob copies of their proceedings, upon all trials where English agents or gomastahs are con-

cerned, and likewise to give a copy to the agent or gomastah, who, if he thinks himself aggrieved, may send the same to his principal; and he may make his complaint to the President, who, if the case requires it, will apply to the Nabob for redress, and when any fougedar, or other officer of the government, shall prove guilty of such partiality, the Nabob shall punish him in the most exemplary manner

We think it would be unreasonable to desire to carry on the inland trade upon any other footing, than that of the merchants of the country, and that the attempting to carry it on free of customs, ad with the Company's dustuck, would bring upon us universal jealousy and ill-will, and, in the end, prejudice the Company's affairs, as well as our own. In the course of our conferences upon this subject, the Nabob observed, that if the English gomastahs were permitted to trade in all parts, and in all commodities custom-free, as many of them now pretend, they must of course draw all the trade into their own hands, and his customs would be of so little value to him, that it would be much more for his interest to lay trade entirely open, and collect no customs from any person whatever, upon any kind of merchandize, which would draw a number of merchants into his country, and encrease his revenues, by encouraging the cultivation and manufacture of a larger quantity of goods for sale, at the same time, he added, it would effectually cut off the principal subject of the disputes, which had disturbed the good understanding between us, an object which he had more than any other at heart. This scheme we discouraged all in our power, as it would immediately render the dustuck useless, and prejudice our Honorable Masters business, by enhancing the number of purchasers, and it is an argument why we ought readily to consent to the regulation now proposed, not to risk hurting the Company's interests, for our own private advantage

The Nabob desires our orders may be repeated, that none of the Company's servants, their agents, gomastahs, or other persons employed by them, shall be permitted to hold offices under the country government, nor to purchase, rent, or hold lands, gunges or markets, nor to lend money to the zemindars

or collectors, as all these are sources of dispute between the Company's people and the government's

We have sent Mr Helas the Nabob's orders for the free purchase of the timbers wanted for the new fort, and the Nabob has expressed to Sheer Allee, the fougedar of that district, his highest displeasure at the obstructions he before laid in his way, and the ill treatment which the English gomastahs in general complained of from him.

Inclosed we send the Nabob's orders to Mahomed Allee, the collector of the Dacca districts, enjoining him to release all boats that may be stopped by him, or any person under his jurisdiction, to demand for customs nothing more than has hitherto been paid upon the inland trade of those parts, and to refund all that may have been extorted beyond that. Likewise another order to the same person, requiring him to transmit a more circumstantial account of the dispute between the uncle and nephew about the zemindaree of Baboopoor, and how it happened, that three or four of our seepoys were killed there. But as both in this affair, and that of Taagepoor, dependent on Poorneea, where one of Mr Gray's gomastahs was killed, a severe example seems highly necessary; we have agreed with the Nabob, to send a person on our part along with one of his, to enquire upon the spot, and bring a full and impartial account of each of these events; and the Nabob has promised to punish his people with the utmost severity, if they prove to be as guilty as they now appear. Mr Hastings will go to Taagepoor to finish that enquiry; and we desire you will direct Mr Billers, to produce the necessary proofs to the person, who may be appointed by the Nabob to enquire concerning the other affair "

As I thought I was doing a great service to the English merchants, by establishing a right to a trade which had always before been disputed, and as the other regulations before proposed appeared to me entirely just and necessary, I made no scruple to assure the Nabob they should take place, especially as I conceived myself to be fully authorized by the Board to act for them on this occasion. I informed myself as well as possible, of the duties usually paid upon salt, and

other articles of inland trade ; and in consequence of these enquiries, I agreed with the Nabob, that the rate of duties should be nine per cent on the prime cost, at the places where the goods are provided I found this to be * below the rate already paid at Luckypoor ; and I knew, that the profits on that branch of trade would bear such a charge without the least cause of complaint The Nabob having set afoot an expedition against Betea and Napaul, which he intended to command in person, waited only my taking leave of him to set out In order therefore to bring out business to a conclusion, he summed up all his complaints and proposals in a letter, dated the 26th of December , and I immediately wrote him an answer, assuring him, that the regulations we had agreed on should be established. I told him, that upon my arrival at Calcutta, orders from the Board should be sent in consequence to all our subordinate factories At the same time, I desired that he would give me orders to all his officers, directing them to act in conformity to these regulations , which orders should be forwarded along with ours from Calcutta

The following are exact translations of the Nabob's letter, and my answer, containing the proposed regulations

Translation of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor.

"As there are many places within the pergunahs, in the provinces of Bengal and Bahar, much oppressed by the English Company's gomastahs and servants, I shall trouble you to write to the chiefs of Cossimbuzar, Dacca, Luckypoor, Malda, Patna &c not to give dustucks, or permit any one to hoist English colors, besides what are granted for the Company's ship-merchandise , that on whatever goods of this country they purchase and sell, they shall pay duties for the same as other merchants, and receive a dutuck from the sircar, and may pass and repass only giving a copy of their dustuck at every gaut ; that they should use no force in the purchase and sale of goods , not take possession of the houses and golas belonging to the reiat and

* As is manifestly proved, page 210

merchants. The mussulmen merchants pay a duty of nine per cent at the gauts, and place of purchase, &c you will also appoint the same duty. Let not any one impede the dellols and weavers of the sircar at the aurungs of Dacca, Radanagur, Kirpay, Nuddea, Moorshedabad, Malda, Caulygaum, &c where the sircar may freely purchase ; nor injure or oppress the inhabitants of the Perganahs ; nor protect the reiat, merchants, renters, and servants of the government ; nor prejudice the revenues. As the Company's gomastah's make salt at Sundee, &c. I desire you will write to them, not to make any more there, but like other merchands, to purchase it from the molunghees at the market price You will direct the gentlemen, gomastahs, muttaseddees and moonshees, and other officers of the English Company, to relinquish their farms, taalooks, gunges and golas, and not take any in future ; to afford no protection to any one, upon proof to receive back the money that they paid for their purchases ; not borrow from, or lend to the muttaseddecs, aumils, zemindars, or other dependents of the government, not to coin any money at the Moorshedabad, Dacca, or Patna mints, as it occasions a loss to the sircar, but to coin their money at Calcutta In the pergunahs of Cuddybarry and Caloo-baiboo-para, and my other jagheer lands, under the jurisdiction of Assam, the revenues formerly amounted to forty thousand rupees, arising from the trade of salt, large timbers, and several other articles The government's people used to carry on the commerce there, and no other merchants were permitted to traffick with the mountaineers Two years ago Mr Chevalier went there, and he has put an entire stop to the trade of the sircar, and himself trafficks with the mountaineers, from whence a loss arises to my revenues ; and he forcibly seizes the taalookdars and reiat of the aforesaid pergunahs, to make them draw timbers, by which means they are brought to the last distress In the pergunahs of Gopalpoor and Duckkunbar-poor, and other districts, where salt is made, the people of the Company's factory work the salt pans ; and they take possession of all the salt which the molunghees of other pergunahs have made, by which means I suffer a very great loss. Moreover, they oblige the reiat to receive money from them for purchasing rice, and by force and violence they take more than the ma^h

ket price affords ; and the reiat is running away on account of these oppressions. For many years it has been customary for the Cashmeer merchants to advance money at Sunderbund, and provide molunghees to work the salt pans there ; they paid the rents for the salt pans, at the several pergunahs ; and the duties on the salt, which were paid at Burry-saul chokey, belonging to the Shahbunder, amounted to near thirty thousand rupees , at present, the people of the factory have dispossessed the Cashmeer merchants, and have appropriated all the salt to themselves Please to write to the gomastahs of the aforesaid places, to desist from exercising any authority there ”

Translation of the Governor's Answer to the above Letter.

“I have been honored with the receipt of your Excellency's letter, and understand the several contents. Agreeably to your desire, I will write to the chiefs of the factories, to grant a Company's dustuck upon the purchase and sale of all shipping goods , and that they will deal like other merchants, in such goods as are bought and sold in different parts of the country for the inland trade That they must not give a Company's dustuck, but must pay a duty of nine per cent upon the purchase of the goods, in lieu of all demands at the chokeys, &c. into the buxbunder or shahbunder. and take a dustuck from thence, and not be guilty of any violence or extortion. I hope that you, on your part, will give orders to the fougedars, and other officers of the sircar, that they are not to give any interruption to the purchase and sale of shipping goods, with which there will be a Company's dustuck ; nor to make the least demand upon them , and that they must by no means interrupt the purchase and sale of the inland trade, but must grant a dustuck for the goods, after having taken the stipulated duty upon the purchase-price, agreeably to your commands ; and that the drogas of the chokeys must only take a copy of the dustuck, and make no demands

I have already wrote to all the chief's of the factories, not to oppress the reiat and inhabitants of the pergunahs, nor protect your dependents, nor make any disturbance in the affairs of the sircar I will now again write particularly to the chiefs ;

and fresh orders shall likewise be sent to the several gomastahs to desist from such proceedings, to look upon the officer of the sircar as the proper magistrate ; and in case of any disturbances or disputes, to appear before him, and there settle them You will give orders to your fougedars and officers, that they must behave to the gomastahs with truth and uprightness, and act without partiality ; and if any one makes a complaint against a gomastah, that they must send for the gomastah and decide the dispute ; and in case of a gomastah's making any complaint, that they must take that likewise into consideration and decide it

I have wrote to the chiefs of Chittagong, and Luckypoor, that they must not work the salt-pans themselves, nor interrupt the merchants and renters of salt-pans, who pay the government's rents ; but purchase from them whatever they want to purchase , I accordingly send you inclosed two letters for the said chiefs.

Orders shall be sent to the chiefs and gomastahs of the factories, not to rent nor purchase any lands, nor to lend to, nor borrow money from the zemindars and officers of the sircar , and that they must give up whatever taalooks they may have heretofore purchased You will be pleased to give orders, that the purchase-money be returned , but I have received complaints from several places, that the officers of the sircar insist upon the former collections, and beat, and bind, and imprison the people ; such proceedings are contrary to justice. You will therefore give them orders to return the purchase-money, and by no means to demand the past accounts

The chiefs and gomastahs of the factories shall be strictly directed not to obstruct the delolls and weavers of the sircar

If it is not agreeable to you, that the money and bullion of the English gentlemen and gomastahs should be coined in the Patna and the Dacca mints, and it occasions a loss to the sircar, you will give orders to your drogas there, not to receive from them any money or bullion for coining , yet the shroffs, upon being acquainted with this, will demand as much batta as they please, by which means the Company's business will be

stopped I hope, therefore, that you will write to the Naibs of Moorshedabad, Patna, and Dacca, that the money of the English Company, and gentlemen, must pay batta, according to the rate of the Bazar; and that they must punish the shroffs, in case of their demanding more

The gomastahs at Gwalparah shall be strictly charged to carry on their commercial business as formerly, and not to trade themselves with the mountaineers, but to make all their purchases and sales through the hands of the droga of the sircar You will please to enjoin the droga, to deal with the English gomastahs in the same manner as with other merchants ”

The foregoing is the letter, * which we shall find in the sequel, wrested into a thousand different forms, to make it appear odious, introduced, on all occasions, with malevolent remarks, and loudly inveighed against, by the rest of the Council I leave it without further notice, till my return to Calcutta, which enough will be said of it

The day after the delivery of this letter to the Nabob, I took my leave of him, and proceeded to Patna, where I arrived the 1st of January, and met with Mr. Ellis. I found that his animosity against the Nabob had taken root too deep to be moved and I was confirmed in the opinion, that a reconciliation was not possible

I stayed only four days at Patna, in which time the Nabob's deputy laid before me his complaints, and requested,

* Two of the articles mentioned in this letter, viz the restriction of the trade to Rangamettee, and the prohibition to the Chittagong and Luckypoor factories, against making salt upon the grounds rented by the country merchants from the government, are not mentioned in the letter to the Board, of the 15th of December, where Mr Hastings and I acquainted them with the regulations we proposed The reason was, that the Nabob had not then entered into those particulars, but as he complained of these innovations afterwards in his letter, I could not deny him the justice he asked It will be found hereafter, that the necessity of these restraints has been fully acknowledged, by extending them still farther, and that I gave up nothing to Meer Cossim out of personal regard, since I was equally ready to admit Meer Jaffier's rights, when he was re-established in the government

that such orders might be given thereupon, as to prevent any disputes happening in future I conferred with Mr Ellis upon all those points, heard his objections, and gave him my opinion fully What we chiefly differed upon, were the Burbunna gate of the city, and the gunge

The Burbunna gate was a small wicket, in the north-west quarter of the city of Patna, which lay most convenient for our factory servants to pass in and out The Nabob insisted upon shutting up this wicket, for the better preserving good order in the city ; and Mr. Ellis declared it should not be done, because it would be inconvenient to our servants, to go five or six hundred yards round to the common west-gate of the city. I was with Mr Ellis on the spot, it seemed to me to be of no great consequence on either side, and the Nabob's right was indisputable I told Mr Ellis that this was my opinion, and he acquiesced If he had been so candid, as to tell me then, that he thought it a matter of so much importance, that it ought to be referred to the Board, I would have endeavored to make the Nabob acquiesce, for fear of its becoming a party affair

The gunge was a large mart or market place, for importing grain for wholesale In this country, as in all others, it is the right only of the government, to establish such marts where customs are collected, protections granted, and other acts of sovereignty exercised

This * gunge, near the English factory at Patna, was set up without any right, grant, or order, either from the Company, or the Nabob , an authority such as no private person can be allowed , and it proved a continual source of disputes with the country government, for the advantage of particulars. On this subject Mr. Ellis seemed to be convinced, promised that he would suffer no more grain to be imported there , that he would remove what was in it as fast as he conveniently could, and abolish the gunge

The following is a copy of the answer I wrote to the Patna deputy's representations, after having fully discussed every article with Mr. Ellis ; and I sent that gentleman a copy of it.

* It went by the name of *Colonel Gunge*

Translation of the Governor's Letter to Rajah Nobit Roy. Dated January 4, 1763

"I have read the several requests which you wrote under separate heads Agreeably to your desire, I have directed Mr Ellis, the chief at Patna, to abolish colonel Gunge, and accordingly orders have, from this day, been given to the merchants, not to bring their goods there any more ; yet, as it is necessary, that some grain should be laid up in store for the Company, to be used in a time of scarcity, I have therefore directed Mr. Ellis to build some golas in such places as you shall think proper to appoint, and to purchase from the merchants of the gunge, and keep in the said golas about twenty thousand maunds of grain on the Company's account After which, the merchants shall be at liberty to dispose of what they may have remaining, according to their own inclinations, or to keep it in the gunges of the sircar , moreover, if they are inclined to serve the Company as heretofore, it is well , and if they are desirous of settling in any of the sircar's gunges, they have liberty so to do. When you have fixed upon a place for erecting the golas, you will send your servant with a note to Mr Ellis, and you will allow what time may be necessary for removing the grain from the old golas to the new ones, that no unreasonable loss may fall upon the merchants

With regard to what you write about not holding any taalooks, and not lending to, nor borrowing from the officers and zemindars, orders have already been given to this purport, and I understand, that no body has done such things , however, I have now repeated those orders.

You say, that numbers of merchants carry away their goods for sale, under the protection of the factory, and that I should enquire into this matter It has of old been customary, that a dustuck should be granted, with whatever cloth, &c. is purchased by the merchants, from the English Company and gentlemen, and that they should accordingly carry away the goods, and sell them wherever they please , this is no new custom, and this is the only protection afforded them

You complain, that the merchants carry away goods, the produce of this country, from the factory into the provinces,

with regard to such goods as are bought and sold in the country The Nabob and I have agreed, that a certain duty shall be paid for them at once, according to the purchase price, when this regulation shall every where take place, no duties will be demanded upon the road

I understand what you write about shutting up the Berbunna wicket of the fort, and concerning the entrenchment by the river-side, and I have seen both the places in question. The entrenchment by the river-side is very proper, as to the shutting the wicket, though there does not appear to be any great necessity for it, and the going round about will be an inconvenience to the people of the factory, nevertheless, as it is the Nabob's order, do it whenever you please, nobody will obstruct you.

You say, that Zein-Al-aubudeen, the aumil of Bahar, writes, that a gomastah of the factory took an obligation from one Deyuchund, a merchant, that nobody should buy opium besides the English factory I asked the aumil in your presence, and in that of several merchants, whether he had a copy of the obligation or not He answered, that "Deyuchund complained to him, that Beenymadoo, an English gomastah, had taken an obligation from him, and had forbid him trading in opium, and that therefore it could not be expected he should pay the usual duties;" and that he shewed him a copy of the obligation, but did not leave it with him Now it is uncertain, whether this story be true, or whether the merchant was prompted by his own interest, to impose upon the aumil, that he might avoid paying the duties, it is therefore proper you should send for the merchant, and enquire into the affair, in presence of Mr Ellis, whom I have directed to inflict a proper punishment upon the gomastah, in case the complaint be proved; and in case it appears to be false, you, on your part, should inflict a proper punishment upon the merchant

With regard to the sircar's salt, that is in the hands of Meer Mahomed Ashruff, it appears, from the account he shewed me, that he has, in different places, disposed of 23,596 maunds, and that he has now remaining upon his hands 27,333 maunds; I enquired of him, in your presence, what was the reason of

his having disposed of so small a quantity only, in such a length of time He replied, that "in many places there was salt belonging to the English gentlemen, and it was not in his power to stop the sale of their merchandize, in order to dispose of the sircar's; and that, notwithstanding the obligation entered into by the merchants of the city, the officers of severall of the neighboring places, did not put a stop to the business of other merchants, so that it was impossible he should sell the government's salt, at an advanced price, whilst they sold theirs at the former price" As the business of the merchants of the city has been stopped for three or four months, by which they have suffered greatly, and as they will be entirely ruined, if their business continues to be so stopped, I would therefore advise you to take back what salt of the sircar's remains unsold, and to dispose of it at the market price; for the Nabob will by no means approve of injuring the merchants

You should examine Meer Ashruff's account, whether he has sold agreeably thereto, or more than is therein specified; in case he has sold more, it is reasonable that you should take from him whatever money he has received for it, but if his account be just, he is not in fault, receive the money from him accordingly, and make no further demands I shall acquaint the Nabob with all these particulars, and he will inform you of his pleasure

You desire Mr Ellis may be directed not to send any money or bullion to the mints to be coined This affair is within the limits of your own authority Give orders to the droga of the mint, not to receive any money or bullion, that may be brought by the servants of the factory to be coined; and write to Mr Ellis, that if he chuses it, you will coin money for him on the same terms as for other merchants, or else that he may exchange it at the Bazar price

I understand what you write concerning the revenues of Birrumpoor village, and the Nezzeranna for the salt-petre. Some thousand rupees were at different times paid by the Company to Raja Ramnarain's army, of which I saw the

particulars in the Company's books, and I have directed Mr Ellis to make out the account, and after having deducted Rajah Ramnarain's debt, to pay the balance into the sircar's treasury.

It is proper that you should look upon me as one interested in your welfare, and let me have the pleasure of hearing from you "

I think it will be generally admitted, that all these regulations made and proposed, both at Mongheer and Patna, were entirely agreeable to justice and equity, and well calculated for the benefit both of the Nabob's government, and the Company's, and to prevent disputes between them. I did not doubt of this appearing in the same light to the gentlemen of the Council in Calcutta, and assured myself, that they would have so much regard for their public utility, as to have joined with me heartily in establishing them, even if they should be found in any part to interfere in some measure with their private advantages; but I soon found the contrary; and that the heads of the party had taken this opportunity of encreasing their strength, by representing to the rest of the Council, that I had an intention of cutting off the most profitable branches of their trade. We shall soon see the violent effect which the propogation of this doctrine produced

I left Patna the 5th of January, and called for one day at Mongheer, where I saw the Nabob, ready to proceed on the expedition to Betea and Napaul, his army having already crossed the river. It may not be improper to take notice of the state of the Nabob's forces at this time, and the service on which they were going

At his accession to the Subahship his army, which stood upon the books of the government at the rate of upwards of ninety thousand men, was composed of the same forces, which had successively served the Nabob Aliverdi Cawn, Serajah Dowla, and Jaffier Alle Cawn, and some of the principal jemmatdars had been in the service even beyond the time of Serfraz Cawn; little dependence could be placed on such troops, and the servants of so many masters; for this reason,

as soon as the Nabob had got possession of the province of Patna, he disbanded the greatest part of his army, intending to raise new troops upon a different establishment. In this work he had advanced so slowly, that when I was at Mongheer, his new raised cavalry did not amount to two thousand men; and his whole force consisted of about sixteen thousand horse, and three battalions of seepoys, besides an inconsiderable number of peons, who were kept rather for shew than use. With this force he planned and attempted the reduction of the kingdom of Napaul, and crossed the great river in person, with his army, leaving his family and treasure at Mongheer.

I have been particular upon this subject, because it has been often asserted, that he had at this time entertained the design of breaking with the English. Had this really been the case, or could he even have suspected, that he had given a plea to his enemies amongst the English to make war against him; can it be imagined, that he would have engaged at such a time in a foreign war; and by crossing the great river, which a single battalion of our seepoys from Patna might have prevented him from repassing left his family and treasure at Mongheer, and the whole province exposed to our arms? In effect, nothing was more opposite to his interest, or even his disposition, little reason as he had to be satisfied at our behaviour to him. His great object from the beginning, and which his natural talents were best suited to, was the increase and improvement of his revenues; but for war he was totally unfit, from his excessive and known timidity; and I believe I may with safety ascribe to this cause, his passiveness and forbearance in the many provocations which were given him. He knew too well the weight of the English power, to wish to expose his life and government to so unequal a risque.

We left Mongheer the 9th of January, and the 14th arrived at Cossimbuzar. In the way I received an answer * from the

* This letter arriving at Mongheer after my departure, followed me to Patna; where it also arriving after I had set out from that place, Mr Ellis dispatched it back to me, and it reached me a little below Mongheer, after I had parted from the Nabob.

Council of the 27th of December, to the joint letter addressed them the 15th of that month, by Mr Hastings and me, which had been forwarded to Patna and returned With respect to the proposal mentioned in that letter, of leaving Mr Hastings with the Nabob, it could have been to no purpose, as the Nabob was then setting out upon a distant expedition, and indeed, I hoped it would at any rate prove unnecessary, not in the least doubting, from the justness and usefulness of the regulation which I had made, that the Board on my arrival in Calcutta would readily confirm them The following are copies of the the letter from the Council, and of my answer from Cossimbuzar

The Board's Letter to the Governor and Mr Hastings Dated December 27, 1762

“We have received your letter of the 15th instant We have paid due regard to the substance thereof, but as the articles now drawn up, or that may be concluded on, must in all probability prove the standard and limitation of our inland trade for all future years, it is proper that it should be maturely considered, and determined on by a full Board. We have therefore ordered the letter to lye on the table, until the President's return to Calcutta, when we shall come to a final resolution on the subject; and would on that account recommend his leaving Mr Hastings with the Nabob, to ratify such articles as may be then agreed on

And we think further, that the opinions of as many of the members of the Board should be taken on this matter, as can be conveniently collected We beg leave to advise the President's talking with Mr Ellis for that purpose

We shall write to Luckypoor, agreeable to what you recommend, regarding the zemindarree of Bauboopoor*, and also forward to Dacca the orders on Mahomed Allee We must however remark, that we were in hopes, from the manner the President expressed himself in a former letter, that Mahomed Allee would have been dismissed from his employ with disgrace, and obliged to make restitution for the damages sustain-

ed by the delays he had occasioned And we must needs say, that we think these are points which ought still to be insisted on ; as we cannot esteem his being ordered to refund the extorted duties any satisfaction ; because we cannot see any right or authority he (Mahomed Allee) had to exact these additional duties, or cause the interruptions he did, until a treaty of the nature now proposed had been concluded ”

Extract of a Letter from the Governor to the Board Dated
Cossimbuzar, January 15, 1763

“With respect to Mahomed Allee, the collector at Dacca, I could not refuse a proposition so reasonable, as what the Nabob made, that is, that he should have an opportunity of answering for himself Inclosed I send you copies of his addresses to the Nabob, on the subject of the complaints against him.

Mirza Allee Rezza is appointed ameen to go and enquire upon the spot ; and orders should be sent to the chiefs of Dacca, Chittagong, and Luckypoor, to produce what proofs they can of the facts complained of, to the said ameen

I can venture to assure you, the Nabob will not be backward in punishing Mahomed Allee, if he proves guilty Torrut Sing, the amuldar of Taugepoor, being convicted of killing Mr Gray’s gomastah, has received sentence to be hanged at the place where the violence was committed. and Sheer Allee, for endeavoring to screen him, and his ill behavior to our gomastahs in general, will be dismissed from his government of Poorneea

I observe, what you mention concerning the inland trade, in your letter to Mr Hastings and me jointly, the Company’s dustuck never having been granted for those articles of trade by any former governors ; neither shall I think myself empowered to grant them, without the orders of our Honorable Masters ; and therefore to prevent our being liable to have our goods stopped for duties, at many different places, as is the case with the country merchants, I wished to have those

duties made up in the most reasonable manner into one sum, to be paid at one place before the dispatch of the goods. After getting what information we could, I agreed with the Nabob that they should be rated at 9 per cent upon the purchase-price; which being paid before the dispatch of the goods, and the dustuck of the country government taken, they should be liable to no other demands throughout the three provinces. You will observe, that this is less than the Luckypoor gentlemen, in their letter of the 6th of November last, mention, they have always paid upon salt and tobacco, which are the principal objects of this trade. In my way down, I took an account from the agents of some Patna and Hoogly merchants, of what they had paid, and were liable to pay for the salt under their charge, by which you will perceive, that the sircarree duties only, without reckoning the dustore taken at the several chokeys, amounts, by the lowest of the several informations, to more than 25 rupees per 100 maunds. I have sent a copy of this account to the Nabob, and recommended to him to free the merchants in general from such a variety of demands, by receiving from them in like manner a reasonable rate of customs in one place only.

I yesterday sent for the principal shroffs of the city, and enquired of them, why they refused to exchange the Calcutta siccās; and as they are struck with the name of Moorshedabad, how they could distinguish them from those which are struck in the Moorshedabad mint? They replied, that the stamp was not so well made at Calcutta, and that the rupees, for the most part, are too broad and thin, by which they could distinguish them. I desired Mr Batson to send for some, and upon examination, found the observation of the shroffs to be very true; however, they agreed to receive them, and promised to do so in future; the Nabob's deputy was present, and assured me, he would enforce it, whenever Mr Batson may apply to him; but it is necessary, that our mint-master take all possible care to make our rupees equal in every respect to those of Moorshedabad, and if possible so alike, that they may not be distinguished one from another.

Having received from Mr Amyatt the news of the French cruizers in Ballasore road, I shall set out from hence to-morrow

morning, with relays of bearers, to Mirzapoor, from whence I shall proceed in a light boat to Calcutta, so that I shall probably arrive as soon as this letter

I left major Adams at Patna, and he intends to return by the Pachaet road ”

The day after the dispatch of this letter I set out from Cossimbuzar, up on the news of the French ships being in Ballasore road, and arrived in Calcutta the 18th

SECTION XI

The general Assembly of the Council, and their Proceedings.

The Regulations circulated by the Nabob—Copy sent to the Board by the Chief of Dacca—The Members of the Council called down from the subordinate Factories—Letter from Mr. Cartier to the Board, on the Subject of his Letter to the Collector of Dacca—Letter from Mes Johnstone, Hav and Bolts to the Board, on the Subject of theirs, to the Fougedar of Poorneea—Letter from the Chief and Council of Dacca to the Board, with a Persian Copy of Mr. Vansittart's letter of regulations—Gulston's Translation of it—The Nabob's Orders to his Collector at Dacca—Minutes of Council upon these—Mr Vansittart's Minute in Council, on the Subject of the above Proceedings—Violence of the Nabob's Officers—Exaggerated Complaints against them—Orders from the Board to Luckypoor and Dacca—Mr Amyatt's Minute in Answer to Mr Vansittart's—First Meeting of the general Council.—¹Motion for calling Major Carnac to the Board—The Motion carried—Mr Amyatt's Minute at the Opening of the general Council—Remarks on it—Difficulty of acting between the Nabob and the Council—Mr. Vansittat's Minute in Council—Fresh Complaints from Patna and Dacca Factories—Resolutions of the Board thereupon, empowering the Factories

to make Use of Force—Mr Vansittart's Letter to the Nabob, acquainting him with it—Major Carnac's Letter to the Board, desiring to be reinstated in the Command of the Troops at—The Gunge ordered to be abolished—Questions to be Board, concerning the Gunge—Plan for conducting the Proceedings of the general Council—Debate concerning the Burbunna Gate and the Gurige—Letter to the Nabob, containing the Resolutions of the Majority for opening the Burbunna Gate—The Gunge ordered to be abolished—Questions to be debated, relative to the Regulations and the private Trade—Complaint from Luckypoor against the Nabob's Officers.—Orders to seize the Officers.—Debates upon the before-mentioned Questions—Resolutions of the Board—Question proposed, what Articles of Trade should pay Duties to the Nabob, and what Duties?—Debate upon it, and the Conclusion—Remarks on it.—Mr Hastings's additional Minute in Council—Letter from the Nabob to his Collector at Dacca, concerning the Stoppage of some Goods belonging to Mr Vansittart—Letter from Mr Vansittart to the Nabob on that Subject—Further Complaints against the Nabob's Officers—Fougedar of Rangamattee ordered to be seized—Plan for deciding Disputes between our Agents and the Nabob's Officer.—Remarks upon it—The Nabob return from his Expedition—Much alarmed by the general Assembly of the Council—Three Letters from him to the Governor.—Letter from the Governor in Answer—Mr Johnstone's Motion.—Debate upon it, and the Resolutions of the Board.—Mes Amyatt and Hay appointed to go on a Deputation to the Nabob—Great Disturbances between the Nabob's Officers and our Factories at Patna and Dacca—A Detachment from Patna seizes the Nabob's Officer at Mow, who is kept Prisoner in the Factory.—Part of that Detachment attacked and carried before the Nabob, who releases them—Several Letters from the Chief and Council at Patna to the Board, and from the Nabob to the Governor upon their Grievances—Letter to the Nabob, containing the Resolutions of the Board upon the foregoing—The Nabob publishes a general Exemption of Duties—Debate upon that Subject, with the Resolution of the Board to insist on the Nabob's annulling that Act.—Mes Johnstone and Hay accuse Mr. Vansittart of having

made a private Agreement with the Nabob for the Benefit of his own Trade—Mr Vansittart's Answers.—Two Letters from the Nabob, containing a warm Remonstrance against the Proceedings of the Board—Letter from the Chief and Council at Patna, with an Account of a Fray between some of their Seapoys, and the Nabob's Forces at Gyah—The Board offended at the Nabob's Letters—Debate in Consequence, whether Mes Amyatt and Hay should proceed on their Deputation—Agreed, they should set out, and wait the Nabob's Answer at Cossimbuzar

It had been agreed between the Nabob and me, that after my arrival at Calcutta, the regulations should be sent from the Council to the different factories, with his orders to his officers, which he gave me for that purpose ; but instead of this, I had hardly left him, when he dispatched copies of my letter to his officers in all parts of the country, with general orders for their observance ; and a direction, that all English gomastahs, who refused to comply with them, should be turned out of the country. Copies of these being delivered by the Nabob's officer at Dacca, to the chief of our factory, were by him immediately forwarded to the Board, with a letter filled with the most aggravated representations of the loss, which would accrue from them to the private commerce, and of the encroachments upon what they called our privileges. My letter, which contained the regulations, was put into the hands of Mr Gulston* to be translated, and was by him rendered into English, with a pedantick singularity of stile, and an affected precision and positiveness, especially in such passages. as were called by the Board an attack upon their rights. These aggravations served but too effectually to addfuel to minds, already disposed to catch fire from the slightest occasion ; and lest anything should be wanting to carry the designs of the party to the most violent extremes, Major Carnac, who had no concern, or any right to interfere in such matters, was called upon to join his opinion to that, which the Board thought proper to pass upon those regulations ; and I will take upon me to mention him as the

* At that time Persian translator

author and director of the resolution, to call down all the members of the Board, from the subordinate factories to the Presidency, to give a sanction to the measures which he had long had in view, and which were now to be carried into execution.

And although it is certain, that the unheard of privileges, this assembly came prepared to insist on, must necessarily produce a rupture with the Nabob, yet the Nabob, by his own folly, made the danger more sudden and unavoidable. He could no way have given his enemies a greater advantage, than by dispatching as he did copies of my letter, to all parts of the country, and enjoining his aumils to enforce the immediate observance of the regulations therein proposed, without waiting until directions in consequence were sent from Calcutta to our factories jointly, with the orders to his officers, which he delivered me for that purpose. It is plain, by my letter to the Nobit Roy that I did not intend the regulations should take place till general orders were sent every where; and the Nabob himself well knew, that my orders could not take place, till joined with those of the Board, which he had therefore desired me to obtain. Of course I expected the Nabob would wait, till I could write him from Calcutta of the resolutions of the Council; if he had, he would have found, that they opposed every part of the regulations, and he would have had time to determine, whether he would submit to their demands or not. Instead of that, his officers proceeding immediately to make use of force, obliged me to join with the rest of the Board in restraining them; and thus, one act of hostility following another, gave the discontented on each side a continual opportunity of widening the breach, and at length rendering it irreparable.

Mr Cartier's * letter to the Nabob's collector at Dacca, and † that of Mes Johnstone, Hay and Bolts, to the fougedar of Poorneea, have been already taken notice of in this narrative, with my reasons for laying them before the Council, that they might prevent the ill consequences which such a licentiousness must produce to our own government, and our connections with

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the Nabob, if every private person took upon himself to threaten the Nabob's officers with the effects of the English power, and prescribe rules for their conduct Mes Johnstone and Hay (who were members of the Board) pretending, that their characters were designedly aimed at by the change against them, replied to it, with the bitterest invectives and recriminations upon myself Mr Cartier in less violent terms justified his own behavior, by producing the English draught of the letter he intended to write, and which was a decent representation of his complaints, but his moonshee wrote the Persian original in the terms in which it here appears

In the conclusion, the Board vindicated the behavior of those gentlemen, and approved of the censures which they had taken upon them to cast upon myself; and this affair became a fresh aggravation of the party rage against me

It was not till after my arrival in Calcutta, that I suspected any objections could be made to the regulations which I had settled with the Nabob With this I was first acquainted by Mr Amyatt, who told me, orders had been sent for the members of the Board to come down from the subordinate settlements; and I expected accordingly the most violent opposition But when I called for, and perused the proceedings of the Board upon this subject, nothing could exceed my astonishment at the injurious aspersions, and the illiberal invectives, with which they had recorded their disapprobation of my conduct, exceeding even the extremest bounds, to which I could have expected the most inveterate malice of party would have led them. A copy of those proceedings I shall here enter at large, consisting of Mr Cartier's letter to the Board, explaining the intention of his letter to the Nabob's collector at Dacca Mess. Johnstone and Hay's letter upon the subject of that which they wrote to the fougadar of Poorneea; the letter from the chief and council at Dacca, inclosing Persian copies of mine to the Nabob, which contained the regulations, and the Nabob's orders to his officer on the occasion; Mr. Gulston's translation of those Persian copies, and the resolutions of the Board.

Copy of a Letter from Mr Cartier to the Council Dated January 9, 1763

Being called upon by the council of this factory, for an explanation of a latter wrote to Mahomed Allee, collector of the revenues at Dacca, I think proper, with the consent of the gentlemen here, to address myself to the Board on this occasion, and at the same time, to declare the pleasure it affords me, to vindicate any part of my conduct, that may appear dark or mysterious, before so just a tribunal

The letter addressed to Mahomed Allee was wrote and sent him the 9th of October, a copy of which, and his answer, I forwarded to Mr Vansittart: the same was received by that gentleman, during his abode at the French gardens When an entire interruption was put to all commerce, our servants plundered, and used ill, the flag grossly insulted, even in the city, and almost under our eye, when our intercourse to Calcutta by letters was one time stopped; in what shape was I to act, but in the manner I did? Mahomed Allee was pointed out, by the whole country, as the principal encourager of these grievances and insults On my applying to him for redress, by the dewan and vackeel of the factory, he constantly denied having the least hand in them I therefore thought it best, in such a situation of affairs, to apply myself to him by letter, and to demand a positive declaration as to the cause of these disturbances. His answer was such, as might be expected from an intriguing man, in every respect evasive and unsatisfactory

You think, gentlemen, the stile of my letter was rather improper, and tending to promote these evils, which you have taken so much pains to remedy; namely, a jealousy and distrust I must beg leave, gentlemen, to dissent from you in this opinion; and maintain, that the extravagant and vexatious behavior of the government was the cause of these evils; and raised, I may venture to say, both jealousy and distrust in every breast. In such a conjuncture, I think an Englishman cannot speak too bold; I only wrote, what I imagined would have a proper effect on the mind of a man, who I supposed acted from his own judgment, and without a legal order The system

of the present government must be entirely changed within these twelve months, if the ears of the officers in it, are too delicate to bear with a warm remonstrance.

I can conceive my letter to Mahomed Allee to be nothing more, and considering the importance of the affair not too warm. As chief of this factory, I esteemed it my particular duty, to support those privileges our nation are invested with; and had I tamely submitted to such a gross invasion of them, without any endeavor on my side to procure redress, I think I should be unworthy of the post I hold, and deservedly despised by the generality of the world.

I hope, gentlemen, the above will be sufficient to ascertain to you the just motives that induced me to write the said letter, and satisfy you (considering the occasion) the stile of it was not altogether improper.

The original letter I now inclose you, from which the Persian translation was made, though the purport of it is little different from the copy sent up in your general letter."

*Copy of a Letter from Mess. Johnstone and Hay to the Council.
Dated January 14, 1763*

"We have received the copy of a letter, wrote by the President to the Board, complaining of Mr. Bolts's conduct in writing a letter in the name of Messieurs Johnstone, Hay and Bolts, to the Poorneea fougedar, representing the grievances and oppressions that our gomastahs met with, in transacting our business in that country, and asserting the privileges of the firmaun; and at the same time recommending to you, to inflict a censure or punishment on Mr. Bolts for the same. We therefore think it necessary, and our duty to inform you, gentlemen, that Mr. Vansittart, when he cast the whole of that transaction on Mr. Bolts, did it not with any good reason, as we were both acquainted with the contents of the letter, and of its being sent; and we cannot help thinking, from the terms of his letter, that it was wrote with no other design, than to shew how blameable we were in his eyes, and how we ought to be treated; but we hope you gentlemen will

judge otherwise. We are so far from thinking with the President, that it is criminal to assert the privilege of the firmaun, that we think every one that does not, little deserves the benefit of it and that its being asserted in private letters, can never weaken the Company's government, or prove prejudicial to their true interest. The justness of our gomastahs complaints, to which we refer, and which gave occasion to our letter to Sheer Allee Cawn, will appear by his answer in which he acknowledges, that by the Nabob's orders our trade shall be entirely confined to that of ready money purchases, contrary to the established customs throughout the country, and which must of consequence put a stop to all trade, or fetter it in a manner, unknown before, in the worst of times in Bengal.

Our letter, as translated by Mr. Gulston, which we now lay before the Board, we hope will appear unexceptionable; for when it is said, in case we did not find an end was put to the oppressions which we complained of, that we would make application to the Nabob, for redress for ourselves and others; it is not to be imagined, that we should have procured this application to the Nabob, otherwise than from your Board; and this was our intention. But Mr. Vansittart is of a different opinion, and takes great exception at its being said to be done in the English name, and redress obtained for others. Had he thought proper to have mentioned it to either of the partners residing in Calcutta, he might have been satisfied, that there was no bad design in using the word *others*; but it was introduced entirely by mistake, and we have reason to think, Mr. Vansittart was not unacquainted with the contents of that letter before he left Calcutta, as our gomastah wrote us after the receipt of the letter, the fougadar would not send us his answer, till it was approved of by the President, for which purpose it was sent by the fougadar with one of his to Calcutta. And we did not receive the answer till some days after Mr. Vansittart's departure from Calcutta.

The unwillingness the President had to believe complaints of this nature, and more particularly that they were owing to the Nabob's orders, induced us to address Sheer Allee Cawn

in the manner we did, to see whether he would answer us, as he did our gomastah; and on this, to have a foundation for applying to your Honorable Board for redress. You will please to remark, that Sheer Allee Cawn represents Dadney advanced for goods, as money let out at interest; which latter business our gomastahs never carried on; and we cannot conceive, that the misbehavior of a few gomastahs in that or any by the servants of the Nabob, to those who by the Complaints of the government, should be esteemed sufficient cause for the Nabob to usurp, or we to give up the privileges of the English Company in this country, when, at the same time, so many well grounded causes of complaint have been given by the servants of the Nabob, to those who by the Company's indulgence have the privilege of dustucks, and of course are exempt from all duties, and their protection; that these privileges for several months have been greatly infringed in some parts, and entirely taken away in others, by the country government, is what we, as well as most English traders, except the President, have severely felt in our private fortunes

We received a letter from our agent Mr Robinson, at Gwalparah, informing us of the difficulties he labored under, from the obstacles thrown in the way of our trade, and the danger with which he was threatened by the fougedar of Rangamettee, which he represented as greatly fomented and encreased by the arrival and practices of one Gongaram Metre, who was come there in August, and assumed to himself, on the strength of his perwannah from the Governor, the office of inquisitor, and supervisor of the agents of the English, &c. in those parts The perwannah, extracts of Mr. Robinson's letter, Gongaram Metre's letter to Mr Tiexeira, and the letter from the Rangamettee fougedar to Mr. Robinson, are submitted to your consideration, some of these were forwarded to the Governor, requesting the necessary redress; in answer, we have received through him a perwannah from the Nabob to the fougedar of Rangamettee, as per subjoined translation, directing him not to obstruct our trade, or collect duties on goods provided for exportation, or that come from Calcutta with a dustuck, but to levy the usual duties on other goods,

and to send to himself and the President, an account of the rates according to which they pay This, we humbly conceive, is contrary to the articles of our treaty with the Nabob, and reduces us again to those privileges we enjoyed before the time of Meer Jaffier Cawn, and which we imagine was not the sentiments of the majority of the Board, at the time the President left it By this perwannah, however, we have not got the least satisfaction for the insults and losses we have sustained, by obstructing our trade, both inland and Calcutta ; but, on the contrary, it is left to the fougedars, discretion, who has been guilty of the violences and losses we complained of, to fix the rates of the duties on the different articles of inland trade ; on which, to the best of our knowledge, the Company's servants, that have traded there, since the treaty with Jaffier Allee Cawn, never yet paid any, and of course there could be no custom to follow, which scheme, should it take place, would reduce us on a footing with (if not below) the traders of the country, as is the wish of the Governor's agent in that part, probably in the imagination, that this may be a means of throwing the whole trade into their hands, by the extraordinary interest Mr Vansittart has with the Nabob.

Whatever opinion the President may entertain of Mr Cartier, or Mr Chevalier, they have had the happiness hitherto to be esteemed by every body that knows them The gentleman we sent up, Mr. Robinson, had the permission and approbation of the Board ; we think, therefore, if such grievances as were alledged against English agents and gomastahs, really existed in these parts, the subjecting them to the scrutiny and supervisal of black dependents, of whatever denomination, without the knowledge of the Board, was an indignity offered to it, to us, and to every gentleman concerned ; and, however the propagating such notions in this country may serve to strengthen the hands of the government, we humbly conceive it can give but a very odd opinion of the other members to whom it is jointly entrusted.

In the course of the business we have carried on, we have met with the greatest impediments in almost all parts,

but in particular in Poorneea, the Rungpoor, districts of Gwalparah and Rangamettee, from the different fougedars, zemindars, Mr. Moore, Gongaram Metre, &c the accounts of which, as we have received them from our agents, we now lay before you, and hope you will procure for us that satisfaction and redress which we have hitherto been unable to obtain "

Copy of a Letter from the Chief and Council of Dacca to the Board Dated January 10, 1763

"We did ourselves the honor to write you yesterday, and have since been surprized by the receipt of two papers (which came inclosed for your perusal) from the Naib, and from Mahomed Allee of this place, who desired to be informed what degree of regard we intend to pay the orders they contained ? To which we replied, that we did not care to acquiesce with the terms of those papers, as the President and Council of Calcutta, on whom alone it rested to give a sanction to such commands, had not thought proper to transmit us any such instructions We know not in what light you will look on these directions to the Naib of this place, but hope you will approve the reply we made, and will pardon us the liberty of addressing a few lines on this subject The immediate circulation of these articles throughout the country, will be attended with very bad consequences to the Company's investment, and must entirely ruin most of us at this place, who, on the faith of treaties, or public indulgencies, have large concerns abroad, which never can be collected in, if these privileges, without any previous notice, be snatched from us The protection of our gomastahs and servants, from the oppression and jurisdiction of the zemindars, and their cucherrees, has ever been found to be a liberty highly essential, both to the honor and interest of our nation ; and we apprehend the utility of it for carrying on every kind of business, but especially the provision of cloth, is so well known to you, gentlemen, that it is needless for us to add more, as you will at once perceive the numberless vexations and interruptions we shall meet with, if the zemindars have authority, on every slight dispute, to summon and confine our gomastahs,

whenever they think proper The injunction, with respect to dustucks, affects every article of commerce, except such as are imported on shipping Mr Cartier being enjoined not to give one for any article that is the produce of Bengal, and to pay a duty of nine per cent to the Nabob, on every merchandize not brought in or sent by sea This surely cannot be meant, but the words seem too equivocal not to make us wish to have your sense of them, on so important a point A duty once fixed, could scarce be a burden ; but if added to this, we are subjected to vexatious applications to the Nabob's officers for dustucks, it will be a grievance we shall indeed feel The dignity and benefit of our dustucks, are the chief badges of honor, or at least interest, we enjoy from our first firmaun, and has been held in such esteem, as to secure our effects from those depredations, which the natives suffer in passing their goods through the country ; and if these new duties on all the products of the country are thought just, may not the Nabob be properly secured of them, by the Shahbunder's receipt for the custom being affixed to the back of every dustuck, previous to its being signed ? This will surely ascertain, in the most ample form, the duties to the Nabob, and free us from the principal grievance we can feel from their encrease. The prohibition, with respect to totals, is a restraint not even put on the Moguls and natives, the liberty of erecting new ones, so far from being injurious to the Nabob, absolutely enhances his customs, by clearing lands, that would have otherwise been uninhabited ; and the order to purchase every thing for ready money, amounts nearly to an exclusion from all such branches of trade, as the venders will then impose on us whatever prices they judge proper

With respect to Assam, we must beg leave to observe, that the Nabob, or his fougedar of Rangamettee, can have no more right to regulate the terms of our commerce with the natives of that country, than with those of China All the power he exerts over our gomastahs is arbitrary and oppressive ; and neither justice nor antient customs can warrant such abuses, or regulate his officers in the collecting of taxes, tho' the whole direction is now referred to his droga of Ranga-

mettee No duties have ever yet been paid on lack, mugga-dooties, and other goods brought from Assam; those goods may surely be esteemed imports when they are brought into Bengal, and may be intitled to our dustucks.

All our privileges, all our fortunes, and future prospects, depend upon the result of your deliberation on these points; and we hope, let what will be your sentiments, you will be pleased to suspend the execution of them, till our present concerns are collected in, with our antient indulgencies No treaty of commerce in any country has been carried into execution, or fresh duties levied, without a previous declaration for as long a term, as was adequate to the settlement of those concerns that were to be influenced by such new regulations; and we flatter ourselves, that we shall not become objects of unexampled feverity on this occasion The trade of the servants has ever been thought intitled to your protection; and we hope, if particular branches are now to be given up, we shall still be indulged with the influence of your authority, and privilege of our dustucks, till we can finish our present engagements If you refuse us this request, gentlemen, you undo us at once; as the publication of these orders from Mongheer, with the stamp of your authority, will so affect our national credit and influence in the country, as must for every disable us from collecting in the large sums we have outstanding

If we have obtruded on the Board more than is deemed fit, or presumed in any part of this to advise, where obedience was do, we crave your pardon, and shall be ready to pay the utmost respect to any orders transmitted by your Board ”

Mr Gulston's Translation of the Governor's letter to the Nabob

“Your gracious perwannah is arrived, and has greatly honored me. I am informed of all the particular of your high commands

* To be compared with that entered page 223

It shall be written to the chiefs of our factories, that they are to give a dustuck for the buying and selling of ship merchandize and for marchandize, that they buy and sell in every district for traffick in this country, they are to do according to custom of other traders and merchants, and not to give the Company's dustuck. They are to take a dustuck from the bux-bunder, or shahbunder, paying in upon the cost of the merchandize nine per cent including wharfs, and other receipts of custom ; nor shall they use any manner of force or violence, extortion or unfair dealing.

It is hoped, that your Excellency's perwannahs will be issued out to the fougedars and other officers of the government, that the Company's dustuck is to go along with the purchase and sale of ship merchandize , and they are by no means to stop it, or demand the smallest custom , nor shall they hinder the purchase and sale of commodities for country trade, but they are to give dustucks, receiving the duties on cost of the marchandize, agreeable to your Excellency's high command , and the drogass at the chokeys are only to take copies of the dustuck, without demanding any thing

Heretofore it was written to all the chiefs of our factories, to forbid them injuring the country people and inhabitants of the pergunahs, and protecting the dependents and servants of the sircar, and damaging the affairs of the sircar Now repeated directions shall be sent, that they are to restrain from such proceedings , and further, considering the officer of the government as magistrate where they are, in case of any trouble or disputes happening, they are to appear before that magistrate and have them settled

Let your Excellency's instructions be sent to the fougedars and officers, that they are to determine disputes of our factors with justice and truth without partiality ; and, if any one complains against a factor, to send for him, and settle the affair, face to face , and if a factor has a complaint against any one, to consider it well, and so determine it

It has been written to the chiefs of Islamabad and Lucky-poor, that they shall not make salt works, nor hinder the merchants and farmers of the salt works, that pay revenues to the

government, but to buy what they want of them at a reasonable rate. The two letters to the chiefs aforesaid, being inclosed with this address

An order will be sent to the chiefs and servants of all our factories, that they are not to farm or buy lands, and whatever they may have bought heretofore to resign it

Let your Excellency's order be passed, that the price of the purchase be likewise returned

But from several places, there is come complaint, that the officers of the sircar importune for former collections, and beat, bind, and confine the people, which doings, are far from being just

Let your Excellency's order be passed, that they return back the price of the purchase, and never demand old accounts

The chiefs and servants of the factories will be directed, that they are not to hinder the brokers and weavers of the government

And if your Excellency is not pleased, that the money and bullion of English gentlemen and their factors should be made into siccās, in the mints of Azimabad and Ichangirnagurr, and by it there will be a loss to the sircar, let the drogas of those places be ordered, not to receive the money and bullion of the English to be made into siccās. But, upon hearing this, the money-changers will demand as exchange just what they want, and the Company's business will be impeded by this means

It is hoped, that a perwannah will be issued out to the Naibs of Moorshedabad, Ichangirnagurr and Azimabad, that the exchange on money of the English Company and gentlemen, shall be taken according to the market currency, and in case of exaction, to bring the money-changers to punishment

Directions will be sent to the factor (gomastah) at Gwalparah, that he is to transact business of traffic, as was the custom heretofore, and he is not to trade with the people of the mountains, whatever he has to buy or sell in that place, he is to do by means of the officer of the government. Let

your Excellency's orders be sent to the droga, that he is to deal with the English factors, as with other merchants "

Mr Gulston's Translation of the Nabob's Perwannah to Mahomed Allee Beg

"In the month of Jemady-ath-thany, the fourth year of his Majesty's reign, agreeing with the 1176th of the Hegira, Mr Vansittart came to visit me at Mongheer Seeing that you wrote an excuse for not collecting the balances in the country, because of the disturbances of the English factors, therefore all country disputes, and the traffic of the English factors, were settled, and the Governor aforesaid has accordingly given me written security, under his own hand, and a copy thereof, under seal of the magistrate, is sent inclosed; you are to act in conformance to it, not differing in a single point, either more or less from it, and further, you are to shew the said copy to the English gentlemen and their factors, and tell them, that they are to transact all business and affairs of trade, according to this written security, and in no wise are to use violence or extortion; if they act contrary thereto, I will not suffer such behavior in the country, but will turn them out And you, our well-beloved, are to act agreeable to this written security. If any one of the factors shall bring to pass any thing, contrary to this written security, and cause a disturbance, you shall remove him, and send me a review of the case, taken exactly without the least difference or disagreement It is with much and earnest importunity, that I procured a written security to this purpose, and having sent copies thereof to all my officers, and to you of noble rank; if you do not cause business to go on agreeable to it, in the districts subject to you, I shall be very much offended with you, nor will I in future pay any regard to your complaints, and take care to act agreeable to this single writing, regarding it of as much force, as writing a thousand times "

Extract of a Consultation of the 17th of January, 1763 (Present Mes Amyatt, Hay and Watts.)

"As it appears from the consultation of the 22nd of March, that it was then resolved to call for the opinion of the field-

officers, in a case which the Board esteem similar to this ; and as they think, that the issue of the present matter must highly concern the national honor, and the Company's business

Agreed, we send for major Carnac to the Board, to take his seat, and assist in our deliberation on the substance of these letters

The major being come to the council-room, takes his seat at the Board Read again the Dacca letter, dated the 10th instant, with the translates entered above, of the two Persian papers which were inclosed

The Board having maturely considered the fame, are unanimously of opinion, that in the letter from the President to Cossim Allee Cawn, the assumed a right to which he was no ways authorized , that the regulations proposed by him, are dishonorable to us as Englishmen, and tend to the ruin of all public and private trade , that the President's issuing out regulations independently of the Council, is an absolute breack of their privileges , and that, therefore, directions should be sent to Dacca, to suspend paying any regard to the regulations and orders, which the Nabob has sent to their factory ; and as the Nabob has declared, in his letter to the Naib of Dacca, that he will turn out those Englishmen, or their gomastahs, who will not comply with these destructive regulations , it appears to the Board of the utmost importance, and they are further of opinion, that the absent members should be immediately called to Calcutta (excepting the chiefs of Patna and Chittagong, whose distance from the Presidency, may render their coming inconvenient and prejudicial to the Company's affairs) that the whole may be consulted on a matter of such high consequence, and a plan be established for the security of our commerce, and for the proper conducting of the country correspondence

Agreed, that we write accordingly in the terms of the above minute to Dacca, Cossimbuzar, and Luckypoor, directing the chiefs to repair immediately to Calcutta , but as the distance from Burdwan is so very small, and Mr Johnstone's presence must be essentially necessary there, at this season of the heavy collections

Agreed, that our letter to him be only to hold himself in readiness to repair to Calcutta, on receipt of our further orders.

The major withdraws.

Messieurs Johnstone and Hay send in a letter to the Board, regarding the Persian letter, which they wrote to Sheer Allee Cawn, the fougedar of Poorneea, also copies and extracts of sundry letters and papers relative thereto

The same being now read, the Board are of opinion, that they sufficiently account for, and vindicate these gentlemen in that transaction."

Though it was with reluctance that I could bring myself to fit as a member of the same Board, with persons who had treated me so injuriously, yet, as I still had hopes that it might be in my power to prevent the execution of the designs, which were laid for breaking with the Nabob, though I had no other arms than the rectitude of my intentions, and the propriety of the measures which I had taken, to oppose to these violences, I resolved to answer with temper and coolness all their objections, and to shew the illegality of their proceedings, that if I could not bring them to reason, I might yet obviate any pretence, which they might form to bring on the rupture, which some of the leaders * were certainly now meditating, although, I believe, many of the members of the Council were not aware that things would be carried so far

My answer to, and remarks upon, the beforementioned proceedings, were delivered into Council the 1st of February, as follows

The Governor's Minute in Consultation, February 1, 1763

"I have read, with great surprize, the minute of your consultation of the 17th ultimo, upon Mess Johnstone and Hay's letter of the 14th, and upon the Dacca letter of the 10th, accompanied with my answer to the Nabob, upon the subject of the proposed regulations for the private inland trade I will

* I have often declared, both before this time and since, that major Carnac and Mr Ellis were the persons I here mean.

endeavor to point out the wrong you have done me, and the injustice, as well as indency of the reflections with which Mess Johnstone's and Hay's said letter is filled, and which I wonder should escape your censure, much more that they should gain your approbation

The Honorable the Court of Directors, as well as their servants here, have always understood a distinction between the trade in articles imported, and to be exported by shipping, and the private inland trade, that is, the trade from place to place in the country, in commodities produced and consumed in the country, of which salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, are the chief articles. For the former trade, the Company's dustuck has always been granted, but the latter, has been carried on with the dustuck of the country government, and their duties paid, but those duties being different in different places, and even varied at the same place, according to the disposition and authority of the Nabob's collector, and the degree of force with which the English gomastah could back his refusal, a fixed regulation was thought necessary, to prevent the numberless disputes occasioned by this commerce in different parts of the province. Our Honorable Masters have expressly ordered, in more than one of their letters, that the trade in salt and beetle-nut shall not be carried on to the prejudice of the revenues of the country government. And yourselves, gentlemen, in your letter of the 15th of November, transmitted me a list of the shahbunder duties, usually paid by the gentlemen at Luckypoor, upon salt and tobacco, in order to assist me in finally settling those matters with the Nabob upon a solid plan. Can that plan be solid where nothing is fixed? And where the English gomastahs shall be under no controul, but regarding themselves far above the magistrates of the country where they reside, take upon them to decide not only their own disputes with the merchants and inhabitants, but those also of one merchant and inhabitant with another? Or is it possible, the government can collect their due revenues in such circumstances?

The plan for carrying on the private inland trade, contained in my letter to the Nabob, is the same in substance, as the articles which, in my joint letter with Mr Hastings of the 15th of December, we mention to have porposed to the Nabob.

It is such a plan, as seemed to me to be most conformable to the Company's intentions in respect to that trade, most consistent with the rights and true interests of their servants here, and with common reason and equity And I call on you gentlemen, in the first place, to prove, that *I have assumed a right, to which I was no ways authorized*, that the regulations proposed are *dishonorable to you as Englishmen*, and tend to the *ruin of all publick and private trade*, which are the terms in which you have been pleased to express your opinion and in the second place, to form a plan yourselves, which shall be more conformable to the good purposes beforementioned, and with regard to which, I am persuaded our honorable masters will not give the sanction of their approbation to this new trade.

Form such a plan, gentlemen, and I will subscribe to it with pleasure, and engage the Nabob shall do the same

For my own part, I think that the honor and dignity of our nation would be better maintained, by a scrupulous and careful restraint of the dustuck, than by extending it beyond its usual bounds; and by putting our gomastahs under some checks, than by suffering them to exercise an authority in the country, every one according to the means put into his hands, and thereby bringing an odium upon the name of the English, by repeated violences done to the inhabitants.

The Dacca gentlemen, in their letter of the 10th, represent, that they shall suffer greatly if such regulations take place, It is not as to the duty they complain, but the being obliged to apply to the Nabob's officers for dustucks, and having their gomastahs or servants subjected to the jurisdiction of the zemindars, and their cucherrees The gentlemen at Calcutta have never found any difficulty in getting the Hoogly dustuck for their salt to go up the country, nor have we ever thought it either inconvenient or dishonorable, to apply for it to the officers of the government This is the only article we deal in here, that falls under the description of the inland trade The Dacca gentlemen either do not or will not understand that description, when they say, *the chief is enjoined (by the Governor's letter to the Nabob) not to give a dustuck for any article that is the produce of Bengal, and to pay a duty of nine per cent to the Nabob on every merchandize not brought in*

or sent by sea The distinction mentioned in any letter to the Nabob is, that all goods, impored or for exportation by shipping, shall go as usual with the Company's dustuck, and be subject to no kind of demands, and all goods, the produce of this country, for inland trade, shall pay duties to the country government, and go with their dustuck. Now the principal articles of this inland trade are, as I have mentioned in all my letters to the Board, salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, produced and brought in one part of this country, and sent to other parts of the same country for sale and consumption; articles which, before the troubles, we were forbid to trade in; but which our influence since has enabled us to deal in, although with many objections from the country government, and frequent complaints from the country merchants, who used to live by that trade. However, it has never been regarded as a part of our firmaun privilege, and we have been contented to carry it on with the dustuck of the country government, and paying their duties. The present regulation is intended only to give us a confirmed right to a benefit heretofore always disputed, and upon terms, which seem to me very reasonable.

Now as to the gomastahs, it is proposed in my letter to the Nabob, that orders shall be given to forbid them injuring the country people and inhabitants, or protecting the dependents and servants of the sircar, that in case of their having a dispute with, or complaint against any merchant or inhabitant of the country, they shall lay such dispute or complaint before the officer of the government, to be determined in the proper course of the jurisdiction of the country, and, in like manner, if any one should have a dispute with, or complaint against the gomastah, the gomastah shall appear before the officer of the government, to have it settled. In both cases if the gomastah thinks himself aggrieved by the decision, he may appeal to his employer, and he to the Governor at Calcutta.

Nothing here is meant to affect, nor can affect our rights over the weavers, who receive advances for the Company's cloths, and who have nothing to do with rents or employments, under the country government, are not understood to be their dependents or servants, and therefore may and ought to be protected against any unjust demands of the government's

officers, at the discretion of the chief of the factory to which they belong. But it is not to these gomastahs so many acts of oppression are charged, their business is plain and simple, they have only to make the usual advances to the weavers, and see that they perform their contracts, and being immediately under the eye of one or other of the factories, they cannot be guilty of great extravagancies. The complaints come from the distant corners of the province, as Rungepoor, Poorneea, Dinagepoor, Rangamettee, Gwalparah, Silhet, Backargunge, &c. where, if those complaints are true, the English gomastahs being under no controul of their masters, despise and ill treat the officers of the government, set themselves up for judges and magistrates, here disputes between the inhabitants, and extort fines, force the merchants to buy their goods, at more than the market price, and to sell what they require as much below it. The complaints I have received of this sort are innumerable. I have done my utmost to find out the truth, and get redress and put an end to them, by forwarding copies to the chief of the factory, nearest the place where the cause of complaint has arisen, and desiring him to enquire in to it, but for the most part I have had no other satisfaction than the gomastahs flat denial of the fact. The places being very distant, a proper examination of witnesses is almost impossible, either before this Board, or any of the subordinates, how then are such disputes to be settled, or the truth discovered? I am far from saying, that the method I have proposed is free from objection, because I am very sensible, many of the officers of the government will not execute their authority impartially, and many will gladly take every opportunity of obstructing our gomastahs, and particularly in this new commerce; but I cannot think of a better plan, and it is certainly more agreeable to reason, and the practice of all nations, that the jurisdiction should be in the hands of the proper officers of the government, than our agents and gomastahs, who are permitted to reside there only as trading factors, and where, neither the law of our country, nor the powers intrusted to us by the Company, give us any judicial authority.

I wish, gentlemen, you may form a better plan, since you do not approve of mine; but if it should appear, that

this trade cannot be carried on without investing our gomastahs with an armed force, and authority to exercise that force over the inhabitants, at their discretion, I think it should be forbid, and we content ourselves with carrying our trade, as far as the Company carry theirs, and so far we shall be sure of the protection of their force, under the direction of one or other of the factories, who will be answerable to the Board for the use made of it, which the gomastahs are not and therefore such an authority should not be trusted in their hands

Messieurs Johnstone and Hay complain, that I sent a person to enquire into the truth of the complaints, against the English gomastahs in the country, and they dignify a poor Banyan, with the title of inquisitor. My letter to those gentlemen from Mongheer, will shew the only authority with which that person was invested, and as they have not laid before you a copy of that * letter I have subjoined it hereunto under

* *Copy of Mr Vansittart's Letter to Messrs Johnstone, Hay and Bolts Dated Mongheer, December 15, 1762*

GENTLEMEN,

I have received your favor of the 3rd instant, with an extract of Mr Robinson's Letter, a copy of one written to him by the Rangamettee fougedar, and of an order of mine to Gongaram Metre

I have always paid customs upon my private inland trade, that is, the trade from place to place in the country, in commodities produced in the country, as salt, &c and I have understood it to be generally admitted, that we ought to pay customs, like other merchants, upon such private trade, and that all have done it, who had a share in it, which you know are but few, and that but lately. If the fougedar of Rangamettee demanded only such customary duties (and his letter implies nothing more) he is certainly not to blame, as he had orders from the Nabob so to do, and it is what I think the Nabob has a right to insist on, but it is absolutely necessary those duties should be fixed, and publicly known to every body, and that they should be collected at once, at the place of purchase, which are points I am endeavoring to get settled, and I shall be obliged to you, if you will write to Mr Robinson for a list of the duties demanded by the fougedar

Very certain it is, that many English agents and gomastahs, and particularly those belonging to the Dacca gentlemen, have practised a method of carrying on business, called in this country *Barja* and *Kichavut*, that is, forcing the merchants and shop-

No I as it is at least as material as some of those pieces they refer to As soon as this inquisitor returns, his report shall be laid before you, and as every step I can take for the redress of the inhabitants of the country, is complained of as an encroachment upon the privileges of the English, and also proves ineffectual, I shall, for the future, lay all such petitions from the inhabitants before the Board, hoping, that by your resolutions, some effectual method will be provided for restraining the excesses of the gomastahs The most material of those that have lately been presented to me, are hereunto annexed from No II to No XI and I think the

keepers to take their goods at thirty, forty or fifty per cent above the market price The complaints I had of this, and other oppressions practised by Mr Chevalier, and the gomastahs employed under his direction, were without number, when I desired of Mr Cartier to redress those grievances, I was sure to receive from him in answer a letter from Mr Chevalier, denying all the facts, and so the enquiry stopped, but the complaints were renewed with fresh instances, I therefore sent two aumils, about six or seven months ago, to enquire on the spot whether such practices and vexations existed or not, if they did, to warn those concerned in them from me, that they should be punished, if they did not desist, and if that warning proved ineffectual, as I suspected it would, to return to me, with an account of what they saw and heard This their commission is plainly expressed, both in Persian and English, in the instructions which Gongaram Metre produced to Mr Robinson, and therefore I am surprized, how that gentleman can apprehend, that his coming can obstruct his just dealings If Mr Robinson practices the unjust methods before mentioned, I wish I could by this, or any other means, obstruct him, but this, from the good character I have always heard of him, I cannot suspect I will not say that Gongaram Metre, or the other, whose name is Ram Govend, have not exceeded their commission, it is likely enough they may, as the people of this country are very apt to do, but if they have, Mr Robinson should have mentioned the instances I have, however, ordered them both to return, as they have had time enough to inform themselves, whether the complaints I received from the zemindars &c were well grounded or not

I send you inclosed, an order from the Nabob to the Rangamettee fougadar, enjoining him on no account, to obstruct the trade of any English gomastah, to demand no more than the usual customs, and that only upon the inland trade from place to place in the country, but for the trade to and from Calcutta, and all foreign parts, on no account to require any duties from those who have the Company's dustuck

I am &c

putting a stop to any abuses that may be practised under the authority of the English flag, is an attention so worthy of this government, that one or more members of the Board, or some of the senior servants, should be sent to inform themselves upon the spot, how far the complaints are true, and make their report to the Board

Messieurs Johnstone and Hay assert, that the Nabob's ordering the Rangamettee fougedar, to receive the usual duties on goods for inland trade, is contrary to the articles of our treaty with the Nabob, and reduces us again to those privileges we enjoyed before the time of Meer Jaffier

I have referred more than once to the treaty with Nabob Jaffier Allee Cawn, and do not find that it grants us any new privileges of trade; and Colonel Clive, who certainly understood that treaty as well as any one, never would grant a dustuck for salt, or any other article of trade which had not usually been granted by former governors

Messieurs Johnstone and Hay insinuate throughout their letter, in terms not to be misunderstood, that my reason for wishing to restrain other gentlemens gomastahs is, that my own may have the more power, and procure for me the greater profit. Although I am satisfied, that such insinuations would obtain little credit, yet it may not be improper to produce some instances, that I suffer equally with others, when any obstructions do happen in our trade, and that I am the first to practice upon my own concerns, the restraint which I think should be laid upon our gomastahs in general. For the first I appeal to Mr Amyatt, whether a number of boats of salt, belonging to me, were not stopped at Cutwa by the collector of that gaut, at the same time with others, and detained as long? And for the last, I refer you to my orders of the 17th of December, and 10th of January, to Mr Moore, my agent at Rungepoor, and Mr Baillie at Rangamettee, of which, copies are hereunto annexed, No 12 and 13

As you have been pleased to give it as your opinion, that Mess Johnstone, Hay and Bolts did properly, in writing a letter to Sheer Allee, the fougedar of Poorneea, in their own

name, instead of applying to the President; of course, every other merchant will take the same authority. I am by no means sorry to be relieved from the trouble of such applications, yet I think it my duty to give it as my opinion, that this entire levelling and equality will not be for the good of the Company's affairs, nor the benefit of the society, and therefore to declare my disapprobation

One reason Mess Johnstone and Hay give for writing this letter deserves to be taken notice of, *an unwillingness in the President to believe complaints of this nature*. I request the Board will call on them, to produce any one instance, where I have either refused or delayed to give them, or any other merchant, every assistance they have asked of me in the carrying on their private business, and obtaining redress for their grievances. In short, gentlemen, their letter throughout is so injurious to me as a gentleman, to say nothing of my station, that I should apply to you for justice against them, did I not perceive, that instead of shewing your displeasure at such behavior, you have thought proper to give it the sanction of your approbation. I refer therefore to the Honorable the Court of Directors, who I am persuaded will do me more justice

I shall be glad to see the number of members at the Board increased, and wish it could always be kept so: but if I had proposed to send for particular members from the subordinates, to give their opinion on a particular subject, I should surely have been accused of an intention to make a majority to carry a particular point; and it is a precedent, which may at some time be applied to that purpose, and therefore I think a bad one

As to the major, he is to be a member of the Board according to our Honorable Masters directions, *When military affairs only are under debate*. How the regulation of a method for carrying on our trade in salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, can be brought under that title, I cannot conceive; nor how he can be supposed to be a judge of such a subject; yet, if you conceive his advice can be of use, I am far from

objecting to his being present The matter in question is not with me a point of contest or party, I wish only to see such rules laid down, that the Nabob and we may know our proper limits, and prevent our servants from transgressing them, which will require time and patience, and much care and attention, The best laws will sometimes be transgressed, but the inconveniences which arise from such transgressions, ought not to be objected against the laws themselves, but against the transgressors, who can only be restrained by the constant care of the government”

I was much displeased with the Nabob, for his eagerness in making use of my letter as a final agreement, and for the ill judged power, which he had so suddenly put into the hands of his officers before my arrival in Calcutta, or any correspondent orders could be sent on our part However, in my letters to him, I endeavored to remove the alarm given him by the extraordinary appearances in Calcutta; and to persuade him to avoid furnishing, by any act of retaliation or resentment, an occasion for open hostilities against him Unhappily the jealousies had arisen to so great a height, that these palliatives had no longer their effect, and from this period, I had not only to contend with the violence of the gentlemen, who had now the rule of our affairs, but the confirmed distrust and rage of the Nabob Accordingly I shall have little to do in the sequel of this Narrative, but to shew by extracts from the consultations, the steps by which the breach was gradually widened, and a daily encrease of authority thrown into the hands of the subordinate factories; until, at length Mr Ellis thought himself sufficiently empowered to begin the war, with the attack of the city of Patna

The views of the violent party in Calcutta, were but too well seconded by many of the Nabob's officers, who were for passing at once from one extreme to the other Having been long under the yoke of our gomastahs, they no sooner had a prospect of being freed from it. than they in their turn would rule despotically, and use their authority to unlawful purposes This gave our subordinate factories daily opportunity of making fresh complaints to the Board of the interruption of their busi-

ness, which was always done with such exaggerations, as served to increase the flame. It was pretended our weavers could not be protected, because I had forbid the protecting dependents of the country government. The dependents of the country government are plainly those who hold offices, trusts, or rents under the government, and there is an established distinction between them, and the weavers, who are regarded as dependents of the merchants who employ them, and this is a distinction well known to all; but those who thro' passion would not know it. I desired this might be explained to the subordinate factories; and as the Board had resolved that they would not confirm the regulations I had proposed, I kept in my hands the Nabob's orders for their establishment, and did not forward them to the officers of the government; and directions were sent to the subordinate factories, to carry on their private trade as before, until the general Council should have assembled, and fixed upon such rules, as to them should seem most proper. I wrote at the same time to the Nabob, that other regulation would soon be made by the Council; and desired he would send orders to his officers, to restrain them from exercising any acts of violence or injustice towards the English agents and gomastahs. The following is a copy of the order sent to the factories the 1st of February, in consequence of these resolutions.

Copy of a Letter from the Governor and Council to the Chief and Council at Dacca Dated February 1, 1763

"In our letter of the 17th, we directed you to suspend paying any regard to the orders, which the Nabob had sent to your factory

We are now to acquaint you, that neither the Nabob, nor the President, ever understood any delolls or weavers, employed by the Company, or the English gomastahs, to be the dependents of the sircar. You are, therefore, to afford them the same protection, and maintain the same authority over them, as you have done formerly; and you will continue to carry on your business as before, until you receive regulations from the

Board, taking always the greatest care to prevent your agents from injuring or oppressing the country people” *

These orders being given, we waited for the arrival of the members of the Board, who had been sent for from the subordinate factories, and nothing remarkable occurs till they assembled (the 15th) except a minute, delivered in by Mr Amyatt the 3d, intended to prove, in contradiction to my arguments of the 1st, that I had acted without authority from the Board. How far this purpose was answered, I leave others to judge from the minute itself, which follows

“In consequence of my having presided at the Board, during the absence of Mr Vansittart, I shall now take the liberty to reply in part to the minute, which he laid before the Council on the 1st instant

First, as to the subject of the letter to the Nabob, in respect to the transactions therein contained, I shall leave it to be debated and determined at the full Board, when the rest of the members arrive, and when I make not the least doubt, having received the assistance of their deliberations, but we shall be able to form a set of regulations equally equitable with the President's and every way as conducive to the interests of the country government, and our own, and I trust, of a much greater tendency to prevent future jealousies and animosities between us, of which the clause for subjecting us so thoroughly to their judicature, must have proved an inexhaustible source

What I have therefore chiefly to point out is, that the President, in this transaction, has acted without a proper authority. It was but last council-day, gentlemen, that all the proceedings in this affair were read at our Board; and although I gave the greatest attention to the perusal, I could nowhere distinguish, that we vested the President with the powers he pretends, nay, I observe, that he himself can only pick out one phrase to answer his purpose from perverting even the literal sense of which, and entirely the well-known meaning of the Board, he draws a sanction of ours for what he has done.

* The same letter was wrote to Luckypoor

Right sorry am I to find, that recourse is had to playing upon words, because I think it is a custom which ought to be utterly excluded in matters so serious as generally prove the business of this Board; and orders from them, which are not explicit, should rather be scrupulously followed, than taken in a vague and unlimited sense. It is needless to enlarge much more on the subject. Our resolutions, on receipt of the articles from the President and Mr Hastings, which we then understood to be only proposed, plainly demonstrate, that we never gave or intended to give them power to conclude these or any other; of course the President's doing it was an authority assumed. But if he could do well understand, or I should rather say misunderstand, the meaning of the Board in the above particular, and act in consequence; how happens it, I should be glad to know, that their directions, and earnest recommendations for procuring restitution for the late losses of any individuals, were not paid an equal regard to?

Next, with respect to the letter delivered in by Mes. Johnstone and Hay, which I always held as a mere secondary matter, but which I find the President has expiated upon very largely; I must, in the name of the Board, deny, that it met from them the approbation which he alledges, their minute, of which I think the sense cannot well be perverted, serving no further than to express their opinion, that the apology of those gentlemen was, for the transaction in question, to them satisfactory. Although I cannot implicitly agree with the President, that the said letter is filled with unjust and indecent reflections; yet I concur entirely, that our Honorable Masters should become the judges of this, as of all our other proceedings.

I remain still of opinion, that the major ought to be present at the Board; for as I esteem sound reason and knowledge of the policy of the country to be greater requisites for executing the business in hand, than an acquaintance in the articles of the trade itself, I think his opinion and advice may be of equal weight and utility with any other member of the Board. These added to what stands minuted on the consultations of the 17th, are my reasons for desiring the major's presence;

for I assure you, gentlemen, I wish not more than the President, that the matter in question should become a point of contest or party."

My answer to this minute was given in the 15th of February, when all the members of the Board met, and of course it will appear in the sequel

The general Council, which assembled the 15th of February, consisted of the following members The President, Mr Amyatt, Mr Batson (chief of Cossimbuzar), Mr Billers (chief of Luckypoor), Mr Carter (chief of Dacca), Mr Hastings, Mr Johnstone (chief of Burdwan), Mr Hay, Mr Marriott, and Mr Watts Their business, or at least the first business, was to settle a plan for carrying on their private trade it must therefore appear strange, that the Council should be opened by a motion from Mr. Amyatt, that major Carnac should be summoned to sit as a member of this Council. It has been already mentioned, that the major was, by the Company's appointment to be a member of the Board, when military affairs only were under debate, and I think that neither would Mr Amyatt, and the rest of the Council, have imposed upon him a trouble so foreign to his station, neither would he have consented to interfere, if they had not some particular point to carry I dissented as before from this motion, and so did Mr Hastings, and Mr Watts The rest of the gentlemen resolved, that he should be called, and he was summoned accordingly As it was thus determined, that major Carnac should sit as a member of the Board, I thought that the commanding officer major Adams, should sit also, as it was customary upon all occasions to summon both, when it was necessary to summon either

Accordingly the two field officers took their seat at the Council, which then consisted of twelve, and Mr Amyatt began, by laying before them the occasion of their meeting in the following minute

"As the full Board are now assembled, I think it is in some measure incumbent on me, to inform the members lately arrived, with the occasion of our having summoned them to the Presidency

You may remember, gentlemen, that about six months ago, our trade in every part of the country met with great interruptions, and which from that time continued so much increasing, that in the month of October a conference with the Nabob was deemed absolutely necessary, to enquire into the cause, and remove them. The President accordingly, being about to pay a visit to the Nabob at Mongheer, undertook to settle this amongst other business. To assist him in so doing, we furnished him with copies of all the complaints which had been made, and continued to transmit him copies of all others which came before the Board, with earnest recommendations to obtain satisfaction for the losses which those delays had occasioned, and endeavor to adjust matters, so as to prevent any such from happening in future.

From these instructions, and the good disposition the President seemed to be in, we naturally hoped for the best of consequences, an uninterrupted freedom to our just trade, and an entire removal of the groundless jealousies and distrusts, which still subsisted in a high degree on the part of the country government, and gave us just grounds to apprehend, that the Nabob wanted to break with us. Had our expectations been answered, a general harmony must have reigned at our Board, and which I do assure you, gentlemen, I have long wished to see.

It was therefore with much surprize, that the members of the Board, the beginning of last month, received advice from Dacca, of the Nabob's having sent a set of regulations to that factory for the government of their trade, and enjoined them to the strictest obedience, with the severest threats. Part of these regulations we had before received in a joint letter from the President and Mr Hastings at Mongheer, but conceived them, as they expressed it, to be only a plan proposed. We wrote an answer accordingly, dated December 27, to which I refer you. The above letter from Dacca, however, having convinced us, that the President, either from misunderstanding the orders of the Board, or too far extending their meaning, had, on the part of our government, granted his sanction and ratification not only to these, but several other important articles, entirely without the advice of his council. We thought it neces-

sary to summon your presence to the Board, to consider of this matter, as well respecting the regularity of the transaction. as the purport of the regulations themselves, which, in our opinion, are far from having a tendency towards answering the good purpose necessary or wished for

I therefore submit to your consideration the several papers relative to this business, most of which you will be directed to in our consultation of the 1st instant, and I earnestly desire your assistance for bringing to a speedy determination, a point so essentially necessary to the freedom of our Honorable Masters business, and all private trade

There also lays a complaint from the gentlemen at Patna, of the Nabob's having shut up the Burbunna gate, and cut off the immediate communication between the city and the factory, and in which point it seems the President then on the spot also concurred, contrary to the sense of the Board last year, and which, for the honor of the factory, and the influence such a concession must have on the minds of every man in the country to our prejudice, ought to have met his strenuous opposition. This is a circumstance which must come before us in the course of our deliberations, and I only mention it here with a view to direct you to a perusal of the Patna letter, because it does not appear on the above-mentioned consultations of the 1st instant

The consideration of this affair will naturally lead us to compare the sense, spirit and tendency of the treaty now in question, with those made with Serajah Dowla, and confirmed by Meer Jaffier Cawn, &c wherein the unquestioned authority and validity of the dustuck is so expressly established, unclogged with any distinctions as to the goods for which it may be granted

I have further to observe to you, gentlemen, a circumstance on such an occasion not unworthy of your attention, the sunnuds, by which we hold our late acquisitions, are only tuncaws, or an assignment of these provinces, towards the defraying the expences of a certain body of troops, to be kept up for the assistance of the Nabob. In the present temper of the Nabob, this, so weak a title, can hardly fail of proving a

fresh source of dispute. He already shews a total disinclination for the use of our troops, and may, whenever he thinks himself in a condition to call our right in question, tell us, that he has no longer occasion for them, and therefore will withdraw that revenue. To prevent such pleas on the part of the subah, and to establish our right to these lands, as to jagheers, by the fullest and most authentic sunnuds, and such that hereafter may be ever indisputable, should other European nations come to take part in the affairs of Bengal, seems a point extremely requisite to be now considered. The Company, for want of this matters being clearly explained, most probably suppose, that the present sunnuds are of the most extensive and indisputable kind, whereas in fact our force, more than 'title', can support us in the possession of them.

I have the utmost confidence, gentlemen, that the result of your deliberations will be such, as to convince our Honorable Masters, that you are incapable of being influenced by the spirit of party, or any mercenary motives, and that your only views are the preservation of their honor and interest, and the maintenance of their just rights and privileges."

Whoever has read the former part of this Narrative, will easily perceive the distinguishing characteristics of major Carnac's style throughout this writing delivered in by Mr. Amyatt. It abounds with those sounding phrases, which are meant to catch the ear, and so to pass for good reason without further examination. When he would engage you to oppose the Nabob's shutting up one of the gates in the city of Patna, and closing a breach between the city and the river, he tells you, *the honor of the Patna factory* is concerned. For my own part, I think the honor of the Patna factory consists chiefly

* The nature of the grants by which the Company possess those lands, is of very little moment. It is by the treaty with the Nabob they are ceded, and as long as that treaty of friendship and alliance subsists, he cannot dispute their right. If a breach of that friendship happens, and a war breaks out, he will dispossess us, if he is able, and that he would, if we had the king's firmaun. Therefore the form of the grant is of no consequence, and this will hereafter be found to be the opinion of all the Council, when they entered into a new treaty with Meer Jaffer, at which time, none of them thought there was any necessity for demanding jagheeree sunnuds.

in carrying on the Company's trade with credit and advantage, not in seeking disputes with the country government, by unjustly interfering in their concerns

He bids you compare the sense, spirit, and tendency of the treaty in question (that is, of the regulations of the private trade contained in my answer to the Nabob's letter) with those of Serajah Dowla and Meer Jaffier. Those being compared, it will be found, that neither of those treatise convey to us any new privileges, but confirm those of the firmaun. Now the firmaun, as I apprehend, did not give us a right to carry on the private inland trade, that is, the trade from place to place in the country, in the commodities of the country, as salt, beetle-nut, tobacco, &c. It did not, I say, give us a right to carry it on at all, much less to carry it on custom-free, to the total ruin of the merchants of the country, and the great loss of the Nabob's revenues. Neither did Serajah Dowla, or Meer Jaffier, understand it so, the former would never suffer us to meddle in that trade, and the latter prevented it as much as he could, and complained of it as an injustice, and an innovation, as has been already shewn. The new regulations I proposed did, on the contrary, convey to us an acknowledged right to that trade upon a reasonable footing; and the payment of a fixed duty, less than had already been paid by some of our factories, and a duty which the profits of that trade might well bear.

Many other instances of this kind of specious and sounding expressions without meaning occur in this minute, which I will call Major Carnac's instead of Mr Amyatt's, as well as in all the rest of the major's writings. I will take notice of only one more. To engage all the gentlemen of the Board to applaud and side with him, he concludes with telling them, they are incapable of being influenced by the spirit of party, or any mercenary views. I am persuaded, that it will appear obvious to every reader, that the minute is calculated throughout, to infuse a spirit of party, and in this he too well succeeded, nor could he have chosen a more certain method of confirming and strengthening this spirit, than by telling them, they were incapable of being influenced. It is a known maxim of those, who would lead a party, to endeavor to conceal from their followers that they are led. As to mercenary views, if views

of exorbitant profits in trade may be so termed, there was certainly a great share of that passion in the violent opposition against the regulations I had made

I continued to try every means of preventing the dangerous consequences, which were to be apprehended from so violent a combination, but it is easy to judge, how difficult a part I had to manage. On one side, if I opposed too strenuously the resolutions of the adverse party, I ran a risque of strengthening the Nabob's hands, and thereby making him too powerful in case of a rupture. On the other, if I fell in with their violent measures, all the ways of accommodation would quickly be shut up. I endeavored therefore to keep a middle course, in order to preserve terms with the Nabob, until the Council had determined upon the regulations and demands they would insist on, flattering myself, that the Nabob would submit to them, however unreasonable and detrimental to his government, rather than engage in a war to his inevitable ruin. With this view I avoided every word that could inflame, and as the oppressions of the Nabob's officers gave so much reason, I was the first to consent to such an encroachment upon his rights, as the security of our trade required, in hopes thereby to induce the Council to be the more moderate in their demands. I said therefore nothing more to Mr Amyatt's minutes of the 3rd and 15th, than was necessary to shew the authority I had from the Board, to make such regulations with the Nabob, that the present disputes were not owing to the regulations, but to the abuse of them, that if such abuses could be prevented, all the advantages of trade we could reasonably wish, would be insured to us, with good order to the Nabob's government, and that if they did not approve of my plan for attaining those ends, they should set about forming another themselves. The following is a copy of this minute

Copy of the Governor's Minute of the 15th of February, 1763

"In answer to that part of Mr Amyatt's minute of the 3d, where he says, that I prevent the meaning of the letter I received from the Board, dated the 15th of November, I will only quote the words of the said letter, and my answer dated the 1st of December."

Letter from the Council, dated Nov. 15

"Inclosed, we transmit you an extract from the Luckypoor letter, explaining the shahbunder duties which they have always paid, and the nature of the fresh extortions which are now demanded, which we imagine may be of service to you in *finally settling these matters upon a solid plan*"

The Governor's Answer, dated Dec 1.

"I shall proceed, with Mr Hastings's assistance and concurrence, in such inquiries as shall be necessary on the subject of the complaints now in question, and in establishing such rules between the Nabob and us, as may prevent them for the future " Accordingly I framed with Mr Hastings such rules as seemed to us most proper for the occasion, and proposed them to the Nabob in several articles, as contained in our letter to the Board, of the 15th of December but the Nabob, not chusing to accede to those articles, represented to me again his grievances, in a letter the 26th of December, the day before my departure for Patna, and as I had no further instructions from the Board, than those before quoted from their letter of the 15th of November, and no reply to my answer of the 1st of December, where I said I would establish rules for the conduct of the Nabob's people and ours, and as the regulations proposed, seemed to me altogether necessary and reasonable, I made no doubt of their being approved by the Board, and consequently made no scruple to write an answer to the Nabob, assuring him, that things should be carried on according to those rules Upon the minute of the 1st instant, I have sufficiently shewn the reasons, why those rules for carring on the private inland trade, and restraining the powers of our gomastahs, seemed to me equitable and necessary, and the most proper for the end proposed, but as much as I am inclined to give the officers of the country government their due authority, yet am I by no means disposed to submit to any abuse of that authority, or suffer them to go beyond the limits prescribed by those regulations, which, were they strictly observed by both parties, would, I think, remove all occasion of complaint from both sides But I grant, that the late conduct of the government's officers, in many parts of the country, gives me

too much reason to think, with the rest of the Board, that they cannot exercise authority without oppression, and that whatever cause they might have of complaint against the English gomastahs, their own tyrannies are yet more insupportable, for instead of freeing our trade from any impediment, detention, or obstruction, under pretence of customs, dustore, &c which was my only intent in laying down such rules, they have had a quite contrary effect. The officers of the government, presuming upon the restraints laid on our agents and gomastahs, having gone directly contrary to the conditions prescribed to them I agree, therefore, in the necessity of entering into articles of agreement with the Nabob, such as shall appear most proper for regulating the manner of carrying on our trade in those articles, which before the troubles used to be deemed illicit; and for confining the government's officers, and our gomastahs, within the due bounds of their respective employments, of which articles, copies should be given to every officer of the government, and every gomastah, for their guidance. In the mean time, I have made the strongest representations to the Nabob, upon the violences committed by his officers in different parts, in direct violation of the agreement between us. Copies of my letters to the Nabob, Syed Mahomed Cawn, and Mahomed Allee Beg, are hereunto annexed. I lay before you likewise a number of complaints transmitted to me by Syed Mahomed Cawn, from the zilladars, and other officers of the several districts, under his immediate direction, and which it will be necessary to take under consideration, at the time of debating upon the intended regulations, that such of them as appear well grounded, may be remedied."

Fresh complaints from the Patna and Dacca factories were read at this consultation. from the former, that some bullocks loaded with the Company's salt-petre were stopped at one of the chokeys or guards, and from the latter, that great obstructions were given to heir private trade at Sirampoor. On the other hand, a number of representations were received also from Syed Mahomed Cawn, the Nabob's deputy at Moorshedabad, of the violence and unjust proceedings of the English gomastahs. Upon the first it was resolved, that all trade should be carried on as before, and in case any of the government's officers should obstruct it, they should be opposed by force

and seized, upon the second, that the representations should be translated, and sent to the subordinate factories which they concerned, and from whence, for the most part, no answer was received, or, if any came, it was taken no further notice of.

As the officers of the country government had exercised their authority so unjustly, I agreed it was become necessary to restrain them by force upon some occasions. The misfortune was, that those who had long wished for a rupture with the Nabob, must be the judges of those occasions, and consequently it was to be feared, that they would make use of this authority beyond what was intended or necessary, particularly Mr. Ellis, however, there was no possibility of preventing it, and to have argued against it, would only have served to make them more violent, because the objections I could have made, must have been personal against some of the members then present at the Board, or against Mr. Ellis, with whom they were firmly united.

I thought the likeliest way of preventing any bad consequences upon this order, would be to acquaint the Nabob immediately, with the danger to which his own hastiness, and the insolence of his officers, had exposed him; and recommend to him, in the most strenuous manner, to forbid their interrupting the business of any English gomastah, or giving further occasion for disputes, which might end in a breach of our friendship. The following is a copy of the letter I wrote to the Nabob on this occasion "

"I have already informed you of the oppressions and insolences of Mahomed Allee Beg, and I now enclose you a copy of a letter wrote by him to Abdulla, aumil of Soondeep perganah. Consider, it is his design not to suffer a single Englishman in the country, and to punish whoever shall take upon himself the name of an Englishman, accordingly the Company's business, and that of the private gentlemen, has been every where stopped, whereby they have been, and still are, subjected to many losses. and the agreement which was made between you and me, for the removal of the disputes between your dependents and ours, has been entirely broken off by Mahomed Allee. As his proceedings are prejudicial both to

your interest and the Company's, it would have been proper, at the instant of my receiving the copy of his letter, to have dispatched some of the Company's people to seize him, and to have sent him prisoner to you. However, as he is a servant of yours, I have contented myself with representing the affair to you, and I wait your answer. Out of the friendship subsisting between you and me, it is proper you inflict due punishment on him, and make him answerable for the losses he has been the occasion of, if not, I cannot sit quiet, and see the Company's and private gentlemen's affairs go to ruin. Inclosed I transmit you the copy of a letter I have wrote to Mahomed Allee "

Nothing else remarkable passed at this first meeting of the Council, but a letter delivered in by major Carnac, claiming the command of the detachment stationed at Patna. I desire no other proof than the terms of this letter to convince the world, that he was the chief adviser of the resolution for calling down the members of the Board from the subordinates; and that to carry this point for himself was one of the objects of that resolution. The following is a copy of his letter

Copy of a Letter from Major Carnac to the Governor and Council. Dated February 15, 1763.

"The being deprived of the command of a body of your forces, at the head whereof I had the good fortune to meet with some success, and the being ever since detained here, you will readily believe must have occasioned much uneasiness to me. However, till now, I despaired of any remedy, from a conviction, that my remonstrances would prove ineffectual, and only serve to involve me in fresh altercations, which I was willing to avoid. The station of Patna being the most likely quarter from whence we are to expect troubles, is undoubtedly the post of honor, and as such, from my rank, I had the best title thereto, unless I had forfeited it by any ill behavior on my part, which, whatever may be the opinion of a few of the members, I please myself with thinking is not the general sense of the Board. I am happy in the persuasion, that I cannot now fail of redress, if I am deserving thereof.

and flatter myself, gentlemen, if you are for continuing the Company's forces in that quarter, that I shall have your orders to proceed thither, and take the command of them, unless you have any other more immediate call for my services."

It will be remembered, that the reason for calling major Carnac down from Patna in June 1761, was to put an end to the disputes with the Nabob; and his application to go back at this time, when disputes were growing every day, has all the appearance of his wishing to make them worse, and to be more at hand to act in concert with Mr Ellis to that end.

The consultation of the 18th of February has a letter from the Patna factory, which shews they were ready enough to make use of their own force, without waiting for our orders.

Copy of a Letter from the Chief and Council at Patna to the Board.

"A dearth some years ago, which had very near proved fatal to our troops here, made it necessary that some precaution should be taken to avoid, as much as possible, our experiencing the like distress in future, for this purpose, Mr Amyatt, then chief of this factory, established a gunge, where our people have ever since been amply supplied with provisions at cheaper rates than they can be elsewhere, and at the same time prevented them falling into the numerous broils that must daily happen, from their being obliged to seek their sustenance in the different markets of the city. Advantages well known to every person who has resided any time at Patna.

This gunge the President agreed with the Nabob should be abolished; and in its stead, he desired the chief to lay up 20,000 maunds of grain on account of the Company; which we, however, have thought most proper to defer, not chusing to put our employers to what we deem an unnecessary and unprofitable risk, without the sanction of your orders. The encouragement given Nobit Roy on this occasion, has induced him to seize and carry away by force all the dealers of this gunge, to detain boats loaded with our own particular property having dustucks, and to send the chief word, that he will not suffer a further importation of grain. He has likewise publicly

punished three boatmen, who have been long employed in this service ; and made proclamations through the city, that whoever brings grain to the English shall be treated in the same manner, which can be construed in no other light, than a determination to distress us in the most tender point, viz. that of the necessaries of life

After such insolence on his part, an observance of punctilios on ours would be truly ridiculous, and also deservedly subject us to the imputation of being wanting in our duty to those we serve, as well as to those committed to our charge. We shall therefore use as little ceremony in releasing our boats, as he does in seizing them, avoiding at the same time any kind of offence, but acting consistently with the first great law of nature In the interim we shall expect your orders ”

The subject of this letter was reserved to be considered along with the other disputed points, and the following plan was settled for conducting the debate

“First, To collect the opinion of the Board, on the regulations settled with the Nabob by the President

Secondly, To determine on the Patna letter respecting the Burbunna gate, the entrenchment by the waterside, and the gunge

Thirdly, On the disposition of the troops, and major Carnac’s letter ”

The 19th, the firmauns and grants not being ready, only the second article of the plan was considered, viz Whether the Nabob should be permitted to shut up one of the gates of the Patna city ; and to close the breach between the wall and the river ; and whether Mr Ellis should keep his gunge. The opinions were as follows.

Extract of a Consultation of the 19th of February, 1763.

“Read the following minute delivered in by the President.

The President's Minute.

In order rightly to understand the question relative to the Burbunna gate, and the intrenchment by the water-side, it is necessary to describe the situation of the places, and to refer to what passed on this subject last year.

The city of Patna extending itself above two miles from east to west along by the river-side has two principal gates, one at the east end, the other at the west. Between the western gate and the river-side is the Burbunna gate, or rather wicket, being a small entrance into a very narrow street; and the English factory being situated on the river-side, about two or three hundred yards to the westward of the city walls, and from this gate-way, used to find a convenience in this entrance, as the principal western gate is a full half mile from the factory. The city is surrounded by a wall and ditch, except by the river-side. The north-east angle is closed by the citadel, or rather the Nabob's palace, which extends itself into the river, so that there is no passage by it. At the north-west end is a bastion, called the Mootanee bastion, between which, and the river, was an open passage into the town.

In the month of February, 1762, several men of captain Carstairs's party having deserted, Mr Ellis sent to Rajebullub, then Naib of Patna, to desire he would give orders to prevent any of our soldiers from going into the city. Rajebullub acquainted the Nabob with Mr Ellis's desire, and received orders from him to shut all the gates and outlets of the city, except the east and west gates, of which he advised Mr. Ellis, and desired, that he would order that none of the Europeans should go into the city; and that such of the people of the factory as had business there, should enter by the western gate. Mr Ellis wrote to Rajebullub in answer, that the shutting the Burbunna wicket would put a stop to all the business of the factory, and that therefore he must not shut it; and, at the same time, he represented to the Board, the inconvenience that would attend the shutting it, the west gate being distant from the factory at least half a mile; and mentioned, that Rajebullub had begun to raise a wall from the bastion, next the

factory down to the river, thereby to prevent all communication; insomuch, that no boat could track up to the factory, and that the consequence of allowing it, would be the obliging all boats to pull up the other side of the river. At the same time Mr Ellis sent people to prevent the Burbunna wicket being shut, or the outlet by the water-side closed. In consultation of the 22nd of February, I was desired by the Board to write to the Nabob, to request him to order the Burbunna gate to be left open; and in the letter to Mr Ellis, where he is acquainted with this resolution, it is added, that he should prevent the wall, or breast-work being carried on by the river-side, so far as it might obstruct boats tracking up on that side of the river. Agreeably to the resolution of the Board, I wrote to the Nabob, desiring he would order the Burbunna wicket to be left open for the convenience of our factory; and the Nabob gave orders accordingly.

Thus the affair rested till I came to Mongheer, when the Nabob represented the inconvenience of having those two outlets left open. "That the seepoys, and other people of the factory, often came into the town by those ways, quarrelled with the inhabitants, and plundered or ill-treated them, and escaped again to the factory, without its being possible to bring them to justice; and that besides, the town could not be in a state of defence, until the passage by the river-side was secured." As I was going to Patna, I told the Nabob I should be a better judge when I had seen the place myself. Upon my arrival at Patna, I took a view of the places with Mr Ellis. The Burbunna gate was no doubt a convenience to such of the servants of the factory as resided in the city; but to go round by the western gate is not a greater inconvenience, than every person who has to do with a fortified town must submit to, nor do I find that the Company carry on any business in the city, and as to the opening between the Mootanee bastion and the river, it is such an one, as no person, who has the charge of a fortified place, would on any account suffer. So far from being secured by the English factory, I can assert, that it would be very easy for an enemy to pass by the factory by night, and enter the town before

any alarm could be given Besides, the factory itself, which is in no respect like a fortification, might be taken by an enemy, and the city thereby exposed to certain destruction, if this passage must be left open ; a case which though not likely to happen, yet ought certainly to be guarded against As to the difficulty of boats going up by the river-side, it is a mere exaggeraion, like many other parts of Mr Ellis's dissertations on these subjects Boats will have only to row or warp a few yards at the west end, as they are already obliged to do at the east end, where, as I have before observed, the * Kella stops the passage, and where I saw boats pass up without the least difficulty ; and it is well known, that there are very many places between this and Patna, where boats cannot track on account of the junguls. the steepness of the banks, or other obstructions Finally, as the city belongs to the Nabob, and he is answerable for the charge of it, and for the persons and properties of the inhabitants, he has an undoubted right to fortify it in any manner he pleases These my sentiments I explained fully to Mr Ellis , and Nobit Roy having applied to me on the subject, I gave him an answer, of which application and answer, the following are copies ”

From Nobit Roy, Naib of Patna, to the Governor

“By reason of the passage by the water-side, and the wickets of the fort being open to the town, it could not properly be taken care of I therefore shut up the wickets, and left the east and west-gates for people to pass in and out Yet the inconveniencies will not be remedied, until the Burbunna wicket, and the passage by the water-side, are also stopped up Had the passage of the Burbunna wicket, &c been stopped, how could be Boujepoor thieves and prisoners have made their escape ? The passage and wickets being open, renders it impossible for me to protect the town, and is a means of disturbance in my affairs, of contempt on the government, and of insecurity to the fort As the care of the fort is a necessary work. and the regulation of it is my

* The citadel or palace

business, it therefore belongs to me also to shut up the wickets, and the passage. If I am prevented from doing this, what is the advantage of my staying here?"

From the Governor to Nobit Roy

"I understand what you write about shutting up the Burbunna gate, and the passage by the river-side, and I have seen the two places you speak of. The stopping up the passage by the river-side is a very proper work; as to the shutting up the gate, although there seems to be no great necessity for it, and the going round about, will be an inconvenience to the factory, yet, as it is the Nabob's order, do it whenever you think proper, no one will interrupt you"

Remark on the President's Minute

"Major Carnac begs leave to observe, in answer to that part of the President's minute, in vindication of the Nabob's strengthening that part of the city so close to our factory, that it cannot be necessary, unless he means to strengthen it against the factory itself, which he persuades himself the majority of the Board will look upon as a greater security to that end of the city, than the temporary trifling works now thrown up by the Nabob

The Opinions of the Council

Mr Watts is of opinion, that the Nabob ought to be wrote to open the gate, and throw down the pallisadoes, and such part of the intrenchment as obstructs the tracking of the boats to the factory on that side of the river

Mr Marriott is of the same opinion

Mr Hay is of the same opinion, with this addition, that if the Nabob refuses to comply with the President's desire, Mr Ellis should then have orders to open the gate, and throw down so much of the intrenchment as obstructs the passage of boats.

Mr Johnstone is of opinion, that the shutting up the Burbunna gate, and making the trench and pallisadoe into

the river, could be of no service for the security of the town against a foreign enemy, whilst the Nabob depends on us as his friends, and that it remarks, in this time of tranquility, a distrust of us in particular, and has been so understood by every body in those quarters, and is considered as an advantage gained over our Chief, in a point hitherto disputed with the Nabob, though never desired by his predecessor To keep up our credit, therefore, and for the great convenience it is, and ever has been to our factory, he thinks the Nabob should be addressed, as the general sentiments of the Board, to restore things to the situation they were in before, and if he refuses, that Mr Ellis should be empowered to do it himself

Mr Hastings's Opinion

As every occasion should be avoided of alarming the people of the country, with the appearances of distrusts or contention between the Nabob and us, and as it has been deemed, that the cases now in debate have such a tendency, Mr Hastings is of opinion, that the President should write to the Nabob, and desire him to cause the Burbunna gate to be opened, and the intrenchments by the river-side made passable for boats, but he sees no occasion for sending a publick order to the gentlemen at Patna, to effect either by force, nor does he think it can be done, without a manifest violation of our treaty of alliance with the Nabob, as he has the sole authority to take such measures, for the regulation or strengthening of his own fortified city, as he thinks proper, whilst he encroaches upon none of our known rights

Mr Cartier begs leave to observe, that never having been at Patna, he can form no other judgment as to the affair of the Burbunna gate, and the circumstance of its being shut, than what he has been informed of, by the letters from Patna From them he finds the servants of the factory have now no convenient communication with the city, as likewise their hospital, that the shutting up the gate is a matter of pique, and intended to affront Mr Ellis; and if him, consequently the nation, and must have been considered in that light by

the inhabitants of Patna, who apprehensive of the consequences, many have left their houses, and carried their families to other parts ; that this proceeding has raised a notion in the country of our little attachment to the Nabob, which he has very imprudently encouraged by the suspicions he seems to harbor in his mind, and acting in a manner so contrary to that confidence he ought to place in us , that our attachment to him is his sole security and safe-guard, which, if once lessened, or even suspected to be so, might probably have the worst of consequences on his affairs , that for his own safety, and freeing the country from disturbances, it ought to be a point insisted upon, that the said gate should be opened, more particularly as it was the only one of the city left open, during the troubles of three years in that province, and no danger from its being continued to be so in a time of profound peace, can possibly be dreaded , and if the President's application on this head is not complied with, that directions shall be sent to Mr Ellis to open it and that part of the intrenchment to be thrown down, that is a real inconvenience to the factory

Mr Billers is of opinion with Mr Cartier.

Mr Batson considers the shutting up of the Burbunna gate, and the intrenchments raised by the Nabob against our factory, as an indignity designed us, and really an act of hostility , he is therefore of opinion, that the gate should be ordered to be left open as formerly, and so much of the intrenchment removed, as Mr Ellis and the Council may judge for the safety and convenience of our factory , and we should write to the Nabob to give orders for the above purposes , which, if he refuses to comply with, Mr Ellis should be ordered to execute them

Major Carnac's Opinion.

By the Burbunna gate has been, time out of mind, a communication between the city and factory , therefore the Nabob's ordering it to be shut up, cannot but argue in him an indisposition toward us, especially as the works executing there, carry all the appearance of a desire to strengthen him-

self on the side next to us ; nor does it appear, that any advantage or conveniency will result to the Nabob, from the stopping this communication ; and the reason principally insisted on seems to be, that the Nabob is master of his own city, and may do as he pleases. The same might with equal justice be given, for his refusing to allow any entrance whatever to the English into the city, he has done the next thing to it, rendered our admission as inconvenient as possible to us. Besides, the gentlemen at Patna assure us, their boats will, from the obstructions now made, be exposed to great risques. The major is therefore of opinion, that the Nabob should be wrote to, in the most pressing manner, and a representation made to him, that the shutting the Burbunna gate, cannot fail creating, throughout the country, the persuasion that he and the English are upon bad terms, which it is equally his business as ours to prevent, that therefore to remove any suspicions of this nature, we must insist upon that gate being again opened, and that part of the city be left in its usual state. If after such a representation, the Nabob continues obstinate, the major thinks the Board will be justified in giving order to Mr Ellis to open that communication, and the Nabob will have only himself to blame, for having reduced us to that necessity.

Mr Amyatt declares, That of his own knowledge this gate has been kept open for these nineteen years past, and was the only one of the city which was open during the time of the two sieges of Patna, as being esteemed a necessary communication with the factory, by the guns whereof it was covered ; that he therefore imagines, the shutting of it up must proceed either from a pique to Mr Ellis, or an intention to diminish the English influence in the country. That for these reasons, and as it is attended with great inconvenience to us, and no advantage to the Nabob, he agrees in opinion with Mr Hay in regard to opening it, and removing the intrenchment by the water-side.

Major Adams is of opinion, that the shutting of this gate is of no advantage to the Nabob, that so far from strengthening the city, he thinks it rather contributes to weaken it, and

has an appearance of a jealousy subsisting, which may be prejudicial to the Company's affairs, and to the Nabob himself ; and that therefore the President ought to write to the Nabob, to insist upon the gates being opened, and a necessary passage left from the intrenchment for the tracking of boats."

A Letter to the Nabob was then prepared according to the opinion of the Board, and according to the usual course went under the hand and seal of the President , which being the form prescribed by the Court of Directors for the country correspondence I always observed, although the letter on this, and many other occasions, was contrary to my own sentiments. The following is a copy of the letter wrote the Nabob in consequence of the foregoing resolutions

To the Nabob, February 19, 1763

"The chief and council of the Patna factory have represented to me and the Council of Calcutta, that by shutting up the Burbunna gate or wicket of the city, all the servants of the factory are subjected to great inconvenience in going to and from their houses, and the Company's business impeded ; and further, that by carrying on a wall or intrenchment from the bastion to the water-side, boats are prevented from tracking up to the factory, and will be obliged to pull up on the other side, which will be a great inconvenience to the business of the Company, and the gentlemen of the factory. And as it appears, that the Burbunna gate has always been open for twenty years past , and that during the troubles when the city was besieged, the said gate was of particular service, as assistance went by that road from the factory for the defence of the city , and the shutting it up at this time has not a good appearance, but raises distrust and jealousy in the minds of people, and fills the inhabitants with apprehensions, as if there subsisted not a perfect friendship between you and the Company, and as such reports are equally prejudicial to your affairs, and the Company's, and it is unreasonable you should lay any obstructions in the way of the Company's business, or that of the servants of the factory . it is therefore thought very improper, on all accounts, to shut up the said gate ;

and I write to you therefore, according to the advice of the Council, to desire you will order it to be kept open as before, as reports of this kind to prejudice or diminish the Company's name will not be admitted; and that you will order the wall or intrenchment from the bastion to the river-side to be made in such a manner, that there may be room for the boat people to track up the boats. As your compliance herewith can be attended with no loss or hindrance to your affairs, it is necessary that you immediately give orders accordingly, that the people may see there is an entire confidence and friendship between you and the Company, and all jealousies and apprehensions may be removed."

The reasoning of the Council upon the foregoing subject amounts to this, that to shut up the gate of the city, and close the breach or passage between that and the river, would have an appearance of a jealousy or disagreement between the Nabob and the Company; wherefore he should be wrote to in a peremptory manner to keep them open, and if he did not comply, Mr. Ellis should open them by force. A most extraordinary method for removing all appearance of jealousy and disagreement! With respect to the gunge, the whole Board agreed with me in the impropriety of Mr. Ellis's keeping it; and the following resolution was made

"With respect to the gunge, it is unanimously agreed by the Board, that instead thereof, a limited number of licenced shopkeepers shall be established, to supply with provisions the bazars of the army and the factory, that they shall not however become a gunge, or wholesale market, but erect their shops and storehouses in such place, as shall be agreed on between the chief and Nobit Roy; and suffer the usual customs to be collected by a droga on the part of the government; and that all this being done, the present gunge is to be removed"

The next consultation the 22d, was taken up with reading the firmauns and grants; and it was agreed, that the several members should prepare their opinions upon the regulations I had made with the Nabob; and the extent of the privileges of our private trade, by way of answer to the following six questions

“First, Whether by the firmaun, and subsequent treaties, we have a right to trade in every article, whether for foreign or inland trade, duty free ?

Second, Whether and duties ought to be paid to the country government on salt, bettle-nut, tobacco, or any other articles ?

Third, Whether the Company’s dustuck shall be for the future granted for such articles ?

Of late the trade of salt from Calcutta, up the country, has been carried on by the English inhabitants in general, who, having first paid the duties at Hoogly, and having got the fougedar’s dustuck or rowana, had then a passport or certificate from the President to accompany it

Fourth, Whether certificates should in future be granted to any but the Company’s servants ?

Fifth, Whether the English gomastahs, in any part of the three provinces, shall be subject in any manner to the controul of the officers of the country government, and how far ?

Sixth, If not how are we to regulate the disputes that may happen betwixt them and the country government and particularly in those parts where we have no factory ?”

At the same consultation (the 22d of February) was read the following letter of complaint from Luckypoor.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Middleton to the Governor and Council. Dated February 16, 1763.

“I addressed you the 14th instant, and informed you, that the houses of Golam Hossein and Mahomed Gazy, servants of this factory, were beset by Aga Nazam, Mahomed Allee’s deputy at Jugdea I have since recieved intelligence, that on the 12th instant, Aga Nazam had summoned these people to surrender on that day ; the consequence of which was, the mother and sister took poison, but instant relief being given them, they are yet alive ; the rest found means to escape by a back door, and left their houses to the mercy of Aga

Nazam, who of course has plundered and destroyed them. One of the women that escaped has been brought to-bed but a few days ; what is become of her, the infant, and other women, I cannot tell, but have sent people to enquire after them I must inform you, that these two men are of a considerable family, who have always been much respected in the country, and remarkable for their attachment to the English, particularly in the year 1756, when they afforded protection and assistance to our servants, at a time that it was refused by the French, and every one else at Jugdea. I inclose you a letter, which I received from Syed Buddull Cawn, a fougedar, appointed by Mahomed Allee in these districts, to whom I wrote on this occasion, by which this act seems to have been done by Mahomed Allee's directions I also enclose to you copies of two letters from Syed Buddull Cawn, and Aga Nazam, to Golam Hossein and Mahomed Gazy, recommending the latter, to quit the English employ, if he expects to have any favor shewn him. By these letters, and other circumstances it appears, that their being servants of the English, is the sole cause of their misfortunes. Therefore, I have assured them, that you will not fail of obtaining all possible redress ; and what further particulars I may be able to learn of this affair, I will hereafter communicate to you

Our cloth business in the Manorgunge pergunah, where several of the Company's sortments are made, is entirely put a stop to by one Comar Allee Wadadar there, and our gomas-tahs and other servants have been obliged to return to Lucky-poor, leaving a large sum outstanding, in the pykars and weavers hands This Comar Allee is the person who ordered, by publick beat of tom-tom, that none of his tenants should, at their peril, transact any business with the English, of which Mr Billers advised you, in his address of the 22d ultimo.

To what we have from time to time alledged against Mahomed Allee, give me leave to observe, that his rapacious cruelty is so conspicuous, in the unheard-of oppressive measures, taken by him in the pergunahs hereabouts, and so particularly aim at those people that are, and have been in our employ, or any way negotiating with us ; that it seems his design is,

to the utmost of his power, to throw every obstacle in our way in the course of trade, both Company's and private, but more particularly the latter, that a powerful inveterate enemy can suggest. How far we have suffered in our private concerns, is partly known to you, by the account transmitted you by Mr. Billers. Several of our boats have since that been stopped on various pretences, although we have paid the Nabob's duties as in former times.

Yesterday advise was brought me, that some people belonging to the government were measuring our grounds, in order to take possession of them, and had demanded rents from our tenants. I immediately sent a few seepoys and peons, who, this morning, brought in two of the principals employed on this occasion. Soon after I had seized these people, a number of men collected themselves together, and have been plundering the houses of our tenants, and carried away their cattle, &c. This has obliged me to send a strong party of seepoys to the extent of our bounds, to prevent any further insults of the kind. I thought it necessary to inform you of this circumstance, as I imagine it will be represented in a very different light by Mahomed Allee's party."

Upon this it was resolved to seize the three officers of the government complained against; in which resolution I agreed; for as the question was ~~now, whether the~~ acting persons complained against should be seized, or war made directly with the Nabob himself; I concurred in the former, as I yet did not doubt but the Nabob would submit to any terms, that should be proposed to him by the Council, rather than enter into a war.

The next consultation (the 1st of March) the opinions of all the members were delivered in upon the six questions proposed the 22d of February. The majority declared the extent of the privileges of our private trade to be unlimited, and that the duties which had hitherto been paid to the country government on salt, and some other articles, were only a compliment which might be continued or not, as we pleased. This pretention must appear to all reasonable men as unjust

as it was new ; for who can suppose the Mogul emperor meant by him firmaun, to give us a right to trade from place to place in the center of his own country upon a better footing than his own subjects ? His granting us an exemption from customs, upon our foreign or shipping trade is natural, because it was attended with the double advantage of giving vent to the manufactures of his dominions, and importing bullion and other useful commodities Much has already been said upon this subject, and we will come now to the several opinions of the members of the Board, which were as follows

Extract of Consultation of the 1st of March, 1763

“Mr. Watts is of opinion, in answer to the questions proposed last Council day.

First, That by the firmauns and husbul hookums, the English East India Company have an undoubted right to trade in every article produced in the Indostan empire, either for foreign or inland trade ; and that dustucks ought to be given with any articles ; and that Meer Mahomed Jaffier Allee Cawn, in his treaty, has very particularly confirmed the same for the provinces, under the subahdarree of Bengal

Second, That duties ought not to be paid to the country government on salt, beetle-nut, tobacco, or any articles that have a dustuck with them.

Third, That dustucks be granted with such articles for the future.

Fourth, that no passports or certificates should be granted to Company's servants or others, but that salt have a dustuck with it, if the sole property of a Company's servant, but not to other English inhabitants

Fifth, That the President, in his letter to the Nabob, has given up the privilege which the Company enjoyed by this firmaun, and therefore he continues in the same sentiments, as in the consultation of the 17th of January.

Sixth, That subjecting our English gomastahs to the country government, would entirely prevent us from carrying on our

trade, nor is there any necessity for any regulations in those parts where we have an English factory, but in the distant parts of the provinces something is necessary to be established, as well for preventing our gomastahs from being guilty of oppressions to the country people, as to keep the officers of the government from behaving in the manner they have lately done. That this point can only be settled betwixt the Nabob and us.

Mr Marriott is of opinion, that the President ought to have waited till he could have received an answer from the Board, before he wrote the letter to the Nabob, as no paragraph of the Board's letter to the President appears to authorize him to conclude a treaty without their approbation, unless their willingness to have affairs settled with the Nabob on a solid basis, with the security of our rights and privileges, be construed into that sense, which he does not imagine was the intention of the Board. That in regard to the treaty itself, it differs far from our firmaun and sunnuds granted in consequence of our treaties with Serajah Dowla and Jaffier Allee Cawn, particularly in giving up our right of granting dustucks for inland trade (though some few articles may have been denied us trading in by the country government, unless we paid duties on them) notwithstanding our Honorable Masters strongly recommend the being jealous of our firmaun privileges, and also in submitting our gomastahs and dependents to be under the government's jurisdiction, and liable on every occasion to be called before their courts, which is greatly derogatory to the English name, and must take from us that sway we ought to have in the country, without which no business will be able to be carried on, and will greatly prejudice not only the quality and quantity, but also enhance the price of every article of the Company's investment. That so far from submitting our gomastahs and dependents to the government's courts of judicature, our firmaun expressly orders all our dependents that are indebted to us and run away, to be immediately delivered up to us, and that the government's people should give us all the assistance they can on such an occasion, in order to recover our demands.

That in regard to exchange of money, as we have an undoubted right to coin siccas from our firmaun and sunnuds,

we ought to insist on those we coin should pass, but to obviate any loss that might arise by batta on siccas of a different mint at another place, we should get stamps of the several mints where we have occasion to send money, and coin with those stamps accordingly

For these reasons, I entirely dissent to the treaty. The ill consequences must now appear too plain every where, it being a dangerous system to trust the government's people with so great a power. Their character of being rapacious and tyrannical would, I thought, have been well known to every one. I am further of opinion, the said letter of the President to the Nabob should be demanded back, or hereafter bad consequences may arise from it.

In reply to the different articles proposed by the Board, Mr Marriott is of opinion, that by the firmaun and subsequent treaties, we have a right to trade in foreign and inland articles of trade, if a direct assertion is a sufficient proof, and not one single article of trade prohibited us by the firmaun, &c. That the government denying us to trade in a few articles, without we pay duties on them, is usurping an authority they formerly were forbid, as by the tenor of the firmaun it appears, that further usurpations, and limiting our trade, were attempted by Aliverdee Cawn's ministers, in respect of paying duties on sugar; and which the Company remonstrate much against, and desire we will take care these things may not be brought into a precedent, which shews the opinion they entertained of these encroachments, and by their several regulations and orders concerning dustucks, it plainly appears, they only meant their servants should not cover any black merchants goods, or others, that had not the privilege of a dustuck, and by that means defraud the government of the duties they would otherwise have collected on the said merchants goods; which in case of being detected, might have been a plea for stopping the Company's business, and embroiling their affairs.

That in consequence of the government's collecting a duty on salt, which we for the most part have acquiesced in, a duty should be paid them at one place, and a stated sum for each hundred maunds, at the rate the Moor merchants pay, and the salt pass with the Company's dustuck (more particularly as it

is the product of their own jagheers) and the collector's of the said duties receipt for the same, after which the boats not to be detained at any gaut or chokey, further than to give the chokeydar time to take a copy of our dustuck. That, as the Company's dustuck has been granted for beetle-nut, and tobacco, they are articles we should not give up, but continue the Company's dustuck for those articles accordingly. That our acquiescing in paying duties on salt, ought to be looked on as a concession on our parts, as the demanding them is certainly an infringement of our firmaun privileges, but as the other subahs have received them, the Nabob has custom to plead for his receiving them also; and as we have supported him in all his antient privileges, we ought to continue this to him, that it might not be detrimental to his revenues.

That the granting a certificate to English inhabitants trading in salt for what they purchase, has no bad consequence attending it, as this interferes not with any branch of the Company's trade, and he therefore thinks the President should grant them to those who are not covenanted servants.

That the subjecting our gomastahs to the controul of the officers of the country government, must, he conceives, be attended with the worst of consequences, as it is giving up one of our firmaun privileges, which must make us esteemed very light in the eyes of the generality of people, and consequently treated with contempt by them, and be the means of depriving our gomastahs of the influence necessary for carrying on the least business. That in order to prevent our gomastahs from making a bad use of their authority, and injuring or diminishing the government's revenues, or interfering the least in them (this being one of the chief articles of complaint against our gomastahs) they should be again positively forbid holding lands, villages, gunges, &c of the government, and an immediate example made of those that disobey, and then no other matters of dispute can arise, but in those of trade when the party injured should apply for redress to the Chief of the nearest English factory, who, no doubt, is invested with authority sufficient to make the gomastahs complained against appear and answer to the complaint, if appearing true; and a few severe examples made on the gomastahs, would, I flatter my-

self, in a short time, have the desired effect, and no injustice be committed by English gomastahs in future.

Mr Hay's Opinion.

My reasons for joining with the other members of the Board, present the 17th of January, in passing the censure on the President, minuted in the consultation of that day, are, that by the treaty or written security that the Governor passed to the Nabob, the principal rights and privileges of the English Company, granted them by the King's firmaun, and husbul-hookums from Delly, confirmed and fully explained by the treaties with Serajah Dowla, and Meer Jaffier Cawn, and enjoyed since those treaties, almost in full, are given up, without one single advantage gained for the Company; but, on the contrary, the total loss of the English credit and reputation in these provinces, which has been declining these two years past, was the visible consequence of this agreement to every one who saw it, and was the least acquainted with the nature of the country people; and it now grieves me to think, that the wisest regulations, and the most steady conduct of this Board, will not be able to prevent the immediate bad effects of this ill concerted, and unauthorized proceeding of Mr. Vansittart, as too plainly appears from the letters received from the subordinates, and the general complaints of all our agents and gomastahs; which shew there is almost every where a stop to, or great incumbrances on our business; and that our servants are particularly ill used and oppressed.

In considering the arguments for and against the present treaty, entered into with the Nabob by the President, it is absolutely necessary, to the forming a true judgment on the affair, that the unjust methods used in the country courts, as well as the methods practised by the country merchants in conducting their affairs, should be continually in your mind.

The impossibility of carrying on business, when subjected to the country courts, I think, must appear plain to every one, when it is considered, that for all sums of money recovered in them, you are obliged to pay, besides the expence of the court, a chout* of twenty-five per cent on the money recover-

* A fourth part

ed, which, if the English do not submit to pay, it will always be the interest of the zemindars, &c to decide against them. This I only mention as one of the numberless grievances we should suffer, if subjected to their authority. The country merchants are sensible of the impossibility of carrying on business under such disadvantages, and are therefore obliged to buy the protection of some person of authority in the government (if their own influence is not sufficient) which sets them above the reach of the lower zemindars of the country, protects them from the violence of all, and at the same time gives them a kind of judicial authority, so far as to confine the weavers and picars, when they cannot recover their balances from them otherwise. This being well understood, I imagine was the principal reason for the Company's being at so great an expence in procuring their firmaun and husbul-hookums, which exempt the Company from those inconveniencies, and likewise of the great care that was taken to preserve them in their full force, by the treaties with Serajah Dowla, and Meer Jaffier Cawn.

Before I come to consider the different articles of the treaty, it is necessary to remark, that the Governor's arguing, both in his letters and minutes, in support of this transaction, is on a supposition, that the greatest enormities have been and are committed by the English gomastahs throughout the country, to the great detriment of the Nabob's revenues and government. But that this has not been the case will, I think, plainly appear from the several complaints made against them, being no further supported, than by the assertions of those by whom made, and whose interest it was to make complaint, as some excuse for their non-payment of what was demanded of them; whereas, if there was any foundation for these complaints, it was so much in their power, and so agreeable to the present government, and the President, that they should be proved, that they never could have wanted means to have done it, and likewise, by the numberless oppressions that our gomastahs and people have suffered throughout the country for many months past; for it is not to be conceived, that people treated in the manner they have been, could have it in their power to be guilty of those extravagant violences and enormities, which they are represented to have been by

Mr Vansittart Thus much premised, I shall now consider Mr Vansittart's written security, or obligation to the Nabob, article by article

In the first, Mr Vansittart has given up the right which the Company have by their firmaun, husbul-hookums and subsequent treaties, of granting dustucks except for ship merchandize, laid a tax of nine per cent on all other traffick, and in a manner acknowledged, that the English do carry on their trade by force or violence, extortion, or unfair dealing

I think the Board could never have justified themselves for giving up the Company's privileges in this manner, and of course that Mr Vansittart, unauthorized as he was to enter into any treaty, could have no right to do it; but suppose it otherwise, how was it to be determined, which were, and which were not, ship merchandise? Mr Vansittart indeed, in a subsequent article, has left that to be determined by those whose interest it must be to determine them not be so In the arguments used for the tax of nine per cent on the trade from one part of the country to another, it is throughout insinuated, that this is less than what has been usually paid; and Mr Vansittart says, that on all the trade of this kind, that he has carried on in salt, &c he has paid the country duties, but from my own knowledge, as well as enquiry, I have reason to think, that of the innumerable articles traded in, in this way, only salt and tobacco have paid any; the former of which, by far the most considerable, I believe last year, in a medium, did not pay above three per cent although we submitted to pay the established country duties Mr Vansittart, on being asked in Council last Tuesday, what those articles were that he meant by salt, &c? replied only salt, for that he never traded in any other How ill then is his argument supported by his declaration when explained? On the whole, I believe, we are by this article, instead of trading duty-free, which I think we have an undoubted right to, loaded with a duty more than double what is paid by the Dutch, Armenians, or any people of the country

The acknowledging then in a publick writing, that the English do carry on their trade by force or violence, extortion

or unfair dealing, as I imagine, without any foundation for such assertion, is so hurtful to the reputation of the English in this country, that I look on it in the same light, that I do giving up the privileges of the firmaun

By the second article, contrary to the privileges that the English enjoy by grants and treaties, themselves and gomastahs are subjected to the jurisdiction of the meanest officer that the Nabob employs, without the liberty of an appeal

I find so many objections of the same nature as were made to the last, to be made to this, and every article of this treaty, that I shall only remark on the whole of the remaining articles, that by being debarred the liberty of making salt, we are deprived of a privilege, that every person, Europeans and others in the country, have but ourselves

That the giving up the right of coining in the different mints, is oversetting a privilege granted from Delly

That the throwing the whole trade of Assam and Rangamettee into the hands of one person, is a monopoly most destructive to trade, and more particularly, if what Mr Vansittart advances be just, that the duty on cotton alone in that country brings in a revenue of 40,000 rupees; which, if you suppose at five per cent must be raised on 800,000 rupees worth; which, if thus monopolized, must greatly raise the price of that article, and of course the price of cloth

Upon the whole, I think the written security should be demanded of the Nabob, and destroyed, to prevent in future times, when our affairs may not be in the flourishing situation they are at present in Bengal, in regard to force, a bad use being made of it; for, it is probable, that the government would, in case of having the upper hand in the country, make use of it to invalidate the privileges the English enjoy by their firmaun, husbul-hookums, and treaties

In answer to question the 1st, I say, Yes

To question the 2d, No

To question the 3d, Yes

To question the 4th. That certificates should be given after the duties are paid

To question the 5th, Not at all

In answer to question the 6th, I say, as formerly, agreeable to the firmaun, but that a plan be laid down by the Board, to prevent any injuries being done by the English gomastahs, and for punishing them that are guilty, which I think may be well done by a committee appointed for that purpose, who should receive all complaints and appeals from subordinates, or the agents residing, with authority of the Board, in those quarters, and examine them, and as it appears that great part, if not the whole, of the troubles that have happened to the English, and their gomastahs of late, are owing to the orders sent over the country by the Nabob, I think it highly necessary, that we have always a senior servant, resident with the Nabob, who should be acquainted with all orders regarding the English. This I think we have a right to demand, and is what we should insist on, as it will in future prevent our so long being ignorant of the source of our troubles, as we have lately been

Mr Johnstone thinks, the President's letter to the Nabob, containing the new regulations he intended to establish, is from its abject * stile, as well as concessions, highly dishonorable to us, and such as could not fail of running our trade and influence, and reducing us lower than ever the English were yet at any period in this country, that the President without authority, or any urgent necessity that yet appears, or can be conceived, resigned to the Nabob those rights and privileges we are entitled to by the firmaun, and subsequent treaties, and have hitherto enjoyed by virtue of them. 1st, By distinguishing the Company's trade from that of their servants, and agreeing to an exorbitant duty of nine per cent on all articles of the inland trade, without distinction or examination of what had usually been paid on any of those articles at the different subordinates, establishing the rule upon that paid by the

* The stile of this letter is the same always used in addresses to the Nabob

gentlemen of Luckypoor *, though expressly mentioned by them to be more than what was paid at Dacca, and known to be above double the duty paid heretofore at Hoogly, and though salt was the only article in his own private inland trade, that the President remembers to have ever paid any † duty on before this time 2dly, In subjecting the English and their gomastahs under the authority of the Moors courts of judicature, contrary to the privileges we have ever enjoyed, of protecting those employed under us, and being ourselves the judges of their actions, the many ill consequences of which, and the entire loss of that credit and pre-eminence we have ever maintained, is evident to every body, of which we have had ample proof, since the circulation of the regulations in every quarter, by the abuse of the power so eagerly put into their hands, by the stoppage of our trade, and attacks openly made on those entitled to our protection 3dly, By prohibiting at once, without reason, or ever consulting the Board, the Company's servants at the factories of Luckypoor, Islamabad, &c from making ‡ salt-works themselves, which is a liberty not denied to any native of the country, and by which their fortunes have been, and are endangered, as no time was allowed for collecting in the money they had laid out, and the balances due could only be recovered, by receiving the salt from the molungees they had employed The article ordering without any limitation, that all purchases of lands, made by any of the servants of our factories, should be resigned, was, I think unjust and dishonorable to us; as if our servants, where they paid the due demands to the government, were not entitled to our protection

The article directing, that the chiefs and servants of the factories, are not to hinder the weavers and brokers of the

* It has been shewn already in page 210, that the duty paid at Luckypoor upon salt was fifteen per cent and on bettle-nut ten; whereas the regulations proposed by me fixed it at nine per cent

† I said it was the only article of inland trade I recollected to have ever dealt in.

‡ This was so far from being without reason, that the Board have since agreed to establish that very limitation which I had proposed, finding that the trade could not be so carried on without injuring the rights of others

government, has been considered as giving full power to the Nabob's officers over those people, and may turn to the ruin of the Company's investment, as appears by the proceedings of Mahomed Allee at the Dacca aurungs

The foregoing the privilege we had of coming in the mints of Patna and Dacca, while no provision was made for the currency of our siccas at those places without discount, was yielding up what the Company could demand of right

Ordering all purchases at Gwalparah, to be made entirely through the Nabob's droga, was an infringement of our rights of a free trade in that quarter, and against the treaty with Jaffier Allee Cawn, by which we are free from being even obliged to buy the intervention of delolls

The minute of the Board the 17th of January, on the proceedings of the President, therefore to me appears well grounded, and I think the treaty ought to be recovered from the Nabob and destroyed, that so bad a precedent may never be established and used against us

Next, in regard to the questions proposed, I think,

First, That by virtue of the firmaun, husbul-hookums, and the treaties with Serajah Dowla and Meer Jaffier Allee Cawn, the Company, and their servants, have a right, without any restriction or limitations, to trade in and grant dustucks for every article, whether for foreign or inland trade. Our having been restricted by the power of the subahs before the revolution, from the full enjoyments of these rights, can never be urged as a good argument to invalidate them, when we became powerful enough to assert them. They were established as fully and clearly as could be expressed in the publick treaties then concluded, and in sunnuds and dustucks afterwards in consequence by Serajah Dowla and Jaffier Allee Cawn, for the uninterrupted currency of our trade, thro' the indisputable authority of the dustuck, wherever it was granted. And these sunnuds were not merely for such quarters, where the Company had factories and aurungs, but comprehended also all the distant frontier provinces, where they had not the least trade of any kind, as Rungpoor, Poorneea,

Rangamettee, Dinagepoor, Silhet, &c and Jaffier Allee Cawn yet agrees, that he understood the treaty in this sense, that wherever a Company's dustuck was granted, no duty could ever be demanded *. If custom, and what privileges we enjoyed under the Moors government before the revolution, are to be established, as what only we have a right to trade in now, by virtue of our grants, Firmaun, &c there is scarce an article of the gruff trade, whether for export or consumption in Calcutta, and other places in the kingdom, but we must give up; for it is known, we could not professedly in our own names trade in these articles, tho' willing to pay the duties and arbitrary extortions required on such occasions. The various other articles of gruff are not more particularized, or excepted in any treaty or Firmaun, &c than the two articles of salt and tobacco; and have been ever since the treaty with Serajah Dowla carried on with the Company's dustuck. That we have acquiesced in paying duty on the single article of salt, and passing it with the shahbundar's rowana at Calcutta, Dacca, and Luckypoor, should not now, I think, weigh with us to continue it, when our rights are called in question, and we are bound to support them in their full extent. Above all, as this article is the produce of the Company's own lands at the Calcutta pergunahs, Chittagong, Midnapoor, Jallasore, and Burdwan; and as it makes a considerable branch of their revenue, it ought as much as possible to be protected and encouraged, instead of being oppressed with new taxes, exceeding above double what it has yet paid. As for the article of tobacco, no dustuck from the government has ever been taken, and the duty paid on it has never been demanded, till after its arrival at Dacca; and at Cossimbuzar the Company's dustucks have always been granted, and never disputed for this article.

Second, I think, therefore, that the government have no

* That Meer Jaffier, when consulted on any point of debate between us and his successor, should join in such an opinion, as was most likely to inflame and encrease our disputes, was very natural, but what was his real opinion on this subject, when he was again placed in the government, is plain, from the demand which he has since made, that we should exclude ourselves from the same trade.

right to demand that, or any other duties where the dustuck is granted ; and that it should be now granted on salt and tobacco, as it has been hitherto for beetle-nut, rice, ghee, opium, sugar, &c articles consumed in the country as well as exported

Third, Those European inhabitants, who by the Company's directions are not entitled to dustucks, should not be freed from paying the duties ; yet when these are discharged, for the ease of trade, I think a passport, or certificate from the President, might accompany the rowana of the buxbunder

Fourth, The English gomastahs, in any part of the three provinces, should be subjected in no manner to the jurisdiction of the country government They are not, in my opinion, more than their principals to be accountable to them. I believe they never were and no step could possible have been taken more surely to ruin our trade, influence and respect in the country, than acknowledging them our absolute masters and judges. The Company have ever protected their gomastahs, and those of their servants. While we have subordinate factories, and a fixed government here, justice may always be had when complaints are well grounded, and can be proved by the government's dependents, nor need we be startled with those laid before us, but from the subject, exaggeration and groundlessness of most of them, conceive what a state of wretched dependence we should fall into, were we liable to be called upon for every such like absurd complaint, preferred to the country government In those more distant quarters, where the Company have no factories, the trade is generally managed by gentlemen, who have had the approbation of the Board, to go up the country, and given security for their good behavior ; and they may be presumed more to be depended on, for determining equitably any disputes about points of trade (which is all they should, or need, have any connection with) than any zemindarree court An appeal might nevertheless always lie from them to the nearest subordinate ; and when such persons are publicly known to have the permission and authority of the Board, to whom they are accountable, they may without any new regulation

or innovation, carry on their trade to the satisfaction of the people, and without any detriment to, or interfering with, the collection of the revenues

Mr. Hastings's Opinion

My name already appearing to the letter proposing the regulations, which form the substance of the President's letter to the Nabob, it will hardly be expected of me to join in the harsh and unmerited censure, past upon them by the members which then formed the Board I at that time regarded these regulations, not as a concession of any new rights to the Nabob, but as a confirmation of those which he held by the treaties already in force, nor has any thing appeared since to make me change that opinion

My sentiments upon the extent of our duty, and the privilege of our gomastahs, I shall give fully hereafter, observing only in this place, that in settling the duties on the inland trade at nine per cent the Governor only fixed the rate, which was before variably levied with continual disputes, to the great detriment of the fair trader, and in this he acted in strict conformity to the plain and literal instructions of the Board, whatever sense they were intended to convey

The President has so fully explained the motives and reasons for this transaction, that it is needless for me to take up the time of the Board with a repetition of them Upon the whole, I declare it as my opinion, that the regulations in question were calculated in the best manner to put our trade upon a proper footing, to distinguish our rights from those of the Nabob, to preserve the English name from reproach, and the affairs of the Company from suffering by continual disputes and contentions, in which they had no concern

To understand the meaning of any treaty, where the expressions are doubtful or defective, recourse should be had to the circumstance of the parties concerned at the time in which they were made Regarding the Firman in this light, we shall make no scruple to pronounce, that the Company could not, when they obtained that grant from the court of Dely,

understand it to extend beyond their own trade, or include privileges, of which they could not make any use, and which (I may add) they never dreamt of. The commerce in imports and exports ever bounded (as of necessity it must) their concerns in this country. For the encouragement of a trade so beneficial to the country and its revenues, the court, at and able ministers, indulged the Company with the freedom, that in its most flourishing state, and supported by wife which they petitioned for, from duties. Then the trade, in such commodities as were produced and sold in the country, was entirely confined to the natives. They were either farmed out, where they were considerable enough to make an article in the publick revenues, or circulated through the province by the poorer sort of people, to whom, whilst they afforded a subsistence, they at the same time added to the income of the state, by the duties gathered upon them. Let us suppose, the Company's agents had petitioned for the liberty of trading in these articles, without paying duties. Can it be conceived, that the government could have been so blind to its own interests, as to have given a privilege to strangers, which would have enabled them to monopolize the whole trade of the country, to impoverish the natural subjects, and exhaust the country of its wealth, without making any adequate return for it? The privileges therefore claimed by the Company, and allowed by the government, were originally designed by both, for such a trade only as was carried on by the former, that is, in goods brought into the country, or purchased in it for exportation. In effect, it was ever limited to that; nor can it be proved, that the dustuck was ever allowed to pass for any other, from the first attainment of this grant, till the death of Serajah Dowla. The Company, in their standing orders before that time, prohibit their servants from meddling with what we have now termed the inland trade, and name it illicit; nor can any difference of power since, convey to use a right from former treaties, which we confessedly wanted before. Tho', since the restoration of the Company's privileges, we have by degrees dealt in the inland trade, yet it was always with a tacit acknowledgement of the invalidity of our dustuck for that trade, having generally paid the government a duty thereon;

and where it was attempted without it, it has been constantly the subject of complaints and opposition on the part of the Nabob's officers

I am well aware of one objection, which I have frequently heard repeated in the course of the debates upon this subject, and which it may be proper in this place to reply to, I mean, that we should not be too rigorous in calling in question our own privileges, but where the sense of a treaty is not sufficiently clear, interpret it in such manner, as may tend to our own advantage, leaving it to others to dispute it; and that therefore, as the Firmaun gives us a general right to trade duty-free, without mentioning any exceptions, we should insist on a free trade in every thing, without exception Without examining this principle, I shall only say, that if it be just at all, it can only be so, where the points contested for are of real importance; but where they are either trivial in themselves, or have a pernicious tendency, it must be an absurdity to insist upon them

I must now beg leave, for the first time, to distinguish between the interests of the Company, and that of individuals, which I am afraid have been too much confounded in these debates. That the Company will not suffer by a restriction of the dustuck to the foreign merchandize is manifest; since with that restriction it will answer every purpose for which they want it Besides, the odium, which a monopoly, so injurious to the natural rights of the country merchants, must unavoidably cast upon the English name; and the perpetual jealousies, which from experience we know it to be attended with, prove, that this privilege is, in effect, highly prejudicial to the real interest, as well as honour, of the Company. As they have been pleased to permit us to share with them the benefit of the dustuck, we may surely content ourselves with the enjoyment of that privilege, within the same bounds to which they have limited themselves. To attempt to extend it beyond that, and for the sake of our own private advantages, to make this a point of contest with the power in alliance with the Company, is both a violation of justice, and a breach of the duty which we owe to our employers

My opinion then upon the three first questions before us, is,

First, That we can claim no right from Firmaun (nor of course the subsequent treaties, which were but intended as copies of that, in the articles regarding our commerce) to an exemption from duties on any but foreign trade, that is, in goods imported or carried out of the country

Second, That duties ought to be paid to the country government on salt, beetle-nut, and other articles which are produced and sold in the country And,

Third, That of course the dustuck ought not to be given for these articles, but that they pass with a rowana, or certificate, from the officer of the customs, in the same manner with the goods belonging to other merchants

The fourth article I deem altogether unnecessary, whether we trade in salt with the Company's dustuck, or as other merchants without one; the dustuck being a sufficient distinction in the first case, and the latter requiring none.

My opinion upon the fifth question is, that the English gomastahs, in every part of the three provinces, whether in the districts of the Nabob, or the Company, shall be subject to the authority of the magistrate; but with this distinction to be observed between private gomastahs, and those of the Company; that the former shall be equally accountable to the magistrate for any misdemeanor, with any one of the Nabob's subjects that shall, at any time, reside in the territory of the Company; nor enjoy any advantages above other merchants, but such only as the Firmaun gives them, viz that their goods shall pass duty-free, wherever they have the protection of the dustuck; the magistrates shall not oppose, but assist them in the recovery of their just debts, nor suffer, any one to injure or oppress them But as the Company's gomastahs have a weightier charge, and are none of the situated, at such a distance from the Company's factories, but that complaints against them may be both easily heard and speedily redressed, it should be only permitted to the magistrate to oppose them in the actual commission of any violence, or the assumption of any rights not belonging to them: but in any disputes with their immediate dependents, such as the weavers, pykars, or

delolls, in their service, he shall not interfere, otherwise than by assisting them in carrying their complaints to the Presidency, or the factories to which the gomastah belongs, for redress. But the gomastah shall not therefore protect his own dependents from any lawful claims of the government, nor their persons from justice in any criminal cases

This to me appears the only equitable method for preventing any misbehavior in our people, or disputes between them and the Nabob's. If the magistrate at any time should abuse his authority, the Nabob should be required, upon proof, to dismiss him from his office, or inflict any other punishment, suitable to the degree of the offence. If this justice, so essential to the Nabob's own interest, and the tranquility of the country, be refused, or from the distance of his residence, cannot be timely obtained, we have always the means in our own power, when such extraordinary occasions may demand it, to vindicate our rights, and call the infringers of them to justice.

From the peculiarity of the times, and a natural propensity in the weaker part of mankind, to run from one extreme to another, it has unfortunately happened, that the power suddenly placed in the hands of the Nabob's officers, for the protection of his people, has been so extravagantly abused, as to give occasion to a persuasion in many, that no power can with safety be trusted in their hands. As I have formerly lived amongst the country people in a very inferior station*, and at a time when we were subject to the most slavish dependence on the government, and have met with the greatest indulgence, and even respect, from the zemindars and officers of the government, I can, with the greater confidence, deny the justice of this opinion, and add further from repeated experience, that if our people, instead of erecting themselves into lords and oppressors of the country, confine themselves to an honest and fair trade, and submit themselves to the lawful authority of the government, they will be every where courted and respected. The English name, instead of becoming a reproach, will be universally revered, the country will reap a

* A junior servant of the Company at the silk aurungs

benefit from our commerce ; and the power of the English, which is now made a bugbear, to frighten the poor inhabitants into a submission to injury and oppression, will be regarded by them as their greatest blessing and protection

It is as impossible for any state to submit with a divided power as with none Our servants are as likely at least to make an ill use of their power as the Nabob's are, but are not so easily to be restrained In whose hands, therefore, can it be so properly lodged, as in those of the government to whom it belongs ? To take from them that right (a right which we should never suffer to be contested in our own districts) will be to introduce oppression, rapine, and anarchy into the country, which we are engaged to protect and whatever temporary advantages individuals may gain from such a scene of troubles, the affairs of the Company must infallibly suffer by it, if not be involved in one common ruin with the country That this consequence may not appear too forcibly drawn, permit me to add ; it has been observed, that the wisest and most permanent states have ever left to conquered nations the exercise of their own laws, and by that means insured their subjection The power which we have acquired in these provinces, has reduced them to a condition as nearly resembling a conquest, as it is for our interest to wish it, but if we take to ungenerous, as well as impolitic an advantage of their weakness, as to put it into the power of every banyan, who calls himself an English servant, to tyrannize over the inhabitants without controul ; this is not only to deprive them of their own laws, but to refuse them even the benefit of any

Mr Cartier gives it as his opinion, that the President's letter to the Nabob was in every respect improper, and naturally tended, from the concessions contained therein, to bring upon the English name a discredit and real disgrace The late violences, as well as insolences committed by the natives, are a certain argument of its impropriety, and which were clearly foreseen the very instant the said letter was made publick ; that the hope given them of being constituted judges and arbitrators, of all disputes that might happen in the intercourse of our business, gave cause to the many inconveniences

and tyranny that we have lately suffered, and do suffer The subjecting us to such a controul, would have effectually destroyed our influence and reputation in the country, and would unavoidably have led us, from the manifold oppressions we should have fell under by such regulations taking place, to the necessity of taking up arms for the redress of those grievances, which every member of the colony must have felt by so arbitrary a jurisdiction As it is, the evil is spread wide, and has acquired such strength, that no other methods I doubt, but forcible ones, will be able to remove it He cannot think the members of the Board gave, or intended giving a direct consent to the President's entering into a treaty with the Nabob, on points so very interesting to our privileges ; nor did they imagine such a step was any ways necessary ; but what he thinks most condemnable is, that the said regulations, previous to the approbation or disapprobation of the Board, were made known to the Nabob, and the same ordered by him to his different officers to be carried into execution, before such agreement could have the concurrence of the several members of the Council He is likewise of opinion, that the said regulations, and the said letter to the Nabob, were in no respect agreeable to the tenor and spirit of our Firmaun, and the subsequent treaties entered into with the Nabobs Serajah Dowla and Meer Jaffier, but would have been the means of confining our privileges into much narrower bonds, than our grants and treaties are intended to restrain us in

First, On the extent and true meaning of the Firmaun, and all subsequent treaties.

Mr. Carter thinks, that by the privileges invested in us by our Firmaun, husbul-hookums, and our late treaties, our trade is under no limitation whatever, either in foreign or inland commodities , that the want formerly of power to assert the immunities of the Firmaun, cannot, as he imagines, be construed to an absolute and entire deprivation of them. This reason now no longer existing, we ought to assert our privileges to their fullest intent and latitude, nor submit to the capricious conduct and encroaching behavior of the country government.

Secondly, On the trade in salt and tobacco, he can have no objection to the payment of an equitable duty, more particularly as we have hitherto both at the Presidency, and the factories of Dacca and Luckypoor, submitted to pay on one or both of these articles ; but let that be fixed at a medium of what has been paid at the different settlements ; and furthermore be considered as a concession made the Nabob, and not claimed as a right, paid as a thing, which custom has established, and not to be confirmed by any treaty

Thirdly, If it is allowed, that the trade in salt and tobacco, is in every respect agreeable to our Firmaun privileges, he sees no reason, why a dustuck should not be granted for those articles, as well as for all others , tho', at the same time, as a duty may probably be laid on those two articles, they should be accompanied by the buxbundar, or the shahbundar's receipt, to ascertain, that full duties have been paid, and that nothing further is to be demanded on any account

Fourthly, As certificates have been granted indiscriminately to the servants of the Company, as well as to the inhabitants of Calcutta, he thinks the same should be continued to the latter, on their application to the President, on producing the buxbundar's receipt for duties paid , tho', at the same time, the duty stipulated and agreed upon, to be levied on these branches of trade, the property of Company's servants, should serve as no regulation for what may be demanded from them

Fifthly, The nature of the government in every part of the Indostan, being in all respects oppressive and venal, and the decision of all causes, depending more on the ability of the parties engaged in bribing their judges, than the legality of them ; it can scarcely be thought even equitable, that the servants and gomastahs in our employ, should, on any complaint or misdemeanor, be subject to their determination It is likewise a known truth, that in every dispute concerning property and money-matters, a fourth part is appropriated for the service of the government and officers This probably might not be insisted upon from us, though its not being so would, in all likelihood, be rather prejudicial than the contrary, as the

other party might be subject to the established custom of the country, which if so, it must appear to every one what a superior influence would be acquired on that side. But even independent of this custom, and should it not be expected or demanded from either party, yet the integrity of our proposed judges is so little allowed of, that it would be the highest absurdity to expect it, or even to submit to their having the least power or authority over our people. Should this be ever permitted, it will not be presumption to declare, that we may then begin to date the commencement of our declining influence in the country, and it would most certainly be productive of continual broils, should we have spirit sufficient remaining, to resent the injustice and indignities we must in such a situation be exposed to

Sixthly, Tho' he thinks it improper to allow the officers of the government any kind of controul over our gomastahs, yet he is far from wishing their actions should be in any respect uncontrollable. Let the person injured, if not in our employ, lay his complaint before the magistrate of the district he is in, to be by him forwarded with the complainant to the President, or Chief and Council of the different factories, as may be most near the district which the complaint comes from ; when the gomastah so complained against shall be ordered down to justify himself, as to the accusation lodged against him. Should the complaints arise in parts distant from either the Presidency or the factories, he thinks a confidence might be reported in the gentlemen employed as our agents in those parts, as they are men of character, and their appointments have been approved by the members of the Board ; and each depended upon to settle the complaints brought against their own gomastahs. Should this not be approved, he can only propose the method pointed out as to the determination of those disputes, that may happen in the neighborhood of the different settlements, or by an aumeen properly authorized to make an enquiry into them. It is necessary we should become our own judges in all disputes, in which we may possibly be concerned. Most true it is, it has not the most equitable appearance, but every gentleman must be convinced, how highly essen-

tial such a privilege is, for the supporting our influence, and avoiding the chicanery and perplexities of a Moorish Court

And he cannot help thinking, but a power so lodged in our hands, is liable to less abuses, and will be exercised with the strictest impartiality, notwithstanding we may in some respects be interested in the decision of the cause.

Mr Billers's Opinion

The first part of the President's letter to the Nabob contains the agreement for our paying a duty of nine per cent on all articles for inland trade The Firmaun, and subsequent treaties, are certainly the only guides, which can enable us to form a proper judgment on this subject, and having given the greatest attention to them, when read at the Board last Council-day, I think they give us an undoubted right to trade duty-free in all commodities whatever, either for foreign or inland trade, upon the consideration of our paying annually the peshcush therein stipulated in lieu thereof These being my sentiments of the meaning of the Firmaun, &c it follows of course, that I must disapprove of the President's entering into an agreement, which so evidently deprives us of one of the greatest advantages we have gained thereby, and particularly of his having done it on the bare supposition, that it would be approved by the other members of the Board However, as the Nabob's revenues would suffer, were we to carry on our commerce of every kind without paying any duties, I think it would be proper, that some reasonable consideration should be made him for the privilege of the inland trade, but that he should at the same time be made sensible, that he is by no means entitled thereto, and that it is entirely a mark of favour.

With regard to the regulations the President has laid down for the determination of all disputes, which may happen between our agents and gomastahs and the country inhabitants, it is well known, that these people cannot confine themselves within the limits of the authority with which they are invested The many daring insolences and oppressions, which have been committed by the Nabob's officers, ever since his orders for those regulations were first issued, are evident proofs

of the truth of this observation, and sufficiently point out the impropriety of them, without the use of further argument Upon the whole, I think the President might be desired to recall this letter, lest by falling into the hands of any of the Nabob's successors, it might hereafter be used by them as a plea for the same purpose for which it was now designed.

I have already declared my opinion, of the first quere proposed, in giving my sentiments on that part of the President's letter, which relates to the nine per cent duty With regard to the second and third, I think the Company's dustuck should be always granted equally for the inland as well as the foreign trade, when it has been settled whether we shall pay any, and what duty, as it will effectually cut off all subject of dispute, by putting it out of the power of the officers to make any objections to the passage of the goods, and that none but Company's servants should have the President's passport for the salt, which may have paid the government's duties at Hoogly

As to any disputes which may happen between our gomas-tahs or agents, and the people of the country, I think the only scheme for the determination of them, will be to oblige the person, who may think himself aggrieved, to apply for redress to the nearest factory, whatever distance it may be from the place where the dispute happened, and if he is not content with their decision, he may appeal to the Governor and Council

Mr. Batson thinks the President's letter to the Nabob detrimental to the interest of the Company, and the nation in general, because, by a forced and groundless explanation, it invalidates the privileges granted by the King's Firmaun, and sundry husbul-hookums, and confirmed by the treaties with Serajah Dowla and Meer Jaffier Such an explanation coming from the Chief of the English, may give great advantage to Nabobs, and to other European nations, in any future negotiation, which we may happen to have with them By this letter also, the advantage of coming in the mints of Dacca and Patna is given up, and, at the same time, the Calcutta mint rendered of little or no service, for by our being prohibited from using any authority over the shroffs, the currency

of rupees, coined at Calcutta, will be stopped in most parts of the country, and this is actually the case at present, at Cossimbuzar and Moorshedabad. He was much surprised to see these advantages, which were so strenuously contended for many years together, given up without any public consideration. He thinks also, the said letter tends to destroy the national influence in this country, and to bring us into contempt, because the form of address, and several expressions are unbecomingly submissive and condescending; but chiefly because it submits the English agents, not excepting the Company's factories, to the jurisdiction of the Nabob's officers, which would immediately put a stop to great part of the private trade, and would furnish the Nabob with continual pretences for subjecting the Company to the same oppressions, which they underwent before the rupture with Serajah Dowla, whenever he should think himself in a condition to proceed to such lengths, he therefore thinks we should insist on the Nabob's sending back the said original letter.

In answer to question the first.

He thinks by the Firmaun, husbul-hookums, and subsequent treaties, the Company, and under them their servants, have a clear right to trade in every article, whether for foreign or inland trade, which right it is our duty to preserve entire and undisputed, and that the arguments used by the gentlemen, on the other side the question, to prove the contrary, do really prove no more, than that former Nabobs had the power and means of hindering us from enjoying the King's grant in its full extent.

In answer to question the second

He thinks we should acquiesce in paying the same duties on salt and tobacco, that have been paid since Meer Jaffier's coming to the subahship, but that the same should not be agreed to by any public deed or writing; and here he thinks proper to remark, that the salt trade, being formerly farmed by Coja Wazeed for an inconsiderable sum, could be no great advantage to the Nabob's revenue; and by means of the monopoly he allowed the makers and dealers, at the first hand, a very small price from twenty-five to thirty rupees per hundred maunds, but since the English have had a part of this trade,

the price of salt has risen to seventy and eighty rupees per hundred maunds at the aurungs, from hence any person, acquainted with the country, must see, that from the English trading in this article, the Nabob has received benefit, not suffered loss, his complaints on this head therefore proceed not from any real grievance

In answer to question the third and fourth

He thinks dustucks should be allowed to the Company's servants, in future for such articles, but not to others

In answer to question the fifth

He thinks the English agents should not be subjected to the authority of the country government

In answer to question the sixth

He thinks the business may be carried on as it has been before, without any ill consequences, however, as a regulation concerning disputes is required, he thinks the officers of the government may enquire into such matters, and send reports of them to the nearest English factory, or to the Presidency, as they may chuse.

Major Carnac's Opinion

At the consultation of the 17th of January, major Carnac concurred in opinion with the whole of the gentlemen then at the Board, on the regulations established by the President and Mr Hastings, and his reasons for so doing were first, that he deems highly dishonorable our being thereby subjected to the Moorish jurisdiction, as this is acknowledging a dependency on the country government, the deliverance from which he had ever regarded as the greatest happiness resulting from our first revolution, nor can any but iniquitous decisions be expected from courts of such notorious partiality Secondly, Major Carnac deems dishonorable, as also extremely prejudicial to our trade, the agreeing to the granting a duty upon all articles of inland trade, without distinction, none of which were ever before subjected to duties since the establishment of Meer Jaffier, except salt and tobacco, and these must have been through condescension on our part, as our having an

universal freedom of trade is so particularly specified, both by our Firmaun and treaties, as not to leave the least room for cavilling Major Carnac, thirdly, deems it a dishonorable concession (and the gentlemen at Patna have shewn it will be detrimental to the Company) the yielding up the coinage in the mint at Patna, to which he believes we are entitled from our Firmaun, but exclusive thereof we had a very good claim, from having constantly enjoyed that privilege during the time of the preceding Nabob The major, in consequence, thinks the letter from the President to the Nabob, containing the said regulations, should be withdrawn Thus much being premised, answers on the part of major Carnac the first and fifth questions

With respect to the second and third questions, major Carnac is of opinion, that whatever rights we may have from our Firmauns, and our different treaties, should be insisted on, and therefore, that the Company's dustuck should be granted for all commodities without exception, and that no duties whatever shall be paid to the Nabob, but in lieu thereof a duty be levied upon dustucks for the benefit of the Company However, should the Board think this would occasion too great a diminution of the Nabob's revenue, he hopes they will not consent to any other duties, but the continuance of those upon salt and tobacco, the former at the Hoogly rate, and the other according as has been paid at Dacca, and that in such case, it will be clearly explained to the Nabob, that it is a pure indulgence from us, and which we may retract at pleasure, the Company's dustucks to be nevertheless equally given for salt and tobacco, as for all other articles of trade.

If it be determined to make a compliment to the Nabob of a duty upon salt, the other gentlemen of the Board are the best judges, how far the privilege of trading therein ought to be extended, and whether it should be confined to the Company's servants or not Major Carnac begs leave to wave giving any answer to the fourth question, not being sufficiently master of the subject

That the black people in our employ are guilty of great irregularities, and commit many abuses under the sanction of our authority, has been a frequent subject of complaint, and it certainly behoves us to seek every possible remedy thereto,

except, such an one as has been proposed, which is worse than the disease. There can be no difficulty, at the places which are in the neighborhood of any of our factories, the chiefs and council whereof should be empowered to enquire into the conduct of the English gomastahs, and we are not to doubt, that the decisions will be fair and equitable. In the places at a distance from our factories, such as Rungpoor, Gwalpara, &c there are generally some English gentlemen of character resident, and these, in cases of complaints, should be directed by the Board to take information upon the spot, and to spare no cost or pains to get at the truth, which should be transmitted either to the nearest factory, or to Calcutta, and upon conviction of any gomastah of misbehavior, the most exemplary punishment should be inflicted, in order to deter others from the like practices.

Mr Amyatt's Opinion

Mr. Vansittart, in his minute of the first of February, complains of the harsh and indecent opinion of the Board on the 17th of January, against his treaty entered into with the Nabob, and that his negotiation therein did not merit such treatment from us. We were unanimous on the regulations being detrimental and dishonorable, which every article contained therein, I think clearly denounced. The government formerly must have understood, our Firmaun gave us a full and extensive trade, in every thing without distinction, and as far as our gentlemen were in capacity to carry on the inland trade, they practised it for many years. But particular articles being farmed out by the government to particular persons, our trading there in gave umbrage; and governor Stackhouse, I think, was obliged to give a muchulca, that the English would desist from further dealings in salt, silk, and beetle-nut. This was at a time they could not maintain, by force, the privilege of the Delly grants, so through necessity complied with. An order, at this time, would have had the same effect, but they obliged the then Governor to invalidate the Firmaun, by giving this muchulca, which shewed they thought our right good, and by compulsion, got this paper to upset our future pretensions, and has been ever since the argument against them, therefore detrimental and dishonorable. Mr Vansittart's

renewing this muchulca, by adding an additional duty to what we have already paid through a condescension, is doubtless detrimental, the subjecting us to the Moorish laws, and which, to our honor be it known, in the worst of times, we never were, but now not even an appeal to the Nabob, or the Council, is mentioned, this doubtless is both detrimental and dishonorable. How prejudicial, partial, and unjust the nature of their courts, customs, and laws are, is so well known to you all, gentlemen, it is needless for me to take up your time, in giving my sentiments in full thereon. The mentioning that our servants, gomastahs, &c shall not carry on trade by oppressions, &c are dishonorable terms to be inserted in a public treaty. Surely the English justice and honor, was sufficient for the government to be satisfied, that we should soverely chastise any one of them, who dared to prostitute our name by any illicit action, without making it an article for them to do it. Many complaints have appeared, but none been proved, and I flatter myself none will of any consequence. The Nabob's orders in circulating Mr Vansittart's treaty are dishonorable to us, and in a manner an act of hostility, bidding us open defiance.

The foregoing, were my reasons for concurring with the rest of the Board, on the 17th of January, in censuring the Governor's proceedings, and I am also to remind you, that we thought he had also been guilty of a breach of our privileges, in acting without our consent, and I still think so, for I solemnly declare, I never suspected he could desire such an independent power on so material and national a concern, or, I imagine, therest of the gentlemen would have been more explicit and peremptory in their letters to him. Is it consistent with reason, any Council should give such powers?

Doubtless Mr Vansittart will ask, what regulations we wanted to have settled with the Nabob? Which, we hoped, from his influence with the Nabob (for he seems to know no one else) would be such, as tended to our advantage, and not to his prejudice, for if trade went freely on, we would readily acquiesce in paying the duties as had been hitherto collected, but the removal of several vexations we had lately labored under, was the point we wanted to see happily effected, and

our goods, when certified to be English property, not to meet with any impediment.

I am now come to the first question

The Nabob and Mr Vansittart seem to think, and assert, we have not a liberty to an unrestrained trade We have, gentlemen, carefully perused, all our Firmauns, treaties, &c and I think it clearly appears to me we have Therefore, as the Nabob wants to invalidate those grants, we ought to have them properly explained to him, and insist, on our parts, to the utmost of the Company's prerogative, and demand the treaty back, and destroy it

To the second, I am to say, since the Nabob has wanted to impose on us a breach of our liberties, we should not pay any duty on any thing, but support our rights The Company may want to trade in these articles, when we consider their vast tract of lands, and production thereof, especially salt, on which article they raise a very large duty themselves

To the third and fourth questions.

According to the above plan, dustucks cannot be granted to any but Company's servants, unless it be for such goods produced upon the Company's lands, and paid their duties, but certificates should to such as have paid the Nabob's any where, on a proper rowana being shewn to the Governor's, or any Chief's, satisfaction, that the Nabob's customs have been duly discharged.

To the fifth and sixth questions.

The servants and gomastahs of the English should not, on any account, be under the least constraint of the government; but I beg leave to defer saying any thing further on this head for the present (how to regulate the disputes that may happen betwixt them and the country government, and indeed among themselves) till such time as I have heard it properly discussed at the Board, where the mutual advantages of the country, and ourselves, will be impartially considered and deliberated on.

Major Adams does not think the agreement made with the Nabob, as contained in the Governor's letter to him, calculated to answer the end proposed by it, viz to settle things

on such a footing, as may* prevent future disputes with the country government, of whose justice, Mr. Vansittart seems in that treaty to have entertained a much better opinion, than their subsequent conduct shews they deserve

In answer to the first question

Major Adams is of opinion, that by the Firmaun, and subsequent treaties (particularly the second article of that with Serajah Dowla) the English East India Company are entitled to carry on any kind of trade duty-free, and in any part of the three provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa

To the second question

That the above-mentioned Firmaun and treaties, entitle the said Company to carry on their trade free from any duties ; but that to prevent as much as possible any disturbances in the country, such duties as have been collected on any species of trade, since the last revolution, should be continued.

To the third and fourth questions

Major Adams is of opinion, that as the privileges, in the above-mentioned Firmaun, &c were granted to the English East India Company, they, and their representatives here, are the properest judges for what and whom dustucks should be granted, and as he looks upon the above questions to be of a private nature, begs to be excused giving his opinion upon them

To fifth question.

Major Adams thinks, that the experience we have had of the tyrannical and rapacious disposition of the officers of the country government, almost renders this question unnecessary, however, as his opinion is required, with the rest of the gentlemen at the Board, his duty to the public obliges him to declare, that he thinks it should by no means be allowed.

To the sixth and last question

That wherever any considerable trade is carried on (however far distant) a Company's servant should reside, invested with full power to enquire into any disputes, and punish the delinquents, and that where the trade carried on is not of

consequence sufficient to require a resident, upon any complaint against gomastahs, or English factors, the persons complained of should be immediately summoned to the nearest English factory, as well as all the evidences against them, and that the Chief of each factory, with his Council, should be empowered to inflict the severest punishment on such gomastahs or factors, if found guilty, and that no expence should be spared to bring offenders to justice, but should the complaint be found to be false or frivolous, the complainant should pay all the costs and damages.

The President's Opinion

The regulations contained in any letter * to the Nabob, of the 26th of December, are such as appear to me to be conformable to the true intent and meaning of the Firmaun, and subsequent treaties, considered with the Company's orders, relative to the trade of their servants, and particularly the 24th and 29th paragraphs, in one of their general letters of the year 1748 I am aware, that the abuses which some of the Nabob's officers have exercised, upon the appearance of these regulations, will be urged as an objection to them, but this is arguing by consequences, and I answer, that these, or whatever other regulations may be proposed, will sometimes be abused by both parties, especially on their first establishment, and the only remedy for this evil, is to punish all servants of ours, who shall break through rules, and insist on the Nabob's doing the same. Although some men are so licentious as to break through all laws, it is not a reason why laws should be abolished.

But to proceed to the different articles objected to. It is said that the inland trade, that is, the trade in salt and other articles, produced in one part of the country, and sent to another part of the same country for sale and consumption, shall not be carried on with the Company's dustuck, but shall

* The stile of this letter, is the stile which I have always used, and the same I understand, which was used by my predecessors since the troubles. No Persian letter, nor eastern forms of expression, will bear a literal translation. They appear absurd in European languages, although they are natural and customary in the Persian

go with the dustuck of the country government, after paying them a duty of nine per cent The Firmaun says, "that whatever goods and merchandize the gomastahs of the English Company shall bring into any port or place of the province by sea or land, or carry out, shall be free of duty" For my part, I can understand this no otherwise, than that the goods they shall bring in from foreign parts, may be transported to any part of the province, by sea or land, duty-free; and the goods they purchase in any part of the province, may in like manner be carried out This I imagine to be all the Company asked, and it is not to be supposed more was granted By such a trade, the country reaps the benefit of the goods and money imported, but all that is gained by us in trafficking from place to place in the country, in articles of its own produce, is in effect so much lost to the country.

The subsequent treaties confirm the privilege of the Firmaun, and particularly the second article of the treaty with Serajah Dowla declares, that "all goods going to, or coming from, any place by land or water with the Company's dustuck, shall be free" It remains still to be limited, by the Firmaun and the Company's orders, for what occasions the dustucks shall be granted, and I think it behoves us greatly, to take care they are not granted for any purpose beyond the intention of the Firmaun, and to answer those ends the Company had in view, when they put themselves to the expence of applying for it

With respect to the power of our gomastahs, the Firmaun says, "that in every place where they buy or sell, the officers of the government shall assist them in their lawful demands, and every merchant, weaver, or other person, upon whom the English gomastah shall have a just demand, the officers of the government shall oblige to pay it, and suffer no one to oppress the gomastahs And if any servant of the Company being in their debt shall run away, the officers of the government shall take him up, and deliver him to the chief of the factory" The Nabob Jaffier Allee Cawn, in his general sunnud 1757, confirms all the Firmaun privileges, and adds, that "the Company may buy or sell without employing a banyan or broker, and that the officers of the government shall assist them in all their just demands" Nothing here can be said to give our

gomastahs power to decide their own causes, or make use of any force of their own, but they are to apply to the officers of the government, and obtain redress thro' their means

As to the coinage, there is an order, granting the Company permission to coin in the King's mint at Carreemabad, and in case it can be done without loss to the King's revenues, three days in the week are to be set apart for the English Company's bullion but there is no particular indulgence as to the rate of coining, they are to pay the same mint charges as other merchants And this is all the Nabob desired, as I mentioned in my answer to Nobit Roy's complaints, of which answer I gave Mr Ellis a copy Besides, I think this privilege now unnecessary, as we have a mint of our own, in which we may coin the rupees of Dacca and Patna, as we do of Moorshe-dabad

In regard to making to falls, or salt pans, in Sunderbund, I confess, my letter to the Nabob does not fully express what I intended I meant, that we ought not to take away the grounds which other merchants have cleared, nor the workmen which they have hired, as appears by my letters to the chiefs of Chittagong and Luckypoor, which I delivered to the Nabob at the same time As to trading by our gomastahs with the mountaineers, who came with cotton to Rangamettee, if it has been a custom for that article to be farmed out by the country government, and it is from that only the revenue proceeds, I think we have no right to overrule that custom Any innovations to the prejudice of the revenues of the country government, and the exclusion of the country merchants, from that share of the trade which they have long enjoyed, I think should be avoided, as such proceedings must render us universally the objects of jealousy and ill-will

To the proposed questions I therefore say,

First, That I think we have not a right by the Firmaun and subsequent treaties to carry on the inland trade, or the trade from place to place in the country, in commodities produced in the country, but that we have a right to carry on all other trade custom free

Secondly, That I think duties ought to be paid to the country government on salt, beetle-nut, tobacco, and all other

articles of inland trade, upon those conditions, so that it may not hereafter be disputed. I mean, that duties should be paid to the country government upon articles produced in the country, and sent from place to place in the country for consumption there, but when sent to Calcutta for consumption or exportation, they should go with the Company's dustuck, and pay no duties to the country government

In such case the country has its advantage, in the vent given to their manufactures or produce, by the trade of this settlement, and the Company receive the customs, but on the inland trade we pay no duties at all, unless we pay to the country government, and yet that trade will afford duties better than any other

Thirdly and fourthly, I think the Company's dustuck should not be granted for any article of inland trade, but that certificates should be granted to accompany the dustuck of the country government; and that such certificates should be granted equally to Company's servants, and any other licensed English merchants, who have first duly paid the government's duties, and got their dustucks

Fifthly and sixthly, I think the English gomastahs should not be under the controul of the officers of the country government at those aurungs, which are under the charge of any of the subordinate factories; but in case of any complaint against them, the officers of the country government shall apply to the chief of the factory for redress; and in case the gomastah has a dispute with, or demand upon, any of the country people (not the weavers, or other immediate servants of the Company) he shall apply to the officers of the government for redress, and if the officers of the government neglect, or refuse to grant it, the gomastah shall then make his complaint to the chief of the factory, who shall require, and, if necessary, exact, an immediate compliance, giving a full account of the matter to the Board

But at those aurungs, which are not under the management of any of the Company's factories, but only some particulars have their agents or gomastahs there, I think such an authority cannot be trusted in their hands, nor indeed is it possible, as there may be several different gomastahs in one

place, who have all an equal right to authority I think they should apply to the country government for redress on all occasions, and if the officers of the government do not grant them the satisfaction the matter requires, the gomastah may then make his complaint to his principal, and he to the Board, who will insist on the necessary reparation for all unreasonable losses I do not however mean, that in case of complaint against an English gomastah at such place, the officer of the country government shall have authority to seize the gomastah, stop his goods, or interrupt his business, but he shall give him notice of the complaint, and recommend to him to get it settled, and in case the gomastah refuses, or neglects to give such satisfaction, as shall appear to the government's officer to be reasonable, he may then transmit the complaint to the Governor of Calcutta

I see nothing in the Firmaun, or subsequent treaties, which forbids the government's officers from doing themselves justice on such occasions, but yet the nature of the people is such, that it would be dangerous to admit it, of which their present violent proceedings are a sufficient proof

The opinions having been all read at the Board, the sum of the answers to the several questions stands as follow

To the first, *viz Whether the Firmaun granted a right to trade in all articles custom-free?*

In the affirmative,	Ten voices
In the negative, with respect to the inland trade,	Two

To the second, *viz Whether any customs should be paid on some articles?*

In the affirmative,	Seven
In the negative,	Five

To the third, *viz Whether the Company's dustuck should be granted for inland trade?*

In the affirmative,	Nine
In the negative,	Two.
Major Adams, silent	

The fourth question, being altered by the determination of the second, stands thus

As it is determined, that duties shall be allowed on certain articles, whether certificates shall be granted to those who pay that duty, but are not Company's servants ? and it being accordingly put, the sum of the opinions stands as follow.

In the affirmative, Mes

Hay, Cartier, Amy-	Four voices
att and the President,	

In the negative, Mes-

sieurs Watts, Marriott,	
Johnstone, Hastings,	Six
Billers and Batson	

The Majors Carnac and Adams, silent

To the fifth and sixth questions, viz *Whether the English gomastahs should be subject to the controul of the officers of the government ? and how disputes between them should be settled ?* The opinion of all the Board, excepting Mr Hastings, imports, that the English gomastahs shall not be under any actual controul of the officers of the country government, but be restrained by such regulations as may be laid down "

I am persuaded, that my opinion will be thought reasonable by all disinterested persons, and to contain as great privileges of private trade, as the Company ever intended their servants should enjoy, more indeed than was consistent with their repeated orders. However, neither my opinion, nor the Company's orders, could avail against minds, which were heated with the notion, that their honor was at stake, in supporting the party they were engaged in. It was resolved accordingly, that we had a right to trade in salt, beetle-nut, and every other article of inland trade, duty free, and with the Company's dustuck, equally with the foreign trade, yet it appears, as if the Council saw at the very time the injustice of their proceeding, by their admitting, that a something should be paid to the Nabob, in conformity to the usual practice; not that the Nabob had any right to demand it, but merely as an

indulgence which they were willing to allow him. The following are the proceedings relative to the settling of this point

Extract of Consultation of the 1st of March, 1763

“As it is the opinion of the majority of the Board, that a consideration ought to be paid to the Nabob, on certain articles of the inland trade, the members from the subordinates are asked, what duties they have hitherto paid ? and on what articles ?

Mr Cartier says, that, at Dacca, they usually paid,	
On salt, Sicca	Rs 3 8 per 100 mds
On tobacco	0 4 per maund

Mr Billers says, that, at Luckypoor, they usually paid,	
On salt, Dm	Rs 9 14 3 per 100 mds
On tobacco	0 4 0 per maund

Mr Marriott says, that, at Chittagong, and its districts, nothing has been paid * Cossimbuzar, Patna, and Malda, pay nothing

Calcutta † pays nothing, except on salt, about the rate of four and half Sicca rupees per 100 maunds, paid at Hoogly.

The trade, in the article of tobacco, has been carried on from the last mentioned places with a dustuck

These informations being had, the following question is now put to be answered to-morrow.

How much shall in future be paid on salt, or other articles of inland trade, which are carried from one place in the country to another, for sale and consumption ?

Mr Hay desires, that the following question may likewise be put

Whether the salt, and other produce of the Company's lands, are to pay duties to the country government, or not ?

* At these three places, neither salt, beetle-nut, nor tobacco, were purchased for the inland trade

† At Calcutta, no other article of inland trade was purchased excepting salt.

And Mr Watts the following

Whether we have not a right to coin bullion in the mints of Patna and Dacca, and on what terms ?”

The next day, the 2d of March, the opinions were collected as follows

Mr Watts’s Opinion

“The majority of the Board yesterday were of opinion, that by our Firmaun, husbul-hookums, and subsequent treaties, we had a right to trade in any articles produced or bought in the Indostan empire, and that in pursuance of the above privileges no duties ought to be paid, and that dustucks ought to be granted with any articles, either salt, beetle-nut, tobacco, or any other, but as former Nabobs had collected duties on some articles (tho’ contrary to the privileges granted us) they were willing some consideration should be made to the Nabob. For my own part, I am still of the same opinion, that no duties should be paid on any articles, and I shall always esteem it as an opening left for the present Nabob, to make a further infringement on our privileges when opportunity may offer. Nor do I see any reason for this indulgence to be given a man, who has spared no pains to degrade the name of the English, taken every opportunity to insult our flag; has almost totally stopt our business for near six months past, and insulted this Board, by attempting to enforce a treaty, executed by the Governor only, and that by threats and arms.

His letter to Mahomed Allee, collector at Dacca, is a sufficient proof of the first, and Mahomed Allee’s letter to the Sickdar of Sundeep, could not be written but by his order

However, as the majority of the Board are for making some allowance, I think two and a half per cent on the rowana, on salt only, is full sufficient, but as tobacco has only paid duties in some parts, and dustucks been granted with it from others, I think that we ought not to pay any duties on it

The salt produced on the Company’s lands ought not to pay duties

The right to coin bullion in the mints of this empire is fully confirmed by an express * husbul-hookum, No 21, that two and a quarter per cent is what Juggutseet paid to the government, and much about what the Dutch pay, therefore, I think we ought to have the privilege of coining all the Company's monies, in any of the mints of the three provinces, at two and a quarter per cent which is more than sufficient to defray the charges of coinage

Mr Marriott's Opinion

Mr Marriott is of opinion, that in consequence of the government's collecting a duty on salt, and which we have for the most part acquiesced in, a duty should be paid the government, of two and a half per cent on the rowana price, as it appears all the rowanas run at that rate, but as he looks upon it as an infringement of the Firmaun privilege, the Nabob ought to be informed it is a concession on our part; that this duty of two and a half per cent should be paid at one place, and no other demands made on any occasion, or boats stopped with salt on any pretence, having the droga's receipt on the back of the Company's dustuck That the salt produced on the Company's lands should also pay duty, as it has hitherto done, there having been no distinction made That tobacco, and beetle-nut, ought not to pay duties, as dustucks for those articles have generally been given, and no duties paid at the place they were produced at, except at Dacca and Luckypoor, on the sale of the former, which appears to have been an arbitrary thing, as the duty on that article ought certainly to have been collected at every place.

That in regard to the exchange of money, as we have an undoubted right to coin siccas from our Firmaun and sunnuds, we ought to insist on what we coin should pass, but to obviate any loss, that might arise by batta on siccas of a

* Here once for all I will remark, that a husbul-hookum, as they call it, is nothing more than a writing from the vizir, enjoining a strict obedience to the King's Firmaun, but conveys no distinct or further privileges The Firmaun gives us leave to coin, but without mention of the rate, and of course we should pay as other merchants No husbul-hookum expresses more

different mint at another place, we should get stamps of the several mints, where we may have occasion to send money, and coin with those stamps accordingly.

Mr Hay's Opinion

I have already given my opinion, that no duties should be paid; and as I can conceive no reason for paying any, but to shew that we will not press our rights harder on the present Nabob, than we did on the last, I therefore think if any duty is paid, it should be the same as in Meer Jaffier's time

I think the Company, and their servants, who carry out the produce of the Company's lands with a dustuck should pay no duties

I think, by the grants from Delly, that we have a right to coin and recoin money in the Nabob's mints, and that it should be done at the rates the Company receive from persons that coin and recoin in their mints, which is about the same that has hitherto been paid at Patna

Mr Johnstone's Opinion

That we have a right to a free trade without paying duties of any kind, whenever our dustuck is granted, and that it should be granted for all articles of gruff, &c for the inland traffick and consumption in the country, as well as for goods imported and exported, I expressed in my minute of yesterday, but as the majority were for acquiescing to continue to the Nabob, as a point of favor, not of right, a certain allowance on salt, tho' I dissent from all such allowance in any manner, as it is establishing by custom, though not by right, a duty upon an article that makes so very considerable a part of the produce and revenues of the Company's lands, and which they may hereafter probably disapprove, yet, as the question now stands, that something should be continued to be paid to the Nabob, and it is demanded what that should be, two and a half per cent on the rowana price, I think the most that should be paid

The article of tobacco having been hitherto carried on with the Company's dustuck towards Cossimbuzar, Malda, and Patna, from Calcutta, and no rowana ever taken out for it, at Dacca

and Luckypoor, where only it has ever been paid, I look on our right to grant dustucks for this article as fully established, as on any other gruff article, fir which the Company now grant their dustuck. This I think may be done with as much right, in virtue of our Firmaun and treaties, as for any articles of consumption to be imported to Calcutta, which the President proposes should be carried on without duties, and on which, before the revolution, we paid as well as on any other article.

As the Calcutta siccas cannot pass at Dacca, and Patna without a discount, contrary to the treaty for establishing our mint, and the currency of the Calcutta siccas thro' the three provinces, without Batta, and the Nabob Meer Jaffier on this consideration granted perwanahs for coining the sum necessary for the business of the factories at Patna and Dacca, I think we have a just claim to coin as formerly so much in those mints at two and a quarter per cent. which I think better than stamping siccas of those places in our mints, as it appears by the example of our Moorshedabad siccas, that the shroffs will always elude this method, and not receive those rupees but at a discount.

Mr. Hastings's Opinion

Mr Hastings is of opinion, in answer to question the first.

That nine per cent on the prime cost of each article should be paid to the government, which he judges to be pretty nearly the same with the duty paid by other merchants.

To question the second. That every article of inland trade being produced, tho' not in equal abundance, upon the Company's lands, to except them from the duty levied upon the same articles produced in other parts, would be a source of continual frauds and disputes with the government, and that therefore all such goods should be taxed, or none.

To question the third. That we have no such right of coining in the Nabob's mints, nor the least pretence to claim it, that he knows of.

Mr. Cartier's Opinion

Mr Cartier thinks, that no duty should be paid on any article of our trade but salt, as he finds tobacco has paid no

duties in any part of the country but Dacca and Luckypoor; and has ever been considered, by the gentlemen in Calcutta who have traded in it, as free from any, and dustucks procured from the Presidency, Cossimbuzar, Patna and Malda, circulating the same

That we should likewise insist upon the privilege of coining in the several mints of the provinces, unless we can enforce the currency of the different species of rupees, agreeable to the fixed batta of the place they may be sent to, which will render any application on this head unnecessary

That the salt produced in the Company's lands should be subject to the same duty, as what may be produced in other parts of the country

Mr Biller's Opinion

As it is agreed by the Board, to pay a duty on certain articles of the inland trade, I give it as my opinion, that salt is the only article which ought to pay custom to the country government, that two and half per cent on the rowana price should be the stipulated rate, and that the produce on the Company's lands should pay the same

I think we have a right to recoin the Company's money either at Patna or Dacca, on paying two one-fourth per cent. being the usual custom paid hitherto at Patna

Mr Batson's Opinion

Mr. Batson, in answer to the several questions proposed in consultation of the 22nd of February, gave his opinion, that we should acquiesce in paying the same duties on salt and tobacco, that have been paid since Meer Jaffier's coming to the Subahship, but that the same should not be agreed to, by any publick deed or writing. The President yesterday proposed the same question, to be answered again by yes or no, without explanation or restriction. Mr Batson therefore thinks proper to explain himself further on this head. He thinks, we should continue tacitly to acquiesce in paying such duties on salt and tobacco, and at such places only, as we did in Meer Jaffier's time, that the Nabob may not complain of our using

him worse, in any respect, than we did Meer Jaffier, but that we should not even make any publick declaration thereof, much less agree to it by any publick deed. He further thinks, no new treaty should be entered into with the Nabob on this head, but that we should insist on his adhering strictly to those made with Serajah Dowla and Meer Jaffier

That he does not see any reason for making a distinction in regard to goods produced in the Company's lands; and thinks we have a right to coin in the mints of Patna and Dacca, and that it should be done at the same rate, it was in Meer Jaffier's time

Major Carnac's Opinion.

Major Carnac has given it as his opinion, that no duties whatever should be given to the Nabob however, a majority of the Board having determined, that a consideration should be paid for certain articles of trade, major Carnac thinks it should only be upon such articles, for which the Nabob can plead our constant practice, and this cannot be done of any other commodity, save salt, the most equitable statement for which seems to be, to pay the sums specified in the rowana, viz two and half per cent

Major Carnac hopes, whatever allowance may be agreed on, the Board will be particularly careful to have it explained to the Nabob, that it is a matter of favor, not of right

Mr Amyatt's Opinion

The general opinion of the Board being, we had an undoubted right to trade free from any duty whatever, but that the present Nabob should enjoy a revenue equal with his predecessors, they agreed to pay him a consideration for such inland trade, to which Mr Amyatt readily concurs, and thinks the consideration now to be allowed, is intended to amount to as much as was before, and is now paid, so that all the inland trade in general should be taxed to pay this charge, as every article can equally bear it, and a duty of two per cent should be levied on all articles purchased in any part of the country, to be sent and sold in another part But to prevent

any impediments carrying on our business, or vexations from designed delays in receiving this duty by the government's people, he would propose, that all goods pass with a Company's dustuck, which dustuck being carried to the buxbundar, they are immediately to receive their two per cent and gave a receipt for the amount upon the back of the dustuck, and then those goods are free to pass, and be sold any where

Mr Amyatt is of opinion, since an allowance upon salt is agreed on, it should be equally granted upon that which is made in our own pergunahs With respect to the mint at Patna and Dacca, he sees no occasion for the unlimited use thereof, and the sum we have demanded to be yearly coined there, being sufficient for all reasonable purposes, he is of opinion, that and no more should be insisted on

Major Adams's Opinion

Major Adams esteems his opinion sufficiently expressed in his minute of yesterday, in answer to the second question proposed the 19th, namely, that the duties which have hitherto been paid should continue to be so, to prevent disturbances, and embroiling our affairs with the country government

The President's Opinion

As I am of opinion the inland trade from place to place in the country, in articles of the produce of the country, is not comprehended within the privileges of the Firmaun, and consequently that we have no right to insist, or expect to carry it on custom-free, so I think, if we find it for our advantage to carry it on, we must be satisfied with the same terms as other merchants, and pay the established King's duties at every place, unless we can agree with the Nabob for an equivalent

By all the informations I could get on this subject, I find, that from this place to Patna, the King's duties are collected on salt at six different places, viz Hoogly, Moorshedabad, or Jalnghy, Rajemahl, Carrigola, Bauglepoor, and finally, the dewannee duty upon the sales at Patna

The amount of these, reckoned at the lowest of the several informations I took, was more than twenty-five rupees per hun-

dred maunds , or if we reckon them at what is said to be the regular King's duties, at every place where duties are collected, that is, two and a half per cent the amount will be fifteen per cent

On tobacco it appears, that both at Dacca and Luckypoor they have paid four anas per maund , which reckoning the cost two rupees per maund, will turn out above twelve per cent

On beetle-nut it appears, they have hitherto paid no duties , but for my part, I can conceive no other distinction between what ought to pay duties to the country government, and what not, but this of *foreign trade* ; that is, goods imported, and goods bought for exportation , and *inland trade*, in articles of the produce of the country from place to place in the country , the first of which, being a Firmaun privilege, pays duties to the Company, and goes with their dustuck , the second, I understand not to be a Firmaun privilege , it goes from place to place in the country, without paying any duties to the Company , and I think the government has as much right to their custom from us on such trade, as from other merchants

Upon the whole, I think nine per cent on the prime cost of the goods a very easy and advantageous accommodation for the English dealers in this trade , and as the Nabob has consented to accept that, as an equivalent for all demands throughout the three provinces, I am of opinion, we should readily agree to it, and obtain a confirmed right to what has hitherto been always disputed , and I must add, that I think it is a tax which the trade will well bear

Reckoning salt at eighty rupees per hundred maunds, which is a high price for the prime cost, we shall pay only seven rupees and a quarter per hundred maunds With respect to the produce of the Company's lands, I think the merchants who deal in that should pay customs equally with others, as they have always hitherto done to the country government, upon what has been carried up the country, and to the Company themselves upon what has been imported at Calcutta.

As to our right by former grants to coin in the King's mints, it may be doubted, whether the grant to hold a mint ourselves does not supercede the former , but supposing it does not, and

that we have yet a right to coin in the King's mints, it is not with any particular indulgence as to the rate of the coinage, but we must pay the same mint charges as other merchants”

It was no easy matter to determine who were the majority, and what was their opinion, but at length it was resolved, that the majority of the Board were agreed, that two and a half per cent on the rowana price, should be the established custom on salt, that the article of salt only should pay a custom to the country government, and this as a compliment, a favor, a consideration, not a right

I believe it will be hard to produce an instance like this, of a question of so much consequence being determined, by such a strange confusion of voices, and indeed nothing can be more absurd than the determination itself, for it they were of opinion, the Mogul King's Firmaun did convey such an unlimited extent to our private trade, the point had better have been settled at once, that nothing should be paid, if on the other hand, they began to perceive they had been misled, and that the Firmaun did not convey such an unlimited extent, then they should have resolved to carry it on like other merchants, or if they meant to go by former precedents, they should have paid such duties as had been paid before, not only on salt, but tobacco likewise Upon the whole, they neither did justice to themselves, nor to the Nabob, nor to former custom, but made an arbitrary rule, which any majority of the Council, may at any time annul, and form another with equal right

When the Council desired me to settle a regulation of the private trade on a solid plan, either they meant to acknowledge some rights in the Nabob, or else pretended to mean so, purposely to deceive me, and aggravate, by this artifice, our disputes with the government If they had resolved to acknowledge no rights, they should have desired me to declare to the Nabob, that he must not attempt to restrain the English or their gomastahs, nor demand customs of any kind, nor hinder their carrying their trade in all articles to all corners of the country If this was their resolution, I say, they should have declared it then, and I would have endeavored to make the Nabob submit to it, until he could get redress from the court of directors; but I

believe the truth is, that the Council, at the time they desired me to settle a plan, and sent me the account of duties paid at Luckypoor for my guidance, did really mean to pay duties, and acknowledge the Nabob's rights, but other notions were instilled into them afterwards

Then they affect to be surprized, that I found my authority on the plain sense of the words of their letter, of the 15th of November, and * say, that their answer to Mr Hastings and me, dated the 27th of December, plainly demonstrates, that they never gave, nor intended to give me power to conclude those regulations, or any other It is true, their letter of the 27th of December contradicts the former ; but I could not without the gift of prophecy know, that they meant nothing by their first letter, and that they would contradict it by another, which was to reach me, after I had taken leave of the Nabob

Mr Hastings, at ~~the~~ consultation of the 2nd of March, desired leave to say something further in explanation of that article of his opinion, of the first, which related to the setting proper bounds of authority between the government's officers, and the English gomastahs This additional ~~minute~~ ^{minute} was as follows :

Mr Hasting's Minute of the 2d of March

"In the consultation of yesterday, it having been entered as the unanimous opinion of the Board, with the single exception of myself, that the English gomastahs should be subject to no controul from the government, I must beg leave to subjoin another argument to what I have already said upon the subject, in favor of this singularity of sentiment

In all affairs relating to our connections with the country government, one object we should ever keep in view, as of the highest importance to the future welfare of the Company. I mean, the duration of their acquisitions, and influence in this country Whatever may serve to perpetuate and fix these advantages, though attended with a present inconvenience, should be invariably pursued. and whatever present or temporary conveniencies have a tendency to destroy them, or to change

* See Mr Amyatt's Minute of the 3rd of February, p 263

our connections, should be for the same reason rejected. An union between two powers, which stand in need of each other's assistance, and whose interests agree, may endure for ages: but where that mutual dependence is wanting, and their interests are perpetually clashing, the greatest efforts of human wisdom will scarcely be able to unite them on any solid foundation. Such unfortunately is our situation in our alliance with the Nabob. His power, if properly supported, and a mutual confidence were established between us, would indeed afford us the greatest benefit and security. But the chief source of discord between us, arises from the intricacy of our connections with him. Our lands (the least subject indeed of contention, because divided by known and fixed boundaries) lie close to, and even in the midst of his. Our trade is circulated through every part of his country, and our agents and dependents intimately blended with his subjects, without any bounds to mark out the extent of his authority, and our own privileges.

It is now proposed to fix such a limitation, by absolving every person employed in our service from the jurisdiction of the government. This, it is true, will prevent their suffering any oppression, but it gives them a full licence of oppressing others, since whatever crimes they may commit, the magistrate must patiently look on, nor dare even to desend the lives or properties of the subjects entrusted to his care, without a violation of our rights and privileges. Such is the expedient proposed for the security of our trade, and for preserving the tranquility of the country!

Such a system of government cannot fail to create in the minds of the wretched inhabitants an abhorrence of the English name and authority, and how will it be possible for the Nabob, whilst he hears the cries of his people, which he cannot redress, not to wish to free himself from an alliance, which subjects him to such indignities?

I forbear, at present, to take notice of the methods, which are to be employed as checks of such a licentiousness, but shall briefly observe, that if the Chiefs of the factories are to be made the judges in all causes, in which their gomastahs are concerned, whatever their integrity may be, or how unbiassed

soever their judgments, yet such is the infatuation of mankind (not to speak of Bengallees alone) that in ninety-nine cases out of an hundred, they will rather submit to oppression, than forsake their houses, and travel with a crowd of witnesses to the nearest factory in quest of justice, when they believe their judge to be interested in the suit against them, as there will be few instances, in which it will not be in the power of the gomastah to connect his own frauds or rogueries with the interest of his employer, so as to make it hazardous to chastize him”

At the same consultation a letter was received from Dacca, inclosing a copy of one which Mahomed Allee, the collector there, had received from the Nabob, on the subject of a complaint I had made of some bales of cloth belonging to me having been stopped. The Nabob reprimands Mahomed Allee, for not distinguishing between the foreign trade, which would go with a dustuck, and the inland trade, which alone was to pay duties, and in the postscript, forbids him to molest any gomastahs, or to demand duties upon goods, which should have the Company's, or *my* dustuck. I wrote to the Nabob immediately to explain to him, that one and the same dustuck was ever used for the Company's goods and mine, and all other gentlemen's in the service, and that his giving a particular order in favour of my gomastahs, was not what I expected, but desired to fare like others, and that his expressing any particular regard to my interest, would only give people an opportunity of attempting to injure my reputation. The Nabob's letter, and my address to him on the subject, are entered in the margin *. They are of so little consequence,

** Copy of a letter from the Nabob to Mahomed Allee*

By a letter from the Governor I understand, “that with regard to the merchandize of the country, viz, tobacco, salt, beetle-nut, and dried fish, which at different places are purchased and sold, tho' they want to pay 9 per cent yet you are desirous of stopping the business, and will not pay any regard to it, but endeavour to interrupt the trade, that you likewise demand duties on the Company's cloth, which has the Company's dustuck, and never was known to pay any duties. That Coja Askasuc, through the means of Coja Wanis, was appointed to transact the Governor's private business at Dacca, and had, agreeably to the Company's dustuck, provided thirty bales of cloth, twenty-eight of which he sent before, and afterwards the two others, but you intercepted them and, demanded duties thereon, and without reason demanded duties on

that I should not have swelled this Narrative with them, but that it will appear in the sequel, that Messieurs Johnstone and

cloths, and on the Company's purchases, that before never paid any "

The Governor and myself have agreed, that on the Company's exports and imports, having a dustuck no duties shall be demanded by any one and whatever goods are purchased and sold within this country being the produce of this country shall pay 9 per cent at the place where they are bought. A copy of the agreement I before sent to you but it is amazing you will not observe the contents but interrupt the Company's goods. Now I strictly order you to examine well the agreement and act according to it. You are not to make any demand on goods at any of the Company's places of trade having the Company's dustucks but on whatever goods are purchased, being the produce of the country you are to take 9 per cent at the place where they are purchased, and never in any respect deviate from the agreement. This strictly observe.

P S The Governor writes that you impede the gomastah for his private business, there is no mention of private or public in the agreement yet as he is my true friend I now write that if the said gomastah has the Company's or the Governor's dustuck you are not to impede him.

Extract of a Letter from the Governor to the Nabob

The Chief of Dacca sent me the copy of a letter wrote by you to Mahomed Allee Beg in which he is strictly charged to take customs according to my agreement and (although there is no distinction of persons mentioned in the agreement yet as I have a proper friendship for you) not to interrupt the gomastahs employed in my trade who shall be provided with my dustuck or the Company's. The regulations contained in that letter of agreement of mine which I wrote in answer to your request in order to put an end to the disputes between your people and the English gomastahs cannot now take place because let through the injurious behaviour of Mahomed Allee Beg and Sird Jelaul Bocary and the other officers of the serar, greater disturbances have arisen than ever. This I have already acquainted you with. You order Mahomed Allee not to interrupt any trade which shall be provided with my dustuck or the Company's. All the dustucks granted either for my goods or other gentlemen are the Company's and the same which have ever been established. I represented to you, that no interruption must be given to the trade of the English, and did not speak of my own in particular because my business and that of other gentlemen is on the same footing, and the distinction you make in my favour, can only gain me an ill name.

Hay did really make such an attempt, although I did not suspect it at that time.

The 4th of March, Messieurs Cartier, Johnstone, Hay, Senior, and Bolts, joined in a representation to the Board, of obstructions they met with in their private trade at Rangamettee. The injuries complained of were such, as required immediate redress; it was resolved therefore to send a party of seepoys to seize the fougedar, and free the business which was stopped.

This was followed by a like complaint from Patna, of their opium business being obstructed at Bahar, and duties demanded; but it concluded with advising, that they should send a party of seepoys to protect their gomastahs.

And the same day a general resolution was taken, concerning the disputes which might happen in future between the officers of the country government and our gomastahs, to the following purport

A
NARRATIVE
OF THE
TRANSACTIONS IN BENGAL.

Extract of Consultation of the 5th of March, 1763

“Taking now into consideration the necessary regulations for restraining our agents and gomastahs, from interfering with any affairs of the country government. injuring the people, or being injured by them, and for deciding of disputes which may arise between them. It is agreed

First, That at all those aurungs which are adjacent to, or under the management of the subordinate factories, the gomastahs, in case of being injured by any of the officers of the government or their dependents, shall first make their application for redress, in writing to the officer of the government, residing on the spot ; from whom. if he does not receive immediate satisfaction, he shall send his complaint to the chief of the nearest factory, who shall be empowered to take cognizance of the same, and demand, or exact, if necessary, the satisfaction which the case may require ; but that it is to be understood in respect of weavers pykars, and all others who receive advances of money for goods to be provided, or are indebted for goods bought, the gomastahs shall retain their power as usual, to call such persons to account. That, on the other hand, where the government's people shall have reason to complain against English gomastahs or agents, they shall give the said agent or gomastah notice of the complaint in writing, requiring and recommending to him to settle it in an amicable and equitable manner ; and in case the agent or gomastah refuses, or neglects, to settle it in such manner, as shall appear reasonable

to the government's officer, he shall then transmit an account of it to the chief of the nearest English factory, and deliver a copy of the said account to the gomastah. And the chief of the factory is hereby required to examine strictly into the affair, and decide it according to justice, giving a copy of his determination to the officer of the government, who made the complaint. That the gentlemen of the subordinates shall keep a register of such complaints, with the decisions past on them, a copy whereof shall be forwarded monthly to the Presidency.

Secondly, With respect to the distant places where trade is carried on, such as Rungpoor, Poorneea, Gwalparah and Rangamettee, there is at present no resident on the part of the Company; but at Rungpoor, a provision of silk is made by a gomastah, from Cossimbuzar factory, which provision, it is hoped, may be increased and improved, by the care of a covenanted servant. At the same time, the situation of the place is such, as will be convenient for examining the complaints, and deciding the disputes which may arise in most of those places.

Agreed, therefore, that the addition of a senior servant be made to the Council at Cossimbuzar, and that he be appointed resident at Rungpoor.

That the orders forbidding our servants or dependents, from holding lands, gunges, rents or employments of any kind, under the country government, shall be again repeated.

That such, however, as have inherited taalooks from purchase, or other good right, shall not be obliged to give them up, but hold them as other taalookdars in the country, being informed once for all, that in respect to such rents held from the government, they are not to avail themselves of our protection to invest them with any particular privileges.

That such complaints as have already been made, and transmitted to the several subordinates, shall be inquired into, and decided conformably to the above regulation, and that such as have not yet, shall now be forwarded to the proper subordinates for that purpose."

This regulation might answer very well, if all chiefs and residents of the English were disinterested men, would receive complaints against their own gomastahs with temper, and decide them with justice and equity. even if their own profits were to be lessened by it But a succession of such men is not to be expected in any service ; and there is besides another difficulty, proceeding from the distance of the places, where some of these gomastahs are employed, from any of the Company's factories , so that in many cases it would be impossible to get at the truth ; and it is easy to conceive the disorder which must take place in any community, where there exists no power of determining on the spot the disputes which may arise

I imagined the Nabob would be much alarmed, by the assembly of the members of the Council from the subordinate factories, and the reports which would reach him from Calcutta, of their being determined to break with him We heard now of his being on his return from his expedition to Betea and Napaul , and I concluded, that the being nearer at hand to settle the contested points, was the chief reason for his quick return, although it was reported, he had been defeated on the borders of Napaul His apprehensions of the designs of the Council against him, cannot be stronger expressed than in his own letters

The following are copies of his letters of the 22d and 26th of February.

The Nabob's Letter of the 22d of February

“When you came here an agreement in writing was made between us, which I imagined all the gentlemen would consent to ; but it is amazing, that not a single person has approved of it.

Notwithstanding all you have expressly directed to the chiefs of the Patna and Dacca factories, they do not pay any regard to it ; but return for answer. “We do not approve of the Governor's proceedings , when the gentlemen of the Council write to us, we will immediately follow their directions ”

Since the commencement of Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn's management to the present time, have not known any one but yourself Now the gentlemen of all the factories do not regard your directions, but require the orders of the Council, and they ruin the affairs both of this province and Bengal, the zemindarrees, the merchandize, the reiats, &c for what reason I cannot conceive I neither have, nor shall negotiate with any person but yourself, and therefore I plainly write, that if you intend to regard the agreement made between us, you should act in such a manner, that the gentlemen may not make their objections to it; if not, advise me of it I understand, that a number of the gentlemen are inclined to establish another Subahdar This appears to me a trivial matter Let them establish whom they please, it is of no consequence to me I do not regard matters of so small importance God made the world, and every thing is ruled by him. I beg you will speedily write me an answer to this letter Herewith I send you copies of a letter to Rajah Nobit Roy from Mr Ellis, and one from Jessarut Cawn to me I gave you lands to the amount of fifty lacks of rupees, for the maintenance of troops to destroy my enemies, but it is amazing, that a number of gentlemen have, on the contrary, collected troops against me, in order to ruin my country It is the universal persuasion, that the Europeans are to be confided in, but see all this surprizes me much"

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor, dated February 26, 1763

"Your favour is arrived, and has given me much satisfaction Yoy write that "at this time you are informed, by a letter from the chief of Patna factory, that as the Company's salt-petre was coming from about Gauzypoor laden on bullocks; the aumil, at a place called Manjee, took off the salt-petre from the bullocks, and drove away the bullocks, and the salt-petre is lying at the aforesaid place Also that one boat of the Company's laden with salt-petre, the officer at a place called Seesan has seized, unladen the salt-petre, nor will let it pass Again, that four boats laden with beetle-nut, which

were proceeding in the way, pursuant to a dustuck from the chief of Dacca factory, the fougadar of Rajemahl has detained, wanting to collect a duty If I have any desire to remove all suspicion from your breast, I must punish my officers one and all ; that agreeably to the letter which you have written and given to me, the affairs of my government. and the Company's trade, should go on in a course less interrupted than heretofore , and no single article of goods that has the Company's dustuck with it should be impeded ; nor should there be in any place the least obtacle to your buying and selling the country commodities , but upon salt, tobacco, beetle-nut, and dried fish, I should take nine *per cent* upon the cost, and give my own dustuck , but that the officers of my government feign orders of themselves, and report abroad, that the English gomastahs are not to be allowed in the country, nor any one buy or sell, or do any manner of business with them That by these proceedings, the agreement concluded between you and me is totally broken, and there will be another treaty made, in which it will be particularly expressed how my officers are to act, and how the English gomastahs ; and since letters from me to you, and you to me, with their answers, are not less than a month in coming, and you cannot allow that the Company's business, and that of the English gentlemen, should remain in suspenſe for my order , that therefore I must write to Meer Syed Mahomed Cawn at Moorshedabad, and to Mahomed allee Beg at Dacca, that as a new treaty is intended to be made and ratified by both parties , until it is concluded and sent to them, they must cause the business of the Company, and private gentlemen, to go on in the manner it formerly was conducted , and that if my officers in the provinces act contrary thereto, you will send the Company's forces to clear your business "

Sir, although with respect to the cattle for carrying your petre, I know there has been no obstruction at all ; yet I have sent order every where, to examine into the affair of the bullocks laden with petre, and also the boats Hereafter I will write you the particulars, and send them And with regard to the boats laden with beetle-nut, on which, you write

Cootub Aalum demands duties Sir, before the arrival of your friendly letter, Cootub Aalum had represented in an arzee to me, that there were some boats, of which you had released before his face all but four, which remained, and which, because of a forged dustuck, you left in charge with him, and proceeded on your way Herewith I inclose the arzee for your perusal

Since you were pleased to observe, in the agreement before alluded to, that my dustuck was to be along with the purchase, and sale of beetle-nut, and other articles of inland trade beyond all doubt Cootub Aalum, without being shewn my dustuck, would not let the boats pass, in which case by officer does not appear to have committed any fault Be you the judge in this affair

As to what you write of the disturbances of my officers, it appears from thence, that the agreement made between us the Council has not assented to; to be sure, whatever your gomastahs write, is all exactly just and proper, and my people tell nothing but lies and bare-faced falsities I must have all losses in your trade made good to you; but who will indemnify me for the lost of revenues, justly due to my government?

I must cut off my officers heads; but your gomastahs, who are guilty of oppressions, receive encouragement from you You know very well, Sir, that I never desired such a treaty, it was merely in compliance with your pleasure, that I assented to it Now that the Council do not agree to it, and want to make another treaty, this is unreasonable Three demands which I formerly made to you, I now again repeat The first is this, from the beginning until now, the Nazim of Bengal corresponded with the Governor of Calcutta, as I have and do with you, having no correspondence with the rest of the Board

The second is, I have before remarked to you, that the Company's trade has been established from time immemorial; but, at present, besides the Company's trade, the gomastahs of the English gentlemen have set up the trade of salt,

tobacco, dried fish, timbers, &c and purchase from the country people by force and extortion, and are continually making unjust disputes and wrangling with my officers, so that the poor, the inhabitants, the merchants, and manufacturers of my country are oppressed, and both you and myself are troubled with unjust vexations. Now I say, that your gomastahs are to trade as heretofore, in merchandize imported and exported, and are to restrain from those articles of trade, which interfere with the revenues due to my government, and are a cause of disputes, and the ruin of the inhabitants and poor people.

The third is, whether your will is, that I shall have the charge of the expences of the army, and management of the country, and his Majesty's revenues, and that your gomastahs shall carry on those branches of trade, which were never allowed in the country, oppress the country, by interfering in the government, under pretence of trade, and that my officers shall not have their due authority, nor offer to oppose them. If this be the case, it is out of my power to carry on the business of this subahdarree. I wish not to be concerned in a charge of so much vexation, you may be pleased to find out some other that will undertake it. For my part, I am heartily tired with these disputes and wranglings. Why do you take the trouble to send forces against my officers? Why do not you write to them to quit their stations, and repair to me, for they have no forces to oppose you? You are sensible, that in Chittagong, Midnapoor, and Burdwan, which, agreeable to treaty, I ceded to the Company, not a man of mine ever enters, and I restrain ever from providing the customary cloths for my own use. If you do not determine justly for me, it is a matter of great surprize."

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor Dated February 26, 1763.

"Your letter is arrived, and has much rejoiced me. You write, that, by a copy of the letter which Mahomed Allee Beg wrote to Meer Abdulla, the aumil of the pergunah of Sundeep, it appears, Mahomed Allee Beg's intention is, that not a single Englishman shall be suffered in the country, that, moreover,

he has occasioned much loss to the Company's business, and therefore the treaty made between us is totally broken by Mahomed Allee Beg, that I must bring the aforesaid person to punishment, or you cannot sit by inactive, and let the Company's business go to ruin, also, that the Chief of Luckypoor, neither imprisoned my yessawal, nor killed any burcandassee, nor detained Golam Ahmud, and that all which Mahomed Allee Beg wrote to me, on that subject, is false "

Sir, you know very well who the person is, that occasions all the mischief between us The punishing of Mahomed Allee Beg is a trifle, and God willing, when I arrive in Bengal, if he shall have committed any fault I will chastize him

But you have no power to punish any person that creates mischief under your administration Your order is absolute, with respect to my people, but you have not the least command over your own

It is highly incumbent on you to call such persons to an account, or they will occasion a rupture between you and me From the beginning, even until now, I have never meddled with a single gomastah, or any one of your people, but your chief, who has before confined my officers, now again wants to send troops against them, and have them brought bound It is surprising that you retort this charge upon me

You accuse me of these things, tho' I have no hand in them; but what occasion is there to alledge the complaints of your gomastahs, for a pretence to tell me, that Mahomed Allee Beg, by his oppressions, has broken the agreement between us Sir, expressions of this kind, imply some other design, since, I have never seen or heard, that any servants, by their misbehavior, should destroy a treaty concluded by their superiors You must be sensible of this, and why will you throw the blame upon another? What Jessarut Cawn, and Mahomed Allee Beg, formerly wrote on the subject of my yessawal's confinement, I immediately transmitted to you, as they related it, and this you are greatly offended at But when you, in consequence of an information from the chief of Luckypoor, insisted, that Mahomed Allee Beg had killed your seepoys, what better proofs had you of that charge, that you are now

so much offended at this trivial complaint of theirs ? For, at this time also, my yessawal, who is arrived, and was interrogated before me, makes the following relation, viz. that when he reached Luckypoor, he shewed my dustuck to Golam Ahmud, that scarce an hour had past, when the chief of Lucky-poor factory sent 200 men, and surrounded him when he was alone, and unattended, and ill treating him, carried him off as fast as they could, with many acts of violence that the chief aforesaid, and others of the people employed under him, said, "We made Jaffier Allee Cawn Nabob, and afterwards turned him out again, and Cossim Allee also, is one of our setting up, and this dustuck, which you have brought, we will pay no regard to." That with such insults they kept him three days in confinement, but the hicarra escaping, carried this news to Jessarut Cawn, and Mahomed Allee Beg, that soon after, in consequence of a letter from the Governor of Calcutta, to the chief there, he was sent with Golam Ahmud to me

At the time the chief aforesaid had confined my yessawal, with all this ignominy and ill treatment, how did Mahomed Allee Beg know that he would release him after three days, and send him to me ? Had not your letter arrived, he never would have released my yessawal. It was in consequence of the account of the hicarra, that Jessarut Cawn, and Mahomed Allee Beg, wrote me the particulars of my yessawal's confinement. As you are a wise man, weigh well the behavior of the English and my officers, and judge which side is injured, and who are the persons that act contrary to our agreement, and secretly spread infamous and injurious reports to the prejudice of men of character

To conclude, how many fleets of boats are there at Patna ! Yet cannot I get so much as a single boat to cross the Ganges, and the very boats that I had procured, the people of your factory there have forcibly taken from me "

The Nabob's letters of the 26th of February having been read in Council the 7th of March, it was resolved, that the following answer should be wrote him by me as President

The Governor's Letter to the Nabob

"I have received your letters of the 26th of February, which having read to the gentlemen of Council, they agree

with me in opinion, that there appears throughout a general disinclination to give us any satisfaction for the interruptions and ill usage which the business of the English Company and gentlemen has received from Mahomed Allee, and other officers of your government, and that both your letters seem on the whole rather an evasion, than an answer to my representations. I am therefore now, in my own name, and in the name of the gentlemen of Council, to give you the following account of what has been hitherto resolved on by us. The Firmaun, and other public orders of the Court, together with the subsequent treaties with the Nabobs, having been referred to, and strictly examined, we find that the English, having the Company's dustuck, are thereby entitled to carry on their trade, as well foreign as inland, in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, duty free. By the tenor of them therefore the Council are determined to abide. We have however taken information of the custom that has hitherto prevailed in the different parts of the country, with respect to the English paying a duty on certain articles of inland trade, and from these we learn, that the articles of salt and tobacco are the only ones which have paid such duty, and that the latter article has paid it only at the factories of Luckypoor and Dacca. This being the case, and as we do not mean to break entirely through this established custom, although the aforementioned grants give us a full sanction to trade duty free, we have determined, that a consideration shall continue to be paid to your government on salt, after the rate of two and half *per cent* as will be explained to you by Mr Amyatt*, and the method of collecting it settled by him. With respect to our gomastahs, we cannot admit, that they shall be under any actual controul of the officers of your government, but we have laid down certain regulations, whereby to restrain them from committing injuries or abuses on the country people, as well as to direct them to make their complaint to the chief of the factory, in case of receiving any from your officers or dependents, and the said chief will take the necessary measures for putting a stop to them.

* Who was the same consultation appointed to carry the resolutions of the Board to the Nabob

Copies of the Firmaun, husbul-hookums and treaties, together with the rules for collecting the aforesaid duty on salt, and guiding the conduct of our gomastahs and your officers, will be sent to you by Mr Amyatt and Mr Hay, whom myself, with the Council, have thought proper to depute, to explain to you more fully the justice of those rights and pretensions

With respect to the complaints which have already been made, we do insist on justice against all those officers of the government, who may be proved guilty of the extortions and obstructions laid to their charge, and that reparation shall be made for the losses occasioned thereby

On the other hand, all the complaints made by your officers in different parts of the country against English agents or gomastahs, have been referred to the examination of the gentlemen of the factories, nearest to those places from whence the complaints have come, and whatever injustice it may appear they have committed, we shall be particularly careful to cause them to make amends for”

This letter, as I have before observed, was to be wrote him by me as President, which was the usual form of the country correspondence, but Mr Johnstone, for fear the Nabob might not yet be sufficiently convinced of the authority of the Council, moved, that a letter should be wrote him by the whole Board, to inform him that all power belonged to them This motion was over-ruled by the majority, who thought it sufficient that an addition should be made to the foregoing letter upon that subject The following are the proceedings in this debate, and the additional paragraphs which were drawn up in consequence

Extract of Consultation of March 7, 1763

Mr Johnstone's Minute

“Mr Johnstone moves, that a letter should now be wrote by the Board to the Nabob in answer to the first of his three demands explaining to him the powers of the Council that it is with them in fact he acts altho’ their opinion is transmitted thro’ the channel of the President, and that therefore he should consider them in the first degree Further, that in it

the Governor's letter, containing the regulations, should be re-demanded; and that the letters now sent should be signed by the Board, and sealed with the Company's seal.

The secretary being directed to collect the opinions of the Board on this motion of Mr Johnstone's, the several members delivered the same as follows

Mr Watts's Opinion

Mr Watts is of opinion, that a paragraph should be inserted in the letter to be wrote to the Nabob, explaining to him the powers of the Board, and that the letter sent by Mr Vansittart to the Nabob, should be demanded back as from the Board, but that the letter now sent be forwarded under the President's seal

Mr Marriott's Opinion

Mr. Marriott is of the same opinion with Mr Watts

Mr Hay's Opinion

Mr Hay thinks, that the explanation regarding the powers of the Council, should be made to the Nabob in a public letter, agreeable to Mr Johnstone's motion; but that the demand for the letter containing the regulations, should be made in a letter under the President's seal

Mr Hastings's Opinion

The Company have plainly declared their intention, that all correspondence with the country powers shall be carried on thro' the channel of the Governor; and as an alteration of this custom will subject the Nabob (who has not been used to such a method, nor can be a judge of the propriety of it) to great perplexities, and tend to create a breach between us, I object to any letter being wrote to the Nabob, but with the President's seal

As to an explanation of the powers of the Board, the Nabob to my knowledge is well acquainted with them, nor is such an information in any wise necessary.

It is also unnecessary to demand back the Governor's letter to the Nabob, as it will of course be annulled by the new regulations.

Mes Cartier and Billers's Opinion.

Messieurs Cartier and Billers are of the same opinion with Mr Watts

Mr Batson's Opinion

Mr Batson agrees with Mr Johnstone in opinion, that the authority of the Board should be asserted, and the Governor's written agreement be demanded back, and that it is the interest of the publick, that the correspondence should be carried on by the Board.

Major Carnac's Opinion.

Major Carnac is of opinion, that the Nabob either does not, or will not, understand the powers of the Board; and therefore they ought to be so explained to him, as to admit of no dispute, which cannot be done any way so effectually, as by a letter wrote under the publick seal, as proposed by Mr. Johnstone in his minute, and that in the same letter, the Governor's, containing the regulations should be demanded back.

Mr Amyatt's Opinion

Mr. Amyatt is of Mr Watts's opinion

Major Adams's Opinion.

Major Adams is of opinion, that the Nabob's letters should be answered, by the President, in the name of the Board, under his own seal, which with the purport of the letter, will sufficiently convince the Nabob, that the power is lodged in the majority of the Council, and he thinks the re-demanding the letter, will more properly become a part of the instructions to Mes Amyatt and Hay.

The President's Opinion

The President observes, that he had already explained to the Nabob, more than once, the powers of the Board, when he wrote the letter in question, but that as the Nabob now affects to be insensible of the powers of the Board, and instead of complying with his agreement, endeavors to make the worst use possible of the letter, he thinks he should be wrote to in the terms proposed by Mr Johnstone, but that it should be wrote, in the usual manner, through the channel of the President, as any other method is contrary to the Company's standing orders, as well as detrimental to their affairs

The majority of the Board being of Mr Watts's opinion ;

Ordered, that two additional paragraphs, expressing the sense thereof, be added to the letter, which is above-directed to be wrote to the Nabob by the President, that the whole letter be drawn up by the secretary, from the resolutions of Council, and when approved by the members, be sent to the translator, with directions to render it into Persian, applying to the President for the moonshee, who usually writes the letters for that purpose"

Copy of the additional Paragraph to the Letter to the Nabob

"You mention in your letter, that it has been customary for the Subahs of these provinces, to negotiate only with the Governor, and that you also have done heretofore, according to that custom, and that you will not negotiate with any of the gentlemen of Council In answer to which, I must acquaint you, that although it is very true, negotiations with the Subahs are carried on by the Governor only, yet that, and all other business, depends upon the opinion and determination of the Governor and Council together, and, in this manner, affairs being considered and resolved on, the Governor is only the channel through which it is made known to the Subahs, of which also you cannot but be sensible, as I have often acquainted you with it before It is very true, that the regulations of trade, agreed on between you and me, are not approved of by the Council, and therefore cannot take place, and further, the ill behavior, and violent oppressions, committed

by your officers in all parts, by an abuse of the authority granted them by that agreement, are so notorious and insupportable, that if they are not put an immediate stop to, the friendship between us will be broken; and, as it is to be feared, they will continue to act in the same manner, until they are acquainted from you, that the intended agreement is annulled; I desire you will send back that letter to me, and acquaint your officers, in all parts, that you have so returned it”

The obvious tendency of this motion points out, but too plainly, the factious spirit which dictated it. Since nothing could have so effectually convinced the Nabob, of the weakness of our government, and the power of his enemies. besides, that by claiming his acknowledgment of an authority, to which he had never hitherto been accustomed, and by throwing the correspondence into a new channel, which he knew to be contrary to the rules of our government, a snare was laid to aggravate the disputes, by his disowning that authority, or by the perplexity which it must of course lead him into, was he even inclined to comply with it

The disputes were now risen to such an height, that it became necessary, either to put an end to them, by a peaceable negotiation, or declare an open war against the Nabob. The former expedient was preferred, and it was agreed, that one of the members of the Board, should go on a deputation to the Nabob, and treat with him upon the terms of our future alliance. Mr Amyatt offered himself for this service, which was unanimously accepted, and, at his own request, Mr Hay was afterwards joined with him, in the same commission, which was to take place as soon as the Nabob, who was immediately acquainted with it, would signify his approbation of it

About this time, we received a letter from the Chief and Council at Patna, advising us, that the Nabob was returned from his Napaul expedition, in which he had been defeated, and that he had crossed the river, and lay encamped at Jaffier Cawn's garden, about two miles from the city

It was now resolved, that a letter should be wrote to the Nabob, insisting on a positive answer, to the demands made by the Board, for his annulling the orders, which he had given to his officers. In the mean time, those orders subsisting, and

the unlimited powers, given to the subordinate factories, were productive of daily disturbances, the natural consequences of jealousies, inflamed to the highest pitch on both sides. From Dacca advices arrived, of a fray between the officers of the government, and a party of seepoys dispatched to release some boats that had been stopped at Jaffier Gunge, in which, the brother of the chokeydar was slain, or dangerously wounded, and, on the same day, a letter from the gentlemen of Patna, informed us of their having sent an officer, with three companies of seepoys, to Mow, to free the business of the factory, which had received some interruption at that place, and to seize the persons concerned in it. Thus the officer effected, taking Akbur Allee Cawn, the Nabob's collector, prisoner, whom he carried to Patna, and left a guard of twelve seepoys at Taajepoor, to take care of the Company's salt-petre. The Nabob, incensed at this outrage, committed almost before his eyes, in the first impulse of his passion, sent out a party of 500 horse to intercept the seepoys, and release his officer; but arriving too late for this service, they marched against the small detachment at Taajepoor, and attacked it. The seepoys defended themselves with great bravery, but four of the number being killed, the rest submitted, and were carried, with the Company's gomastah, prisoners before the Nabob, who contented himself with reprimanding the gomastah, for being the instrument of such an insult on his dignity, and dismissed them.

The Nabob's behavior, upon this occasion, shews how much he was irritated by it; and, at the same time, how careful he was, even upon the greatest provocation, to avoid coming to extremities. The hircarras, or other busy people, about the factory, took occasion, upon this event, to carry news to Mr Ellis, that the Nabob was resolved to march back immediately from Ponarac, where he then lay encamped, and attack the factory. Mr Ellis, whose animosity against the Nabob, and wishes for a rupture, made him give easy credit to every such report, spread their intelligence without delay, we were informed of it by the Chief and Council at Patna, in their letter of the 15th, and of their own resolution in that case, to possess themselves of the city. This I now daily expected to hear of, for I but too plainly saw, that Mr Ellis sought only a pretence to commence open hostilities,

but the present occasion was happily removed by the Nabob's prudence, in proceeding directly to Mongheer, where he arrived soon after

The letters from Mr. Ellis and the Council of Patna, and those from the Nabob, upon the above transactions, tho' little differing in the relation of the plain matters of fact, I shall notwithstanding insert, as they contain the most evident marks of the disposition of each at this time

Copy of a Letter from the Chief and Council at Patna to the Governor and Council Dated March 6, 1763

"We now enclose you translate of a letter from the Company's gomastah at Mow, which will give you a pretty just idea of what lengths the Nabob intended proceeding to, and how greatly he would have distressed our affairs, had he not been timely checked

Early this morning we detached three companies of seepoys to Mow, under the command of lieutenant Downie, with orders to clear the Company's business in that district, and seize all those who have interrupted it, agreeable to your directions We beg your further orders with regard to punishing them, and cannot help observing, how necessary it is that some examples should be made, in order to put an effectual stop to this growing evil

The Nabob marched two days ago from Jaffier Cawn's graden, and is now encamped near Futtuah."

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor Dated March 5, 1763.

"I have had the pleasure duly to receive three of your favors, dated the 7th and 8th of Shaaban, and understand the particulars mentioned in them.

At a time when this government was loaded with a balance of revenues due to the King, the arrears of the troops, and debts owing to the English, I marched out of Bengal, and repaired to the extremity of the province of Bahar, in order to settle these matters This country being thus left without a

a ruler, every village and district became ruined by the oppressions of the English agents and gomastahs, an entire stop was put to collecting the revenues, and the merchants, the poor, and all my officers, and muttaseddees of the public and private receipts of custom, were distressed, and deprived of their daily bread, and I am a sufferer in the revenues due to my administration, by near a krore of rupees I have in the mean while made continual complaints and representations of this injustice, and informed you particularly and circumstantially of all matters nevertheless you have been pleased to observe, that my officers are to blame

When you favoured me with a visit at Mongheer, I laid before you all my concerns You were very earnest in settling all disputes between my government, and the English Company and gentlemen, and their gomastahs, and you in some measure comforted me, and persuaded me, that "from that time business would be carried on in a proper manner, and my government neither injured, oppressed, or damaged" Afterwards, on your return to Calcutta, contrary to your agreement with me, you detached forces, to carry on the business of the Company and English gentlemen by compulsion, and to beat and chastise my officers if they offered to speak a word For these three years I have not got a single rupee, nor a thousand rupees, nor one piece, nor ten pieces of cloth, nor a bundle of broad cloth, nor ten bundles, nor a pair of scissars, nor so much as a clasp knife, from the English gentlemen, or their gomastahs, at the same time, they have by violence levied fines and penalties, and sums for losses in their trade, on my officers, and still continue to levy them, and if any of my officers refuses to submit to this, they pour a storm of complaints on his head

Lately you have repeatedly ordered me, to let the business of the Company, and the English gentlemen, and their gomastahs, go on as was customary heretofore in the different parts of the provinces of Bengal and Bahar, to suffer the money and bullion of your factories to be coined into siccas in my mints, and to have the wicket and intrenchment in the city of Patna opened" I not having it in my power to refuse, have given you the free use of my mint, and directed the wicket to be opened, and a stop to be put to collecting customs upon

traffick in the commodities of my country, from all merchants, pykars, and dilolls, in the provinces of Bahar and Bengal, and I have had all gauts and chokeys, both in the city and country round about, entirely removed

All these my losses, are owing entirely to the favor and indulgence of the Council; because that my being like the Nabob Meer Jaffier indebted to his Majesty, and embarrassed by my troops, and reduced to his situation, is what they approve of. However, I can never approve of my people and merchants being distressed, my country oppressed, myself despised, and subjected to daily insults, and my officers and servants ill treated. I have therefore chosen to give up all those points to you. Now I am in expectation of your answer, to inform me if my life is safe, or if there is any thing else to be done ?”

From the Nabob to the Governor, dated March 5, 1763

“Your friendly letter, dated the 8th of Shaaban, is arrived, and I am happy with the news of your welfare. You write, that the opinion of the Council is as follows. “They are all very desirous of assisting and supporting me in my government, but cannot bear with patience, that my officers should impede or damage their commerce, that the report of your setting up another Nabob is the weak insinuation of designing men, that the resolution of the Board is, to make such an agreement in pursuance of the royal Firmaun, and the rules of equity, as may leave on room for dispute in future, between my officers and their gomastahs.” How can I bring myself firmly to credit this, since Mr Ellis is one of the Council, who, for these two years past, has been endeavoring all in his power to hurt my affairs, and make me appear little in the eyes of the world; nay, is at this time taking pains daily to involve me in trouble, parading his companies of seepoys to provoke me, and omitting no opportunity of depreciating me both in this my own country, and to Shuja-ul-Dowla, and other great men at court, sending all whatever he can devise to my discredit, by means of Shitabroy to Shuja-ul-Dowla, &c and saying also whatever comes uppermost in his mind to my prejudice in public assemblies ?

In regard to what you write concerning the royal Firmaun, and your having in view the preparation of another treaty, when you favored me with your company at Mongheer, I told you frequently, that "the power of your people was great, but I had little to oppose it. I desired you to consider, nor entertain the notion, that any agreement would be binding with people accustomed to acts of oppression." Is not this an instance of oppression, that the salt-petre farms, which I have allowed unto you gentlemen, upon the produce of which you used to pay formerly three, and three and half rupees *per* maund, you now forcibly hold at one and three-fourth of a rupee, plundering and injuring my people? In this manner my country is to go to ruin, and I may not utter a word. Besides all this, you write, that it is my own officers who create these disturbances, exercise oppression, and injure the salt-petre farm. This being the case, how can any treaty stand good between us? And how can it take effect, if such oppression continues? Besides, as you have dispatched the Company's troops to chastise my officers, if they but murmur at these evils, why need you trouble yourselves to make any other treaty? In my service, there is not one who can prejudice me against you in any affair. Under you there is Mr Ellis, who fails not to prejudice you with evil insinuations against me, as you must see and be sensible, tho' you connive at it, and say nothing on the subject; but you are pleased to think (I do not know upon what grounds) that I have evil-minded people in my service.

I am at loss how to act under these censures, and must own myself insufficient, if regulations of this nature take place. Be pleased, therefore, to set me free from the uneasiness of such an administration; and set up a person for conducting it, whom the Council may better approve.

Full well I know, that they will both condemn me, and injure your good name, and bring this about at last. Why do they wait for a charge against me? It is not the part of honest men, to bring an unjust charge against any one, with a view to compass other designs, it is better that you do it at this time."

Copy of a Letter from the Chief and Council at Patna, to the Governor and Council Dated March 12, 1763

"The following is an extract of a letter, from lieutenant Downie to the Chief, received last night. "I have the pleasure to acquaint you, that I have just now seized Meer Acbur Allee, whom I shall send to you, I have likewise taken possession of and the excuse he makes for his violent proceedings, is, that he collected from his pergunah, and shall have it carried to Mow as soon as possible. I will now proceed to Durbunghy, to catch the other opposer of the Company's trade"

Meer Acbur Allee arrived here about noon, under the charge of a subahdar, and 50 seepoys, we have called him before us, and the excuse he makes for his violent proceedings, is, that he was setting up to act as the Company's gomastah We again repeat our request, that you will favor us with your orders. what we are to do with this man, or any other, who may act in the like manner"

Copy of a Letter from the Chief and Council at Patna to the Governor and Council Dated March 15, 1763

"We acquainted you the 12th, that lieutenant Downie had made Meer Acbur Allee a prisoner, and taken possession of the Company's petre at Taajepoor, where he left it in charge of a havaldar, a naick, and twelve seepoys, till it should be removed to the factory at Mow This party was attacked by a body of 500 horse, sent for that purpose from the Nabob's camp, by whom four of them have been killed, three wounded, and the remainder, with the Company's gomastah, carried prisoners to the Nabob The Nabob has halted at Ponarac, and we have intelligence, that he proposes returning here to attack us Should he carry his threats into execution, we shall immediately possess ourselves of the city, as the most effectual means of rendering his evil designs abortive"

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor Dated March 11, 1763

"Your two favors are arrived, and have rejoiced me. You write, "that Mr. Middleton, who resides at Luckypoor, wrote a letter to you, and the rest of the Council; that you have sent me a translation thereof, with copies of the letters which Aca Mahomed Nizam, and Syed Buddul Cawn wrote to

the said gentleman, and others That Golam Hossein is a moon-shee of the Company's factory, and Mahomed Gazy, collector of the Company's taalook, annexed to Luckypoor, that now Mahomed Allee wants to plunder the officers aforesaid, and seize their persons, that it has been always an established rule, that the servants of the Company remain at the disposal, and in the possession of the Company, and Mahomed Allee Beg wants to break through it, that the said taalook has been in the possession of the Company, from the time of Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn Moreover, that Cootub Aalum, my officer of Rajemahl, wrote a letter to Mr George Gray, a copy of which you have also sent, that he, in like manner, wants to seize upon the Company's taalook, and to remove the bazar of the factory, that you have sent me a copy of the letter you wrote to him, that you are desirous of a stop being put to these disputes, and that the business of both our governments may be carried on in a proper manner, but it is daily disturbed by the villainous proceedings of my officers, particularly Mahomed Allee Beg, further, that Syed Jelaul Bocary stops your boats laden with salt, and demands extraordinary duties upon them "

The translated copies of Mr Middleton's letters are arrived and I fully understand the purport of them

Since all this wrangling on the part of the gentlemen has arisen on account of duties, I have, for that reason, put a stop to the collecting of duties, and customs, in all districts of the provinces, subject to me, as well as to coining of money in all my mints, I have also had the wicket in Patna opened, as I before wrote for your information Now that you are pleased to write complaints against Mahomed Allee Beg, I have removed him from Dacca, and sent for him hither, so you may chuse whom you will, amongst the Europeans, to take the management of Dacca Although Mahomed Allee Beg has neither plundered any one, nor placed guards upon the house of one individual, yet to put an end to all the blame which you heap upon me, I have sent for him hither But Ellis is he who has twice committed these disturbances, and not long since placed a guard upon my own dwelling, I mean the fort of Mongheer; and, at this very time, has detached three companies of seepoys, and two pieces of cannon, with intent to seize

my officers, and has actually surrounded the fort of Taajepoor. I know not the reason of all these insults from the said Ellis, nor will I put up with such violent proceedings from him, wherefore I have written as much for your information ”

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor Dated March 14, 1763

“It has been owing solely to the friendship and regard which I bear to you, that I have hitherto constantly born in my mind, the marks of your favor , and, for friendship and kindness which you have shewn to me, I have put up with every thing until now, that my patience is quite exhausted Whatever is to be done, do you, Sir, do it yourself ; why should you cause my authority to be insulted, and my honor injured, by your servants, and people of low character ? One man may easily continue in friendship to one man , but to be dependent upon ten people, is beyond the power of man

I have, in no wise, been deficient in the observance of the treaties which you made with me, but, from the beginning, have scrupulously complied with all my agreements

At this time, that you have been pleased to write to me to keep open the wicket, and entrenchment in the city of Patna, and for trade to go on as usual, I paid all due respect to your letter, and immediately complied with its contents I had sent for Mahomed Allee Beg from Dacca, and I was on my way from Patna towards Rajemahl, and had reached Barr, when Mr Ellis sent three companies of seepoys, with two guns, in order to surround my fortress of Taajepoor, besides other companies towards Durbunga, Mow, Teegra, Sircar Sarum, Tekarry, and other districts in different parts of the province, by which my affairs have been so much hurt, that an entire stop is put to the collection of my revenues

I knew not in what light to consider all these disturbances, plunderings and ravages , so, upon information of this news, I dispatched Mahomed Ameen Cawn, one of my jemmatdars, towards Taajepoor, that he might enquire particularly, and bring me intelligence of the cause of so much disorder He had not reached the place, before the companies above-men-

tioned had taken hold of Acbur Allee, Naib of Sheer Zaman, my aumil at Taajepoor, and carried him away to Patna. My jemmatdar wrote me these particulars; in answer to which, I sent him orders to bring your gomastah, residing at the factory of Taajepoor to me, that I might enquire of him, why my aumil had been seized and car-carried away.

When Mahomed Ameen Cawn drew nigh to the factory, your seepoys there, by order of the gomastah, fired upon him without challenging him. My jemmatdar, having no other resource, made use of the force that he had, seized your gomastah, and brought him to me. I examined into this affair in the best manner, and then dismissed your gomastah. I found from him, that my aumil was by no means in fault, but Ellis, having fixed the blame of all these tumults and disorders upon my aumils, under pretence of the salt-petre, merely from his own hatred to me, and violence of temper, has created these disturbances, and perseveres in them. You wrote me heretofore, that by keeping the wicket in the city of Patna shut, a report would in all probability prevail amongst the people, that the Company and I were at variance. Ellis for two years past has been making all these disturbances, in order to demean me, and injure my affairs. Ought I not to be informed, how I am to consider these proceedings, and what is the reason of them? You are my friend, bound to free me from all these insults, which I never can bear with. Since the said gentleman has proceeded to acts of violence against my officers, should my officers, for the sake of their characters, stand upon the defensive, you are not to reproach me with it, but if you are inclined to allow of Mr Ellis's actions, you will do well to give the country to him, that you and I may be freed from the vexations of it, for I am convinced, that the Council will not put an end to these disputes.

I have halted here at Barr two days, on account of this affair, to-morrow I shall march towards Mongheer."

Copy of Letter from the Nabob to the Governor Dated March 15, 1763.

"I have been favored with your letter, together with copies of a perwannah to Mahomed Allee Beg, and other papers.

You write, "that Mr. Senior paid the duties upon 4000 maunds of salt at the Shahbunder, took a pass, and dispatched his salt, but Syed Jelaul Bocary stopped it, and required a further duty upon it That at Rungpoor, a duty is demanded upon all kinds of goods, upon which account, the business of the English gentlemen, and their gomastahs, is entirely stopped That at Shewgunge, belonging to Dinagepoor, Ramnaut, my Naib there, has collected money, under pretence of a tax for the support of poor and indigent people That Roy Mohunloll, aumil of Bahar, demands a duty upon opium That as your gomastahs, about Rangamettee, are distressed through a scarcity of provisions, you have sent some seepoys thither, to bring Syed Jelaul Bocary to you."

From the beginning to this time I have looked upon myself as obliged to you, and have assented to every thing you either spoke, wrote, or negotiated with me, upon any affair whatever I have to preserve the friendship between us, put an entire stop to the collection of all kinds of duties, and customs upon merchandize, as well inland as foreign, both from you and the rest of the English gentlemen; and all other people both great and small; nay, tho' it was plainly to the detriment of my affairs, yet to avoid all disputes between your government and mine, I have shut up all my mints, and I have likewise sent for Mahomed Allee Beg from Dacca Now you will please to consider if you have spoken, or written to me, upon any other matter, that I have not complied with

Notwithstanding all this that I have done to preserve your esteem, and although you have expressed the sincerest friendship, and regard for me, yet your sending seepoys to seize my officers and bring them to you, will convince all mankind, what solid foundation the friendship and love between us is built upon These kinds of reports may be suitable to your intentions, but they are by no means agreeable to mine.

I told you face to face, and have written again and again to you, that on account of the difference of disposition, betwixt me and the English gentlemen; I looked upon myself as insufficient for this employment; accordingly, it were much better, that in the same manner as they gave it once to me, they now deliver it over to whomsoever they may think proper.

It is very far from the character becoming you, to write me letters breathing nothing but friendship, and, at the same time, to give ear to the unjust reports of your own people, and take steps towards a rupture

If you are willing to shew yourself a friend, immediately order back Syed Jelaul Bocary, to his own district, and break not up the foundation of our friendship, in doing which, by the by, you are not backward, since, I think there is no great favor in sending your seepoys against my officers, and in writing to me on such subjects. If you are still resolved to make use of forces, do not write to me, for I will not return you an answer upon such matters

In the Nabob's own Hand

Such disturbances as the English have set on foot, were never known in any government, till the time of Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn, that they should send seepoys and seize the officers of the government, and carry them away, at the same time, that the Nazim was looking on, without taking notice of it. All my forbearance has been owing entirely to the friendship between you and me. If the English gomastahs will carry on their trade, according to the custom practised by other merchants, it is well. If not, I have no resource, but to make use, as you do, of expressions tending to dissolve our friendship. My reputation and honor are dearer to me than life. If you are inclined to let friendship subsist between us, you ought to lay aside these disturbances and altercations, which must produce a rupture, and if you are inclined to break with me, let me know it immediately, that I may have nothing further to do with these things, for I can bear them no longer."

The Nabob's letters of the 11th, 14th and 15th of March, having been read in Council, the 24th, it was resolved, that the following answer should be wrote him by me as President

Copy of the Letter to the Nabob. Dated March 24, 1763.

I have received your letters of the 11th, 14th, and 15th instant. With regard to the interruptions of our trade, and the dependents of your government and ours; our original orders were to apply to you, and your officers, for redress, on

any occasion of complaint on our part, but this was so often done without effect, that finding the interruptions and disturbances daily increase, insomuch that our business was, in most parts, put an entire stop to, we had no remedy left to make use of, but that of force, to free our business, and therefore, disagreeable as it was to us, we were obliged to give such orders to all the factories, of which you have been before duly advised

What Mr Ellis has done in the Patna province, for clearing the Company's business, was agreeable to the said orders, sent him by the Board, and I must here particularly observe, with respect to that gentleman's not applying to you for redress on any occasion, that you have absolutely put it out of his power, by declaring, that you would not answer any of his letters, and having really left unanswered four which he actually wrote you

I do not find that you have yet given orders to any of your officers to forbear from obstructing our business, as they still continue to do it, to the utmost of their power, excepting in those places where our troops are actually stationed for its protection, when you have given such orders as shall put an end to those obstructions, we, on our part, will not interfere with your officers, or the affairs of your government

I have wrote you before of our resolutions and demands, and now I again acquaint you, that we shall insist upon a compliance with them in every point. Myself, as well as the Council, are heartily resolved to support you in your government, and all its rights, but if you oppose our people in the execution of orders, which we have authorized, and with which you have been acquainted, we shall look upon such a conduct as an open declaration on war, but to shew you our earnest desire to prevent such an event, we continue in our resolution to send to you Mr. Amyatt (who will be accompanied by Mr. Hay) for the purpose we have before wrote you, as soon as we shall receive your answer to that letter.

I must in this letter take notice of two particular phrases, that you make use of, *servants* and *men of low character*. I am very unwilling to suppose you could, by such unbecoming expressions, mean the gentlemen of Council; but they with

me insist upon an explanation, as we will by no means suffer ourselves to be treated with disrespect ”

In my letter to the Board from Mangheer, which contained the regulations made with the Nabob, I mentioned a resolution expressed by him, to abolish all duties whatever in his dominions, to avoid the daily disputes between our people and his officers, who collected them. This he now actually put in execution, as appears by some of the foregoing letters. It was known at Calcutta by private advices, before the receipt of those letters, and became the subject of a fresh dispute, which was opened by Mr Johnstone in consultation, the 22d of March. As all the arguments on this subject are fully stated in the minutes entered upon it, by the several members of the Board, I shall only enter those minutes, adding, that it was resolved upon, by a great majority, that this exemption was a breach of the Company's privileges; and that the Nabob should be positively required to recall it, and collect duties as before from the country merchants, and all other persons who had not the protection of the Company's dustuck.

Mr Johnstone's Minute.

“No public advices having been yet received from the Chief and Council at Patna; and the instructions for Mes Amyatt and Hay being now lying for consideration; Mr Johnstone begs leave to deliver in copies of sunnuds, issued at Patna, &c., by the Nabob received in private letters, ordering an exemption to all merchants from duties of every kind on their trade for two years. As this proceeding appears destructive to the Company's royal privileges and rights, Mr. Johnstone thinks it merits the consideration of the Board, to concert measures to prevent this injurious attempt of the Nabob, which he conceives beyond his authority as a Subah, raised and supported by us, without any revocation of our grants, by the King himself, and that we neither can, nor ought to admit of it, consistently with the trust reposed in us by Company, while they have placed the means of supporting their rights in our hands

Mr Watts's Opinion

“Mr. Watts is of opinion, that the Nabob's taking off duties on all goods, must be highly detrimental to the Company's

trade, that it is a step he, as Subah of Bengal, has no authority to do without permission from the Mogul, and as the Mogul has always deemed the English, in a much superior light to the Nabob, he thinks it is incumbent on them to insist, that, the duties be collected from other merchants as formerly, otherwise our privileges, granted to us by the Firmaun, &c will be entirely overset ”

Mr Marriott's Opinion

“Mr Marriott thinks, that the Nabob, in issuing out the late perwannah to take off duties from all trade, has acted quite contrary to the Company's interest, and must, if not put a stop to, prevent our procuring the usual investment, as the goods in consequence will be dearer, the quantity smaller, and the quality much inferior

That this order appears to have been done with a design to prejudice the English affairs in this country as much as possible, as the rights and privileges we hold over other European nations, and the natives of this country, are now become void, and what has cost the Company so great an expence of blood and treasure, is now rendered of no signification

That the making our Firmaun privilege of no effect, which he has done by this order, is the same as if he had entirely prevented us trading with a Company's dustuck, and demanded duties as he has lately done.

That we ought, at all rates, to insist on his recalling these orders, and should he refuse, look upon it as a downright declaration against the Company's interest, and act with him as an infringer of our rights.”

Mr Hay's Opinion

It appears to Mr. Hay, that the Nabob's remitting the duties on the whole trade of these provinces for two years, is done with no other design, than to prejudice the affairs of the English, and render of as little use as possible, the privileges they enjoy by the grants they are possessed of, and that this step has been pointed out to him by the Armenians, or some others, whose interest it is, that the English should be loaded

with that, more than double custom of nine *per cent* in hopes that the Company, within the space of two years, may, from an apprehension of their own trade being hurt, order that this extravagant duty should be paid, or that the inland trade should not be carried on by their servants. The Nabob will be no loser by this measure, for he will undoubtedly, at the end of the two years, make the merchants answerable to him for the duties on the goods, in which they trade in the interim. This is the beginning of a game that will, no doubt, if a stop is not put to it, be continually played to the disadvantage of the English Company. Mr Hay is therefore of opinion, that it should be made known to the Nabob, that we look on this measure as designed to prejudice the Company's affairs; and that we will not quietly see him proceed in measures, that can answer no other purpose than the oversetting our privileges.

Mr. Johnstone's Opinion

I entirely agree with Mr Hay's opinion. I have heard it urged, that the Nabob is master in his territories, and may therefore remit to his subjects any advantage accruing to his revenues, by duties collected in the country. To me it appears quite otherwise, nor can I conceive that the Nabob, whom we have raised to the Subahship, and have hitherto supported him in it by force of arms, in opposition to the King, can ever have thereby acquired a right to undermine, and entirely ruin, the rights and advantages, the Company, at an immense expence, obtained by grants from the sovereign of the kingdom, or by treaties with the foregoing Subahs, all which this man has bound himself to maintain, and confirm to us in their fullest extent. Had such an attempt been made by Jaffier Allee Cawn, or Serajah Dowla, to render of no use and effect, the singular advantage our nation enjoyed by the privilege of carrying on their trade under the dustuck, surely, every one must have considered such proceedings as the plainest declaration of their enmity ill-will and fixed resolution to ruin our trade, superiority, and influence through the country, by reducing us on a footing with all other European or foreign traders, and even with the very Bengal inhabitants. I imagine, that no power we have been pleased to invest this Nabob

with, can ever authorize him to take such a step, to the prejudice of the Company, or justify us to our employers, to permit it to take place. Nothing less than an order from the King at Delly, could claim our regard in this point; and even that I believe the Company would expect we should not comply with, till we had used every method in our power, for the preservation of their rights and immunities. The Nabob, after repeated attempts to burthen us with the exorbitant duty of nine *per cent* on articles of our exports, as well as inland trade, on finding the Board resolved to oppose it, and support the dustuck in its full extent, has now recourse to an exemption from all duties to other merchants, to invalidate our proceedings, in opposition to the late regulations, but he may, with as great propriety, in regard to us, insist on the one as the other, and our time and arguments will seem to have been employed to very little purpose indeed, if we allow him to elude them, and baffle us by such a proceeding. Nor can I imagine the necessity of Mes Amyatt and Hay, now proceeding to explain our resolutions, and the extent of our privileges, while they are thus rendered of no effect; till that demand therefore be revoked, by a previous application of the Board, any deputation to him would appear to me rather hurtful than beneficial.

Mr Cartier's Opinion

Mr Cartier esteems the copy of a sunnud, from Cossim Allee Cawn, to the Naib of Patna, directing him to lay open the trade of the country to the natives, &c for the space of two years, free of all duties and taxes, purposely done to render void, and counteract those regulations we have been deliberating upon, for these last two months, for the better establishment of our particular privileges, and to set proper boundaries to our own, as well as the Nabob's power. That this grant will very materially affect the Honorable Company's investment in every branch, not only in point of price, but the amount of their order; that the former will be greatly inanced, as the latter proportionably decreased, from the swarm of purchasers this indulgence must necessarily produce; and that the Honorable Company's particular privileges and grants, de-

rived to them from the authority of the great Mogul, will be rendered invalid, and of no consequence by this step, that we are strongly interested, from every motive of good and wise policy, to prevent the same from taking effect, more particularly as its taking place would upset our influence, and ruin that distinguishing mark of favor, received from the Court of Delly That if it be allowed a right inherent in the Nabob, to do as he pleases with the revenues of his country, and to shew all manner of indulgencies to his subjects, it will as naturally follow, that it becomes necessary in us, to prevent any innovation in his government, that must evidently be attended with bad consequences to the Honorable Company's affairs; he is therefore of opinion, that all possible endeavors should be tried to prevent this sunnud from taking effect, and that the methods necessary to be applied to answer this purpose, merit the consideration of the Board

Mr Billers's Opinion

Mr Billers agree entirely in opinion with Mr Marriott

Mr Batson's Opinion

The Nabob's giving up the duties on all trade in the country, is evidently designed to undermine and destroy the privileges, which the English enjoy by the King's Firmaun, and Mr Batson thinks, that he has been encouraged in this, and several other schemes, prejudicial to the English, by a faction of Armenians and others, from private and corrupt views, and that therefore we should take the most effectual methods to prevent this scheme from taking place

What has been urged by some gentlemen, that the Nabob has a right to do what he pleases in his own country, would better become his vacceels, than members of this Board

Mr Batson thinks we should oppose, to the utmost, all his attempts against the English interests

Mr. Amyatt's Opinion

Mr. Amyatt coincides in opinion with Mes Marriott and Hay.

The President's and Mr Hasting's Opinion

In our letter to the Board, of the 15th of December, from Mongheer, it is noticed, that the Nabob had declared his resolution to take off all customs, and lay trade entirely open, in case the disputes between us, concerning the customs on the private inland trade, could not be amicably settled, and we insisted on carrying it on free of duties. The reasons he gave for this resolution are there mentioned, viz "That if we thought our privileges extended so far, and would carry on our trade in all articles free of customs, of course the country merchants could have little share, and the duties proceeding therefrom would be so inconsiderable, that he thought it would be more for the advantage of his revenues, to encourage the merchants in general, by an entire abolition of all customs, which would remove at once the principal cause of the disputes between him and us." We added in the same letter, that we had dissuaded the Nabob from this measure, lest it should prejudice the Company's business, by enhancing the number of purchasers, and rendering the dustuck useless; and mentioned this as an argument, whv we ought to consent to pay customs on our private inland trade, not to risk hurting the Company's interest, for our own particular advantage.

It has however been determined by the majority of the Board, that we shall trade in all articles custom-free, as well from place to place in the country in commodities produced in the country, as in foreign imports and commodities for exportation, which resolution being declared to the Nabob, he on his part has determined to take off customs in general, and lay trade entirely open.

We cannot think him to blame in this proceeding, nor do we see how he could do otherwise. For altho' it may be for our interest to determine, that we will have all the trade in our hands, that we will employ our own people to make salt, take every article of the produce of the country off the ground at the first hand, and afterwards send it where we please free of customs we say, tho' it may be for our interest to make this unlimited use of our force, yet it is not to be expected

the Nabob will join with us, in endeavoring to deprive every merchant of the country of the means of carrying on their business, which must undoubtedly soon be the case, if they are obliged to pay heavy duties, and we trade in every article on the footing beforementioned

Neither in our opinion could the Nabob in such circumstances collect enough to pay the expence of the chokeys collectors, &c so that trade would be liable to clogs and interruptions, without any benefit to the government. As to the Nabob's rights to lay trade open, it is our opinion, that the Nazim of every province has a right to do any thing for the relief of the merchants trading under his protection, without waiting an order from the Court

Besides, there is at this time no Court nor King, nor has been for some years, and therefore the Nazims must of necessity manage their several governments, as they shall judge best for the general good.

And if either the Nabob Serajah Dowla, Jaffier Allee Cawn, or Cossum Allee Cawn, have a right to give up to us those duties which their predecessors received, or permit us to trade in articles we were before excluded from, of course they have a right also to make regulations in favor of trade in general. We therefore think, that all we have to do on this occasion is, to take such precautions, as may prevent this order from prejudicing the Company's investments, by seeing that the weavers employed in that service are not engaged or taken away by other merchants, which is a right we have always exercised; and this being done, we hope the present regulation, instead of being a prejudice to the Company's business, may be an advantage to it, as well as to the country in general, by rendering the necessaries of life cheaper, and particularly those of the poorer sort, as rice, salt, beetle-nut, tobacco, &c.

Opinion of the Majority

It being the opinion of the Board, that the revoking of the abovementioned sunnud be a point insisted upon from the Nabob.

Resolution in Consequence

Agreed, That an additional paragraph be added accordingly to the instructions given to Mess Amyatt and Hay'

I have before taken notice of a prohibition of one of the Nabob's tethers to Mahomed Allee, to take any duties from goods which had my dustuck, and of the advantage which Messieurs Johnstone and Hay took of that expression, to reflect upon me, as endeavoring to except my own trade from the tax levied on that of others When the instructions to Mess Amyatt and Hay came to be debated before the Board, it was moved in a minute of Mess Johnstone and Hay, that they should be directed to enquire, whether any private agreement had been made between the Nabob and myself respecting my own trade It will be sufficient on this subject to enter their minute, and my own answer and observations on it

Extract of consultation of March 28, 1763 Mess Johnstone and Hay's Minute

"Messieurs Johnstone and Hay propose, that it should be made an article in the instructions to Mess Amyatt and Hay, to inquire of the Nabob what his meaning is, when he says, that Mr Vansittart's own particular gomastah shall be excused the duty laid on the trade of the Company, from one part of the country to the other, in case they produce Mr Vansittart's public or private dustuck ; for as this affair now stands represented, it will appear, that a private agreement has been entered into between Mr Vansittart and the Nabob, to put all that trade into Mr Vansittart's hands, which the rest of the English were deprived of by the treaty laid before the Board ; and as the order of the Nabob to Mahomed Allee appeared before the Board's disapprobation was known to the Nabob, consequently the Company will expect to have it enquired into

The President's Minute

The President desires it may be minuted, that he is the first to desire such an enquiry may be made , and in the mean time, that he can refer to the papers he delivered into Council

the first of February last, to prove that he was the first to give orders to his agents to pay the duties agreed on, and to that very letter * of the Nabob's to Mahomed Allee, read in consultation the 2d of March (from which those gentlemen have taken their observation) to prove, that his business was stopped as soon as others after the regulations, not only in his private inland trade, on which he agreed to pay nine *per cent* duties; but also in the cloth trade provided for him by a dustuck and it is in direct reference to this last circumstance that the Nabob says, "if the said gomastah has the Company's or the Governor's own dustuck, you are not to impede him" As a further proof, that the President never desired any such order from the Nabob, he lays before the Board the following Extract of a letter which he wrote to the Nabob on the subject the 6th of March † He concludes with observing, that as this is not the first instance of Mess Johnstone and Hay's endeavouring to scandalize his character, there is no room for being surprized at it

On the 30th of March I received two letters from the Nabob, complaining of the injuries done him by the Board, and the insults to which he was daily exposed, in very warm and expressive terms; and the next day a letter arrived from the gentlemen at Patna, giving an account of a skirmish between fifty of our sepoys, and some of the Nabob's people near Gyah Those letters were as follow.

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor Dated March 22, 1763

"Your agreeable letter, in answer to what I wrote you is arrived, and I understand contents, viz "You laid ~~my~~ two letters before the rest of the Council, from the perusal of which, it appeared to you, and the whole Board, that notwithstanding all the injury Mahomed Allee Beg, and others, had been the cause of, yet I am unwilling to examine into it, and concern

* See the letter Vol II page 338, which is an answer to the Governor's complaint of some of his cloth being stopped

† See this extract in Page 338 in Vol. II

myself in the clearing it up. wherefore, you write me the particulars of your resolves as follows.

“You carefully perused the Royal Firmaun, &c from which you understand, that the English are to trade with the Company’s dustuck duty-free every where in ports, and also in inland places, by land and by water, throughout the provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa The approved and steady resolution of the whole Board upon which, is to act agreeably to the Firmaun and your sunnuds

“But in examining this matter you observed, that upon some certain articles, it was customary in some certain places, to give a certain consideration, upon tobacco in two places, namely, Dacca and Luckypoor, neither you, nor the rest of the Council, are desirous of annulling an established rule; and upon salt, you will let me have two and a half *per cent*

“Should my officers inure the English gomastahs, the English gomastahs are to represent their grievances to the chief of a factory, which he is to determine without favor or affection

“All losses that have arisen to the gentlemen of Council, through the oppressions of my officers, upon proof, you lay me under the necessity of making good to you, but until my officers receive orders, that the agreement between you and me is not to take effect, they will not refrain from injustice; I must therefore return you the letter of agreement betwixt you and me, and write to all my officers, that I have returned it”

Before this, I sent for Mahomed Allee Beg, in order to enquire into particulars All whatever you may have paid him, by way of custom, either in money or merchandize, and can send me his own sealed receipts for, I will make him repay in money, and will severely punish him

You, and the rest of the Board, in conformity to the Firmaun, husbul-hookums, &c sunnuds, are willing to give me something upon tobacco, in two places, namely, Dacca and Luckypoor, and will let me have two and a half *per cent*. upon salt Why should you take upon you so great a hardship?

As I never got any thing by collecting duties, and they are a cause of endless disputes between us, I have entirely put a stop to collecting customs

I am not ignorant of the nature of your Firmaun and Husbul-hookums I have been twenty or thirty years in Bengal, and am perfectly acquainted with every article in them But not to go so far back In the time of the Nabob Meer Jaffier, when notwithstanding I stood your friend, it was a difficulty to get ten or twenty timbers from Chittagong, for building your houses, then what was become of your Firmaun and Husbul-hookums? And, at present, that I am Nabob, where are they come from?

You are resolved, that the determination of all disputes with my officers, shall rest in the power of the chiefs of your factories

This justice of the chiefs of the factories is this, they abuse and beat my officers, and carry them away bound

With respect to your writing me, to make good in money the losses the gentlemen have sustained In the provinces of my government, half is in land rents, and half is in customs You have taken half the country, and by your favor, I have not reaped so much as a single farthing, on account of the customs; and the half of land rents which remains, goes to the payment of my seepoys Any other person, therefore, that you can pitch upon, you will agree with, for making good your losses

You demanded a perwannah to all my officers Copies, both of a perwannah and sunnud, for exemption of duties, which I wrote to every one of my officers, are sent inclosed to you If any of my officers shall act contrary to my order, therein signified, he shall be punished You write me, to send you back the agreement made between us The only agreement you made with me, is a letter you wrote to me, which I send back, agreeable to your directions. If the former treaty, on which I depended, is of no use to me, and I have not passed a single inoment free from trouble and dispute. will a fresh

treaty be of use to me ? If you write to me for the former treaty, it shall be also sent you”

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor Dated March 22, 1763

“Your favor, dated the 25th of Shaaban, is arrived, and I am happy with the news of your welfare, the copy of Rajah Nobit Roy’s letter, which was inclosed, I have also received and read You write me, that “it is plain from Rajah Nobit Roy’s letter, that I demand duties upon opium That your right to trade in this, is founded upon the Royal Firmaun, Housbul-hookums, and former sunnuds, which, with all other rights and privileges, the English are resolved steadfastly to maintain, nor suffer any infringement That you will send me copies of the Firmaun and sunnuds by Mr Amyatt That I must write to all my officers and fougedars, that trade may be carried on as usual ; else, in case of my delaying to do so, a rupture would happen between me and the English”.

The affair of duties is as follows On account of the oppression of the English gomastahs, there has not so much as a single farthing been collected by way of duties Nay, so far from it, your form callusions with some of my people, and exact fines from others And many merchants, who ought to pay customs, have carried their goods duty-free, through your protection Upon this account, I have entirely given up the collection of duties, and removed all chokeys wheresoever established For why should I subject my character to be reproached without cause, on account of duties ? If any one of my people shall insist upon duties, I will severely punish him As to what you write, of your grounding your rights upon the Firmaun and former sunnuds, I have been twenty or thirty years in this country, and I am perfectly well acquainted with the nature thereof But you ought to remember, that your gomastahs, until the time of Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn, traded only in some certain articles Nay, altho’ I stood your friend, you were unable to provide ten or twenty timbers from Chittagong for building ;

but now, in my administration, your gomastahs make so many disturbances, and are guilty of so great injuries, that I cannot enumerate them Judge, therefore, from these circumstances, who is the oppressor, and who the oppressed

Yoy write, that in case of my delaying to send orders to my officers, a rupture must happen between us It was needless for you to write this to me, since before your letter Mr Ellis never let slip any opportunity of bringing about a rupture, and shewing his ill-will to me, and brought the affairs to this length Nor has he ever omitted any occasion of perplexing my affairs, and disgracing my officers Why need I continue to repeat these things to you? It is the custom of Europeans, to change their chief every three years As three years of my being Nazim are almost expired, and you have never had any pretence, by any deviation on my part, therefore with a view to effect a change and turn me out, you have been raising all these disputes and altercations, and have written to your gomastahs, to commit disturbances and ravages in my country, and have sent troops, to beat, bind, confine, and carry off my officers, expecting that I would accordingly make some stir, and you might be furnished with a pretence against me ”

Copy of a Letter from the Chief and Council at Patna to the Board, March 23, 1763

“We have now to acquaint you with an affair, which will further explain the intentions of the Nabob, and shew, that they are not merely confined to the collection of duties on our trade A subahdar, about the beginning of this month, had permission to go and worship at Gyah, and was furnished with a dustuck from the chief, another from Nobit Roy, and a letter from the latter to the fougadar of that place, to prevent his meeting any insults But notwithstanding this precaution, he was made a prisoner the chief, upon being informed of it, sent fifty seepoys to release him, and seize the offender, which they effected, but were the next day surrounded in a house by about 4000 of the Nabob's troops from Tikarry The subahdar asked their intentions, and told them, he had no orders to

molest any person. The commander replied, it was the Nabob's orders, to cut every English seepoy to pieces wherever they were found. The subahdar told him, he would not submit so tamely. After much altercation, the Nabob's officers agreed to let them go, provided they would deliver up their arms and cloaths, but this being absolutely refused by the subahdar, the Nabob's people began to fire on them, and throw combustibles into the house, by which a havaldar was killed, and a few seepoys wounded. Our people then, and not before, returned their fire, and defended themselves till the evening, when they marched out of the house, bringing their wounded with them, and arrived here this morning, without any further loss.

The people, who were the original instruments of this mischief by seizing the subahdar, escaped during the fray, and in the present situation of affairs, we cannot spare a force sufficient to chastize their insolence, but we doubt not you will resent it in such a manner, as shall deter the Nabob and his officers from acting so in future.

The city is still in the same uproar and confusion, and all business, but that of war, at a stand."

When these letters * were read at the Board, great offence was taken at the style of the Nabob, which was judged to indicate so ill a disposition towards us, as to render all hopes of an accommodation vain, and it was moved by some, that the deputation should be set aside, and the army held in readiness to march; but the majority being of opinion, that Mr Amyatt and Hay should proceed as far as Cossimbuzar, and there wait till the Nabob's assent to the deputation should authorize them to proceed, it was resolved accordingly, that they should set out. As the opinions of the Board contain the fullest remarks that can be made on the Nabob's letters, and serve to throw a

* At the same consultation were read to letters of the Nabob, to me and Mr Amyatt, in answer to the proposed deputation. Though the substance of these letters is sufficiently noticed in the minutes which follow, yet to avoid any misconstruction from their omission, I have wrote to Bengal for the copies, and they shall be hereafter inserted.

fresh light on the dispositions of the several members, I shall here insert them.

Extract of Consultation April 1, 1763

Mr Watt's Opinion

"The Nobob's letters appear to me to contain little else than evasions and insolences His conduct for many months past has been such, that there is little room left to doubt his intentions, which are to distress the English, and depreciate their character, power and interest in these provinces; and I am sorry to say, he has almost accomplished them It is natural to conclude, that a man raised to the Subahship, and supported by them to the utmost, contrary to the inclinations of he King and great people of the country, would have some regard for their interest, if not some friendship for the English; but his conduct proves the contrary, and the step he has pursued in taking off all duties is, and will be the greatest detriment to the Company and the English His refusing to see Mr Amyatt I deem an insult, his letter bids us defiance; the preparations he is making every where, and the readiness he shews to quarrel with us, have produced an entire stoppage to trade.

Mr. Watts is therefore of opinion, that a letter be wrote to the Nabob, insisting on his recalling the orders for not levying of duties, and that the trade of the country be carried on as formerly; that if he will comply with this, Mess Amyatt and Hay should proceed to him to settle any other points, but if on the contrary, that we do ourselves justice, and take that satisfaction by force for the many insults he has put upon us, which he refused to give, and that orders be given for the army to hold themselves in readiness to march

Mr. Marriott's Opinion

Mr. Marriott is of opinion, that the Nabob's letters are wrote in a very improper and indecent style, and that he shews throughout great distrust and diffidence of us; that notwithstanding he thinks, from the Nabob's actions and

letter, particularly these last, we should be fully justified in coming to an open war with him ; yet a revolution is of such a nature, and must be attended with such bad consequences to our character and reputation, if not to our interest, that it is the last thing to be wished for. He therefore thinks a letter should be wrote to the Nabob, informing him, that there are a number of articles to be communicated to him by Mess Amyatt and Hay, besides that of duties, for the welfare and interest of the Company, and his own government That if he has the thoughts of either at heart, he should assent to Mess Amyatt's and Hay's coming upon this occasion That our troops have never acted, but when his officers had directly stopped our business That we once more assure him of our willingness to protect him on all occasions in his just rights , and that we never had an intention of setting up a competitor against him That without he will allow us to remove his suspicions and jealousies by an interview, with two of the members of the Board, it will be impossible for us to act otherwise, than as against a declared enemy, which we shall then unwillingly be obliged to, for the preservation of our rights and privileges

That in the mean time Mess Amyatt and Hay, might be requested to proceed up as far as Cossimbuzar, and there wait till we receive the Nabob's answer , if that answer should not desire an immediate interview with Mess Amyatt and Hay, or be the least evasive, that the army should march up and act against him as an enemy

Mr Hay's Opinion

The Nabob's conduct for near a twelve month past, and particularly his method of redressing our grievances when applied to for that purpose ; and his letters throughout, which point out the situation in which he thinks we ought to be kept, and his notion of the privileges which we enjoy, by grant and treaty, fully declare his resolution to give us no satisfaction for the losses we have sustained, by the unjust conduct of his officers, or to treat with us about these affairs, or receive the deputation proposed by us, to be sent to him

for the adjustment of them. These together convince me, was the consequence of a rupture, with the Nabob, ever so doubtful, that it would be our interest, and the best measure that could be pursued, immediately to march against him, before he could do the country much harm, or be prepared to perpetrate our ruin, which, no doubt he would, were it in his power; and I imagine, by his late conduct, he thinks it is. By comparing the condition of his army and ours, I think it can hardly be doubted, but a war between us must end in his immediate ruin, although he should employ his whole art for some months to strengthen himself.

It is reasonable to think, that any other person, in the Nabob's situation, would be jealous of us, as long as we continue to hold the possessions we have in the country, and that nothing but our having a sufficient force, or reputation in the country, can keep them to us. These have, in my opinion, both been greatly lessened by a very bad policy, in making the Nabob too great, for as his power increases, so, in comparison, ours does diminish. But our reputation has suffered much more than our power, by than means for by giving up to the Nabob those that we had promised to protect; and seeing him, without ever making a remonstrance, ruin almost every person in the country, that had ever any connection with the English, and making them promise never to have any, under severe penalties, we have entirely lost that reputation which we had, of being persons of honor, whose words and promises might, in all cases, be depended on, and which received such great and irreparable hurt by the last revolution. This kind of reputation, which we have so much suffered in, is not only very desirable, but highly useful, but that kind of reputation which we had, of being masters of the country, when we pleased, would be equally, if not more useful to us, in keeping us in possession of our lands and rights, and preventing us from numberless broils, which a contrary opinion will bring on us, and this has equally been hurt by our policy; for the people in the country can never think, that our conduct proceeded from any other cause, than an inability to help ourselves, or act otherwise.

Having considered this, and that it may be of service to our reputation, and in some measure recover us from the imputation of being unfaithful to our engagements, to endeavor all in our power (even by delay, which might be of the most fatal consequence, was it not for the superiority that we have at present) to bring about an adjustment of affairs with the Nabob, on such terms as have been proposed before ; which, I hope, will sufficiently prevent its being thought in the country, that we are altogether dependent on the Nabob , I therefore agree with Mr Marriot in what he proposes to effect it.

Mr. Johnstone's Opinion.

There is scarce a man in the province, that ever had any attachment to the English, or any connection or dependence on them, but has been marked out, on that account, and sacrificed by the Nabob, through his jealousy and hatred to us ; insomuch, that it cannot be said, we have now left us one friend in the country, nor any to give us the least intelligence of what passes relative to us, in these times of trouble. All we learn, is through our Chief and Council at Patna. The proceedings of the Nabob in turning off our troops. The stoppage and impediments thrown in the way of our trade, since July last, without the removal or punishment of any of the authors of these losses and disturbances. The insolent orders he every where issued, to turn every Englishman out of the country, that refused obedience to the late regulations. The violences and oppressions to which his officers proceeded in consequence, in which he both justifies and supports them by force of arms. The orders he has issued, for collecting nine *per cent* duty on opium, and on goods purchased, that are produced in the country, without any distinction, whether for export or inland trade. The contemptible light in which he considers the Company's rights, in virtue of their royal grants, and the late treaties , and the intention he has shewn, of reducing and confining our trade to as narrow limits, and under as great difficulties, as those we labored under before the revolution ; and the open attempt he has now made to

injure the Company's trade, by undermining their privileges, and rendering them of no effect, in presuming of his own unwarranted authority to take off all duties. The attack he ordered to be made on our factory, and seepoys near Taajepoor, and his justifying the same, and declaring his resolution of opposing force by force, on the like occasions, and the public threats he has made use of before the gomastah, of extirpating the English, if ever they presumed to act against his aumils in future; though he had been previously informed by the Board, that our Chiefs would act by their authority, in freeing our trade where stopped, or in repelling any insults or abuses of his officers. The stopping and imprisoning our subahdar, though furnished with the Company's dustuck, and attacking and killing our people sent to relieve him, which agrees perfectly with his own declaration in his letter, that he considers things already brought to a rupture. The Nabob's disinclination of entering into any new treaty to adjust these disputes. The slight and disdain he shews for that treaty by which he holds his subahship. His express declaration to Mr Amyatt, that he had better keep away than come to talk upon business. The preparations that we are informed from Patna, Moorshedabad and Dacca, he is every where making for war, without having given us satisfaction, or any reason to hope, that he will give us satisfaction, on any of the points we have laid down and insisted on. All these circumstances, with the style and purport of his six last letters, which bid us defiance in the most insolent and ungrateful manner, make me entirely of opinion, that the Nabob looks upon us as his enemies, and waits his opportunity of ruining us. That, from his aversion to any advances to settle these quarrels, or credit any assurances we have given him of our peaceable intentions, the mutual confidence that ought to subsist betwixt us (and without which, we must ever be in a state of war, though it be not publicly declared) is now lost, without any well-grounded hope of its being restored, which does, and must tend to the ruin of all commerce, and, therefore, I can neither think it safe nor honorable, or that, in the Nabob's present disposition towards us, it can produce any good effect, that Mess Amyatt and Hay should proceed on the deputation;

and that till the Nabob, by his behavior, shews as great a desire and willingness to prevent things coming to extremes, by condescensions very different from any he has made ; our own honor, and the interest and security of our Honorable Masters affairs, dictate to us, to adopt and pursue more vigorous measures, and order the army to be held in readiness to march.

Mr Hastings's Opinion

Though I do not approve of the regulations which have been resolved upon by the majority of the Board, yet since they are to take place, and the disputes with the Nabob, upon the subjects which gave occasion to them, have been carried to so great a height, I think it necessary that they should be delivered and explained to him by a deputation from the Board, and that Mess Amyatt and Hay should therefore proceed, as before directed, on that commission. The Nabob has expressed a desire to see Mr Amyatt and makes no other objection to a conference with him, on the affairs which have been lately debated at the Board, than his desire to avoid every subject of contention, having with that intent consented to such of the articles as he has been made acquainted with. But if he has exceeded the intention of the Board, or not sufficiently answered their expectations, it is the more necessary, that some gentlemen be deputed to confer with him in person upon them ; it being a known truth, that more may be effected by a personal negotiation in one day, than in a month by letters.

As to the other part of the question, which I shall take the liberty to understand, in the terms in which it was first proposed, viz "Whether the army should march against the Nabob" I declare my entire dissent to so violent a measure, which no pretence of necessity can require, or justice allow of.

It is unnecessary, because it is not in the Nabob's power to oppose any laws which we may present to him ; and the orders lately sent to the subordinate factories are sufficient to preserve them in full force.

The same reason might be urged in proof of its injustice, were there no other against it, but when the Nabob has declared his submission to every term which you have imposed upon him, and expostulates only for his life whatever his motive be, whether of choice or necessity, surely we may rest satisfied with such a condescension, nor attempt to reduce him to a lower state of humiliation. I shall not (I hope I need not) remind you gentlemen, of the earnest injunctions of the Company, to abide by our engagements with the Nabob, and to avoid to the last extremity every occasion, that may tend to another change in the government. But should it be resolved to break with the Nabob, I hope such gentlemen as are of that sentiment, will declare it before the last dispatches are made to Europe, that our Honorable Masters may have as early notice of it as possible, and take the speediest measures to remedy (if possible) the disorders which may follow from it.

Mr. Cartier's Opinion

Mr Cartier esteems the Nabob's letters as insolent and equivocating, and far from giving us that satisfaction, which we have reason to expect from him; that they require clearness and leave us doubtful as to his real intentions towards us. That his compliance with our demands, in those points we have insisted upon with him, which he makes a matter of much merit, is a contemptuous manner of proceeding, having effectually undone to us the advantages of this very compliance, and rendered our valuable privileges void, by a general indulgence granted to his subjects and others of a free trade. That his letter to Mr. Amyatt neither consents to, nor absolutely refuses the visit the Board have thought proper should be made him. That it is necessary he be made fully acquainted with the purport of this visit, viz "that the suspicions harboured in his mind may be banished, and give place to that hope and confidence he ought to have of our particular attachment to him; to make him sensible the good of the country, and his own particularly, is in every respect intended by it. That our intentions extend no further, but to the support of our rights and privileges, in which it would be more becoming

him to join with us, than to be offended at, and oppose those steps, which we are necessarily led to take to punish those that invade them. That Mr. Amyatt, for all these desirable ends, intends to set out, and will wait the result of these representations at Cossimbuzar, and be governed by his answer " That in case of meeting a refusal to this visit, we shall be justified in the opinion of the world, if we consider him the declared enemy of our nation, and proceed immediately against him

It is certainly becoming in the members of this Board, to pursue every honorable method, that may tend to effect a perfect reconciliation with the Nabob: and every one that would conduce to that end, ought not to be neglected, or left untried. Our late revolution, he believes, has done us not much honour in the eyes of the world; and another so quickly succeeding, would prove, in some measure, the inconstant wavering state of our Councils; and motives of action be imputed to the members of this Board, unbecoming gentlemen and honest men to be influenced by: he therefore thinks it necessary to convince the Nabob, of our having force sufficient to take every satisfaction required, but with no design to use it against his government, till his refractory behaviour absolutely compels us

Mr. Billers's Opinion.

Having carefully examined the Nabob's last letter, as well as that to Mr Amyatt, I think there are many expressions in the former injurious and improper, but they seem to be mentioned rather thro' pet and passion, than any intention of quarrelling with us. I therefore give it as my opinion, that the necessity there is of Mess. Amyatt and Hay's going to negotiate, ought to be again represented to him. That at present his affairs suffer as well as ours, and that it is absolutely necessary he should come to some determination; but should he refuse to treat with us, or hear any thing relative to business, then it may be deemed an open declaration of war; but without further cause than we have at present, I see no need of breaking with him; and as the Company have

thought proper to confirm him, we ought to be very cautious how we take such a step, and bring about another revolution, for we seem at present somewhat obnoxious in the eyes of the country people, on having concluded the last. However, our rights and privileges have been lately so infringed, and things so circumstanced, that it is highly necessary some speedy remedy should take place. I therefore think Mess Amyatt and Hay might proceed to Cossimbuzar, and there wait the Nabob's final resolves, and in case he still persists in refusing to see those gentlemen, the army should march, but all methods ought to be tried to bring affairs to an amicable issue, for the reasons beforementioned.

Mr Batson's Opinion

The Nabob's settled inveteracy, and evil designs against us, have long been manifest to the whole country; but of late they have appeared more glaringly, both from his actions and from his letters, which are filled with scorn and defiance; not to mention a multitude of instances, which may be produced, I shall only take notice of his endeavors to undermine and utterly destroy the privileges, granted us by the King's Firmaun, by exempting all other merchants, of whatsoever nation, from paying duties, in order to put them on a level with us. His designs indeed are so evident, that the constant artifices used by the President and Mr Hastings to disguise the truth, and misrepresent matters of fact, cannot conceal them. The case at present, seems to be this; either we must submit to be reduced to the situation in which we were, during the time of Mohabut Jung, and Serajah Dowla, or else we must oblige the Nabob to submit to us. The latter, I apprehend, from his late behavior, we shall not be able to effect, unless we can make him feel our power. and I will never be accessary or consenting to any thing that may expose us to the danger of the former. It is my opinion, therefore that we should neglect no means of putting ourselves in the best posture of defence, that we may be ready to act in the most effectual manner; and that Major Adams be accordingly desired to hold himself in readiness to march, whenever it be necessary. I

think also, that Mess Amyatt and Hay should not proceed on their deputation, as the Nabob has absolutely refused to treat with them; and therefore their going, will only expose us to further contempt and derision, a large share of which we have already incurred. However, that the Nabob may still have an opportunity given him of remaining on amicable terms with us, I propose, that our demands be once more fully stated to him by letter, and that we insist on a direct compliance therewith, without evasion or subterfuge. If he still refuse to comply, I think we should immediately take our measures for crushing him, for, as it is known that he is raising troops, and making warlike preparations in all parts of the country, a further delay may be very dangerous.

Mr Amyatt's Opinion

I think the Nabob's letters shew the same state of mind, which he always has seemed to express and discover by his actions, ever since he has been in the government, and no further than might well be expected from him, from having been so long suffered to follow his own will, and his whims indulged to appease his jealousies. General complaints admitted against our servants, when the oppressions which we now experience have been on his part; our business stopped, and almost every where impeded, without our exerting our influence and power to clear it, because we would not give him offence, or make him uneasy, to most of these grievances and concession, myself with, several members of the Board, have often objected and remonstrated, foreseeing that, in the end, it must create the animosity and ill-will, which now is come to pass, and that we should be necessitated by force, to assert our own rights, which he had been so long endeavoring to subvert. I am too sensible, that the people of the government are not to be so far trusted, as to have any point given up to them. A compliance, in the most trivial matter, gives them a privilege, they think, to exercise their authority, without controul, in every thing, tho' of ever so much consequence and detriment to the condescending party. Such being the prepossessions of the Nabob's mind, our insisting on a free exertion of our rights

and privileges now, appears to him as an encroachment on his liberties, and a loss to him in his duties, from our trade being extended For this way of thinking, however, he has no justice on his side, for the same trade, in its different branches, was carried on in his predecessor's time, tho' not to so great a degree, occasioned solely by the troubles and confusion the country was every where involved in

That the Nabob would gladly make himself independent of us, and always shewed such an inclination, endeavored as much as possible to throw off all connections with us, and attempted to destroy our influence with the country people, is very evident But vain are all these efforts, and to be suspected the advice of bad and evil persons about him for their own advantage; as most certainly he must be convinced, his own strength cannot defend him from any attempt of a foreign power, or reduce us to that state of dependence, he that sentiments have also been instilled into him, that he might safely interrupt our private trade, and that we durst not offer to check him therein, whilst the Company's remained unmolested; whereas, private trade should be as sacred as the Company's and no distinction ever known; for that once obstructed, the Company's cannot long remain free; which plainly appears, from what it has suffered through the course of these disputes; tho' I believe no such losses were intended by the Nabob. The Nabob's letters are petulant and impertinent; they likewise contain some invectives and defiance, but not of such a nature, as if he felt his own strength sufficient to break with us. I therefore think he ought to be wrote to once more, in the terms proposed by Mr Marriott, to convince him of his error, in thinking that we have views to a change; and to insist on his receiving our deputation, as the only means left of preventing such an event If he refuses so reasonable a demand, I think we may justly interpret the ill intentions to be on his side; and that we shall be justified to the world, in taking the most vigorous and immediate measures, for securing the trade and interest of our Honorable Employers in these provinces. As it seems to be the sentiment of the majority of the Board, I shall willingly pro-

ceed the length of Cossimbuzar, and there wait the Nabob's answer.

Major Adam's Opinion

Major Adams is of opinion, that the Nabob, by his letters to the Board, seems to have entertained jealousies, that must be very prejudicial both to his own and the Company's affairs ; and which cannot be removed but by seeing Mr Amyatt ; and therefore he should be wrote to by the Board to reconcile him to the interview In the mean time, he thinks it necessary that Mr Amyatt should proceed to Cossimbuzar, and there wait the Nabob's answer , and if by it he still persists in his refusal of seeing Mr Amyatt on business, the major can think of no other method to bring him to reason, than marching up the troops ; yet thinks, if any other measures can be thought of, to put a stop to the present confusions, and prevent a future scene of troubles in the country, they should be first tried

The President's Opinion

Although the Nabob's letters of the 22d of March, do not contain a chearful and candid assent to the demands made upon him by the Board, yet he does not contradict, nor refuse to comply with them It is not to be wondered, that he complains and remonstrates. and writes with ill humour, since it is certain, that the privileges which the majority of the Board have resolved now to insist on, are greater than ever were before insisted on, or than we were ever admitted to, by any former Nabob, even Jaffier Allee Cawn, who positively refused to let us have a factory at Chittagong. much less would he permit us to carry on our trade custom-free in all parts, and in all articles.

Supposing, therefore, that the demanded rights be really and truly granted and intended us by the Firmaun, which however is not my opinion ; yet with respect to the Nabob, the insisting on it is an innovation, which he may very naturally complain of, as it occasions a great loss in that part of the

revenue proceeding from the customs He says indeed an entire loss ; for which reason, to avoid further disputes on the subject, he has given orders for taking off all customs in general

Of this order the majority of the Board complain with equal vehemence, and have resolved to insist on his taking customs from other merchants, in the usual manner, altho' not from us. This is to form part of the commission to Mess Amyatt and Hay, as well as the discussing the privileges of the Firmaun

The second resolution of the Board has not yet been made known to the Nabob, who conceiving there is nothing more to be said about customs, after he has entirely abolished them ; and having been advised from the Board, that Mess. Amyatt and Hay were deputed to regulate the affair of the customs, therefore he answers, that their coming is unnecessary In every other respect, his letter to Mr Amyatt is written in an handsome and suitable manner

With respect to the present situation of affairs between us and the Nabob, it is this Wherever the Company's business, or that of their servants, suffered any interruption, our forces have been employed to remove such obstructions, and seize those officers of the government who occasioned them , we have cleared our business, and taken our own satisfaction, and left the Nabob on the suffering side ; and a very great sufferer he will undoubtedly be , for it is well known, that the zemindars, collectors, and other officers of the country government, when they see a likelihood of troubles, and their Master's power on the decline, never fail to make use of the opportunity of keeping back their rents

The Nabob's letters are those of a despairing man, who has imagined to himself, that the Board, or the majority of them, have determined at all events to overthrow his government, let him do what he will, and submit never so patiently to their resolutions. To this state of his mind, many of the petulant expressions, and the anxiety which appears through his letters, should be attributed, and proper allowances made. While we are left in quiet possession of the countries assigned to the

Company, and their trading business also is carried on in every part without interruption, it would be as impolitick as unjust, to begin a war without necessity against an ally, whom we are bound by theaty to support ; and of which, the consequence, would probably be a scene of fresh distraction in the country, a general interruption of trade, and a wanton effusion of blood

That the Nabob has not the design of breaking with us, I think, is plainly proved from his conduct, as well as from the expostulating style of his letters. It is not reasonable to take for granted every report made to us, by an English gomastah, or a discontented officer of the government. If he had a mind to break with us, he would certainly have attacked those three companies of seepoys, with lieutenant Downe, which were detached from Patna, and seized the Nabob's officer at Mow, whilst the Nabob, with his whole army, was within a short march of the place. And if he had succeeded against those three companies, he would then have attached our troops at Patna, to have endeavored to have cut off so considerable a part of our force ; instead of which, his retiring to Mongheer, is a proof with me, that he will submit to any thing, rather than come to hostilities with us.

And I think we ought equally to desire to preserve the peace and tranquility of the country, and amicably to accommodate the points in dispute, for which purpose, I think, no method so proper, as the deputation proposed, to discuss those points. The Nabob's saying, that if Mr Amyatt's business is to dispute upon the articles of customs, he had better not come, as it is a point already settled, by the abolishing of customs in general ; is not, in my opinion, to be regarded as a refusal to treat with Mr Amyatt, upon the matters contained in the instructions, to Mr Hay and him from the Board ; and which having never yet been communicated to the Nabob, it consequently cannot be said, that he has refused to discuss them.

I think, therefore, that it would be most expedient to write to the Nabob, in answer to his last letters, to this effect. "That the alarms, in all parts of the country, must be attended with a very great loss and detriment, both to his affairs and

the Company's, and a breach of the friendship between us, infallibly ensue, if the necessary regulations for carrying on our business, and settling the points in dispute, be not immediately concluded. That as a proof our desire to avoid coming to extremities, we appointed Mess Amyatt and Hay to confer with him, as the most effectual method of regulating affairs with dispatch. That he ought to regard such our appointment of two gentlemen of the Board, as the strongest mark of our friendship, and a compliment paid him, and that if he should refuse to treat with them, it can be regarded in no other light, but as a declaration of his intention to come to a rupture with us."

And I think Mr Amyatt might himself write to the Nabob, to the same purpose, and wait his answer, either at Calcutta, or Cossimbuzar. But if the Board should determine, that Mess Amyatt and Hay shall not proceed according to their appointment, then, I think, that a letter should be wrote to the Nabob, upon the plan of their instructions, demanding every thing thereby directed to be demanded, and requiring a plain, explicit, and final answer, upon every article. it would be an unprecedented thing to employ force, for the obtaining any point, until a friendly application has been made and rejected.

Opinion of the Majority

The majority of the Board being of opinion, that the Nabob should be again wrote to, to insist on his receiving the intended deputation for treating upon business; and that Mess. Amyatt and Hay should proceed to, and wait his answer at Cossimbuzar.

Resolution in Consequence

Agreed, that the President do address him to the effect expressed in his own and Mr Marriott's minutes, and plainly acquaint him, that a refusal to comply with the demand therein contained, can be regarded in no other light, than a declaration on his side, of his intention to come to a rupture with us."

SECTION XII

The Deputation of Mess Amyatt and Hay, their Proceedings and other Occurrences, to the Death of Mr Amyatt

The Board's Instructions to Mess Amyatt and Hay,—Mr. Vansittart's Dissent—Syed Buddul Cawn, one of the Nabob's Officers, seized at Luckypoor, and sent to Calcutta—Produces Mahomed Allee's Orders—Orders in Consequence to the Factory at Dacca to seize him—Reasons for Mr Vansittart's joining in that Order—Probable Motives of the Nabob's Conduct, in respect to Mahomed Allee—Remarkable Instances of Prepossession on the Part of the Nabob, and of the Council in two Letters; one from the Nabob, and the other from Cossimbuzar, upon false Reports.—Debate upon the last Letter, determined by a second Letter from Cossimbuzar.—Plan of Operations in Case of a War.—Debate upon the Orders to be sent to Patna.—Letter from the Chief and Council at Patna, giving an Account of the Preparations making by the Nabob's Officer there.—Mr. Johnstone's further Minute, relative to his Accusation of Mr. Vansittart, of making a private Agreement with the Nabob—Mr. Vansittart's Answer.—Two Letters from the Nabob.—Debate upon them.—Resolution in Consequence, that Mess. Amyatt and Hay should proceed on their Deputation—Letter from the Chief and Council of Patna, containing News of Insurrections in that Province—Remarks upon it—The Nabob's Letter to the Company—Letter from the Chief and Council of Patna, complaining of their not being allowed fuller Powers.—Remarks upon it—Juggutseet and his Brother carried Prisoners to the Nabob—The Nabob's Reply to Mr Vansittart's Remonstrance in their Behalf—Mahomed Allee seized, and sent to Calcutta—Letter from Mess Amyatt and Hay, giving an Account of their first Interview with the Nabob.—Opinion of the Nabob's Disposition at this Time.—Boats with Arms for Patna, stopped by the Nabob at Mongheer—Mr. Amyatt demands their Release without Effect.—The Nabob's Reasons for detaining them—Letter from Mess. Amyatt and Hay, with a Copy of their Demands presented to the Nabob, and his Answers—Two Letters from Mess Amyatt and Hay, advising that the Arms were still detained—Two Letters from the Nabob,

complaining against Mr Ellis, and demanding the Removal of our Troops from Patna—Letter from Mr Amyatt to Mr. Vansittart, containing the Nabob's Objections to the Demands of the Board—Mr Vansittart's Opinion upon the further Instructions to be sent to Mess Amyatt and Hay—Debate and Resolutions of the Board—Discretionary Powers given to the Chief and Council of Patna—Mr Hastings's Dissent—Letter from Mr Vansittart to the Secretary, containing his Objection and further Opinion—Fresh Resolutions thereupon.—Letters from Mess. Amyatt and Hay, with their Opinion that a Rupture was unavoidable—Two Letters from Mr. Ellis, giving an Account of the Desertion of two hundred of our Seepoys—Other Letters from Mess Amyatt and Hay, confirming their former—Further Resolutions for the Disposition of the Troops in Case of a War.—Delates concerning the future Government of the Country in such a Case—Letter from Mess Amyatt and Hay advising of the Nabob's Declaration, that he would put an End to the Conference, if we did not recall our Troops from Patna—Letter from Mess Amyatt and Hay, advising that the Nabob had released the Boats of Arms, and consented to treat—Strong Reports of Hostilities begun at Patna—Our Dauks stopped—Two Letters from the Nabob, the first urging the Removal either of our Troops from Patna, or Mr. Ellis from the Chiefship, the other expressing a Conviction, that Mr. Ellis was bent upon attacking the City of Patna, and that our Correspondence was come to an End—The Army ordered to march—Advice from Mr. Amyatt, that he and his Party were surrounded, and the Boats of Arms again stopped—Report from Hircarras, that Patna was taken by our Troops—Explanation of Mr Vansittart's Conduct—His Minute, declaring his Resolution to quit the Government, as soon as the War should be ended—Further Debates concerning the future Government of the Country—Resolution of the Board to re-establish Meer Jaffier—Advice from Mr Amyatt, of his having left Mongheer, and from Cossimbuzar, of his Party being attacked, and himself killed.

Mess Amyatt and Hay took their leave of the Board the 4th of April, having received from them the following instructions, which were drawn up from the opinions of the majority

And I signed them with the rest of the Board, conforming herein to the established rule of all the Company's governments which is, that every member shall sign the public orders and records, entering his dissent, where he differs from the opinion of the majority in the consultations. It will be remembered, that I had formerly strongly insisted upon the observance of this rule, when Mess Amyatt and Ellis refused to sign to order of the Board, and subscribed their dissent to them, and it was therefore the more necessary I should comply with it on all occasions myself

Copy of the Instructions to Mess Amyatt and Hay Dated March 28, 1763

"First, the trade of our factories on behalf of the Company, as well as the inland trade, carried on by the agents and gomastahs of English merchants, having, for some months past, met with the greatest interruptions in all parts of the country, from the officers of the Nabob's government, and this having further proved the source of numerous disputes and complaints on both sides, we have had under our consideration the settling of certain rules, agreeable to our respective rights and pretensions, whereby to carry on our trade, and be the means of preventing such disputes from happening in future. In these points, we have already come to some resolutions, and having the greatest reliance on your abilities, prudence, and zeal, as well for the interest of our Honorable Masters, as for the welfare and good of the community, we have thought proper to depute you, to make known to the Nabob those resolutions.

Secondly, in the first place, you must again acquaint the Nabob, that the regulations made with him by the President being disapproved, are of course become void, and you are therefore to redemand the letter which contained them. You are also to insist, in case he has not before issued such orders, that he do revoke all the orders which he sent to his officers, in consequence of the said regulations; and inform them, that trade is in every respect to go on in its usual channel, until he (the Nabob) has settled with you the business of your deputation

Thirdly, accompanying this, you will receive English and Persian copies of the Firmaun, husbul-hookunms and treaties, on which we found our right to a free trade. These we have concluded, give us an indisputable privilege to carry on our trade, as well foreign as inland, throughout the provinces of this subah, free of any duties to the country government. You must therefore carefully and clearly explain to the Nabob the tenor and substance of these grants, and the justice that it follows we have on our side for abiding thereby.

Fourthly, when you have fully asserted, and convinced the Nabob of these our rights and privileges, you will make known to him the resolution of the Council the 2d instant, for allowing him a duty on salt, with our motives thereto. First, because from general informations taken, it appears, that this article has, from custom, always paid a certain tho' unsettled duty. Secondly, because it is not our intention, through a too scrupulous assertion of our rights, to detriment or diminish the revenues of his government; or in any respect lessen to him the advantages reaped at our hands by his predecessors. That allowing these sentiments to weigh with us as far as our regard for the interests of our Employers and the community, and for the tenor of our said grants, will possibly admit, we have resolved to allow him (the Nabob) a fixed duty on the article of salt, after the rate of two and half *per cent* on the rowana price, but as we have no grounds for extending this consideration further, we cannot admit of duties being levied on any other article of trade whatsoever.

Fifthly, to ascertain the payment of this duty, and at the same time maintain in its full force the authority of the English dustuck, the article of salt shall be circulated equally with other articles by the means of a dustuck, and be liable to no farther scrutiny or interruption, provided the buxbunder's or shahbunder's receipt for the aforementioned duty appears properly granted and entered on the back thereof.

Sixthly, for regulating in future the conduct of our agents and gomastahs, and the officers and dependents of the Nabob's government, with respect to injuries committed on either side, and disputes which may arise between them, we have agreed

on the following rules, which you must intimate to the Nabob, and as we think they will every way answer the ends proposed, you must acquaint him, that they are therefore to be punctually observed *

Seventhly, the Nabob having lately affected an ignorance of the nature of this government, and the powers of the Council, the President in his answer endeavored to set him right on that head, but it will still be necessary, that you again explain this matter personally to him by commission from the Board, that a future pretension of the like ignorance may not be the means of detrimmenting our affairs

Eighthly, there further appears, in the course of his correspondence, certain expressions, which imply a diffidence of the friendship of several members of the Council towards him. This ill founded suspicion you must use your most strenuous endeavors to remove; and on the contrary to convince him, that we shall always, with one voice, agree in every respect to assist and support him in his government, provided no attempts are made towards the infringement of our rights and privileges; but that from a just observation of them, and a steady obedience to the repeated orders of our Honorable Employers, we can never tamely put up with attempts that have in the smallest degree such a tendency.

Ninthly, with respect to the regulations for trade, we think it will be the most proper method to have our rights acknowledged, and the proposals agreed to by some public writing, under the Nabob's own hand and seal, taking care, that there are no expressions inserted in it, contrary to the sense we entertain of our rights by our former grants or treaties, or that may tend to invalidate them. To such a writing you may accede, reserving to us the power of finally ratifying the same.

Tenthly, as we think it absolutely necessary, both for the interest of our affairs, and the Nabob's, to have a gentleman in the service resident at his Court, we have appointed Mr. Tho Amphlett to accompany you on this deputation, and afterwards

* Here were entered the regulations agreed on in consultation of March 5, in page 341, of Vol III

remain with the Nabob in that capacity You will therefore introduce him to the Nabob accordingly, and acquaint him, that all transactions between him and us are, after your departure, to be carried on by this resident, and that all orders which are to be issued thro' the country relative to the English, must be first intimated to, and approved by him At your departure you will leave in charge to Mr Amphlett any part of these instructions, which you may not be able to finish, and give him such further directions as you may think necessary

Elevenly, having had repeated instances of the ill disposition, and bad behavior of Mahomed Allee, the collector of the Dacca districts, we have inclosed you a particular proof of it in copies of letters which he wrote to Syed Buddul Cawn, and we must desire that you will insist on his being dismissed from his offices, and obliged to make reparation for all the losses he has been the occasion of since the beginning of these disturbances

Twelfthly, the orders by which we took possession of the lands, being only Aumulnamas, we must desire that you will apply to the Nabob for proper jagheery sunnuds, to confirm the Company's right to the three provinces

Thirteenthly, you must likewise demand from the Nabob, payment of a sum of money, which Mahomed Reza Cawn disbursed out of the revenues of the Chittagong province, on account of the Tippa expedition; to instruct you in which, we have ordered the particulars to be transmitted you, by the accomptant of the committee of lands

Fourteenthly, since we began to draw up these instructions, we have received intelligence of the Nabob's having published a sunnud, containing an exemption of duties on every kind of trade, for the space of two years Copies of this sunnud, and a perwannah which accompanied it to Nobit Roy, the Naib of Patna, you will herewith receive And as we are of opinion, that this step is taken with a design to prejudice the Company's trading business, and counteract the measures, we have been hitherto taking for the welfare of trade in general, we desire, that you will insist on the Nabob's revoking that sunnud, and collecting duties as before

Fifteenthly, we further transmit you copy of a minute entered, on this day's consultation, by Mess Johnstone and Hay, and we desire you will make the inquiry therein recommended "

Additional Instructions to Mess Amyatt and Hay. Dated April 1, 1763.

"The last letters received from the Nabob, having been debated on at the Board, and it being determined, that you shall proceed to Cossimbuzar, and there wait his answer to another letter, the President has wrote him, we now address you these further instructions on some points, which have occurred since we concluded those before drawn up

By letters from Patna we are advised of the great want they are in of siccās, for carrying on the investment, and of the inconvenience and loss-which arises from the exchange of money We have likewise often received letters on this subject, from Cossimbuzar and the other factories We therefore desire that you will endeavor to prevail on the Nabob, to strike in his mints only one species of rupees, to be current throughout his government, without any batta, so long as they do not diminish in weight But if you cannot effectuate such regulations, you must represent to the Nabob, in the strongest terms, the great impediment which our business suffers, from the backwardness of the shroffs, to exchange and circulate the Calcutta siccās, and therefore get him to issue peremptory orders to the shroffs and others, for effectuating the currency of the rupees coined in our mint, that our business may no longer suffer such interruptions and losses from this source; and also procure his orders for coining three lakhs of rupees annually in each of the mints of Dacca and Patna, for the service of the factories We are informed of an attack made on a subahdar, and fifty seepoys, by a body of this Nabob's troops from Tekarry, for the particulars of the affair, we refer you to the copy of a Patna letter, which you will herewith receive, and we desire, that you will require satisfaction against the officer who commanded them, for declaring he had the Nabob's orders, to cut all English seepoys to pices, wherever they were found, for having the insolence to propose to our

party, that he would let them go, if they would deliver up their arms and cloathing, and on their refusal, for beginning an attack upon them, whereby an havaldar was killed, and four seepoys wounded You must further insist, that this satisfaction be a public and exemplary punishment before you, or else, that he be delivered up to us to be tried and punished.

We likewise transmit you some accounts of losses, which certain gentlemen have sustained in their trade by the late disturbances and interruptions, the amount of which, you must require of the Nabob, to cause his officers to make good, and whatever accounts of the same nature may hereafter be received, shall likewise be forwarded to you."

The articles concerning our right to an unlimited free trade, appearing to me very unjust, I thought proper to enter my dissent to that part of the instructions, which I did as follows

The President's Dissent.

The President observes, that although he signs these instructions, in conformity to the opinion of the majority of the Board, he dissents to the third and fourteenth paragraphs, which contain a claim of a right to a free trade in all articles, whether for foreign or inland trade; and orders for insisting on the Nabob's revoking the sunnud, for an exemption of duties, for the reasons more particularly mentioned in consultations the 1st and 24th of March *"

Some time before this, Syed Buddul Cawn, the Nabob's officer at Luckypoor, having placed a guard upon the house of one Mahomed Gazy, who had formerly been in the service of the factory, Mr Middleton, the provisional chief of the factory, wrote to him, desiring him to release the man, which Syed Buddul Cawn refused and sent him a copy of an order, which he had received for that purpose, from Mahomed Allee In this order, besides the demands of the government upon Mahomed Gazy (against which we could have

* Page 320, Vol II and page 374 of Vol III

had no objections) this extraordinary reason was added, for calling him to an account, that he had been in the English employ, and was their abettor in their designs against the government. The insolence of this expression determined the Board to take the part of Mahomed Gazy; and Mr. Middleton was accordingly directed to seize Syed Buddul Cawn, and send him to Calcutta; and, at the same time, a letter was wrote to the Nabob, insisting on his punishing Mahomed Allee. Mr. Middleton, in consequence of these orders, immediately seized Syed Buddul Cawn, and sent him a prisoner to Calcutta, where he arrived the latter end of the month of March. Being brought before the Board he exculpated himself, by producing several letters from Mahomed Allee, the most insolent of which I shall here insert

From Mahomed Allee to Syed Buddul Cawn.

“Your agreeable letter is arrived, I fully understand the particulars contained therein, and from the hircarra likewise, I learned the account of the villainies of the English in Luckypoor. I have written pressingly to Aga Mahomed Nizam, and Samadan, and Aumur Sing, and Jungul Sing, to repair all of them with their people unto you. I have also sent perwannahs, with the utmost dispatch, unto the zemindars of Bilwat, Baboopoor, &c. and I have taken engagements from every zemindar’s vackeel, about Luckypoor, that their masters, the zemindars, will attend upon you, and act as you shall direct them. It behoves you, with the utmost dispatch, to repair thither immediately, and blockade the passages for going in and coming out on all sides of Luckypoor, and place strong centinels, that no person whatever may pass or repass to and from Luckypoor, and that a soul does not escape. Of those who claim the English protection, and make use of their name, take two or three and crucify them, and seize their houses and effects. Lay hold of their wives and children, and send them straitway to me. Be sure not to fail in this respect, his excellency having honored me with his orders to this purpose, as you must be informed from the copy of the Governor’s engagement, and of his excellency’s parwannah, in consequence, which I heretofore sent you, and do not entertain the least

diffidence. Regard this my short letter, in the light of a thousand letters, and act accordingly. Moreover, let guards be placed to keep a good look-out about Luckypoor, and the parts adjacent, until the Nabob's order arrive, when they will proceed to act as I shall write to you. At present surround it on all sides, and keep a constant watch.

You will take extraordinary good care of the Europeans at Luckypoor, that they get no intelligence from any of their dependents, either by land or water; and for security you will send 200 men, with a commander, whom you can rely upon, and direct them, above all things, to be ready for action both night and day."

Such a declaration of his inveteracy to the English, as was expressed in these letters of Mahomed Allee's, and the many instances which he had given of it throughout his whole conduct, from his first appointment, justly excited the indignation of the whole Board. The most violent readily seized this occasion, to infer a fixed resolution in the Nabob to break with us, and that the appointment of such a man as Mahomed Allee, with such extraordinary powers, and his conduct in the execution of them, were only in consequence of that resolution. It was therefore warmly urged to prevent the Nabob's designs, by declaring immediate war against him.

This sentiment, however, was opposed by a majority of the Board, who judged it most proper, in the present circumstances, to regard the insults as proceeding personally from Mahomed Allee, and to chastize him for it ourselves; since the Nabob, to whom we had repeatedly complained against him, had hitherto afforded us no redress; and that the Chief and Council at Dacca should be ordered to seize, and send him down prisoner to Calcutta.

In this alternative I easily joined, as well in the hopes of yet preventing a ruinous and unjustifiable war, as from the conviction of the violent and incendiary spirit of Mahomed Allee, who, if suffered to act longer with impunity, I saw would put it out of my power, or even of the Nabob's, to preserve peace between us. It is true, that the Nabob, in

answer to the demand of the Board for his dismissal, declared, that he had removed him from his employment, and summoned him to his presence; but as he still continued at Dacca, and the Nabob had always endeavoured to vindicate his conduct, it was much to be feared, that he would not only escape the punishment he deserved, but perhaps be continued in his authority, and have his hands strengthened with such fresh powers, as might make it dangerous to attempt afterwards to call him to an account. The Nabob's behaviour upon this occasion may be easily accounted for, from the precarious situation in which he stood with the English. When I was with him at Mongheer he assured me, that if the complaints which were then alledged against Mahomed Allee upon enquiry proved true, he would both dismiss him from his service, and severely punish him. The same assurance he gave me with respect to Sheer Allee, the fougedar of Poorneea, who had been guilty of the like enmity and misbehaviour to the English dependents in that district; and it is very probable, that he was sincere in this declaration at that time, since his interest was most materially concerned in removing every cause of disagreement from between us. But when he perceived the strong opposition, formed against him by the general assembly of the Council, and that the design of his enemies was levelled openly against his person and government, it is not to be wondered at, that he should be cautious of depriving himself of the assistance of persons the most capable of serving him, and on whose zeal he had so much reason to depend in case of a rupture with the English. In a word, it appears from the Nabob's whole behaviour, from the time that the general Council was assembled, that he believed his own ruin to be the object of that assembly; and every step taken by the Board, served but to confirm him the more strongly in that fatal persuasion. Fatal I call it, since with such a mutual distrust every accident, however trifling, was easily construed into an intentional act of hostility; and even the necessary precautions of self-defence served but to make the breach irreparable. I believe it will be needless to point out instances of the effects of these prepossessions, amongst the many which occur in the minutes of the Council,

and the Nabob's letters which I have already inserted To the latter I shall add one, as it shews how easily the Nabob was, led away by every groundless report, and how naturally his apprehensions disposed him to co-operative with the very measures which tended to an open rupture

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor Dated April 15, 1763

"I have to this time reposed an entire confidence in your friendship, but I never suspected, that you would write me letters filled with professions of friendship and attachment, and whilst I remained in security, trusting to your declaration, that you would have dispatched your forces in several divisions by land and water, and thro' the hills and woods, with guns and artillery, to these parts This kind of proceeding I do not understand I before repeatedly wrote to you, that I was unequal to this business You would not agree to it, and now that such measures are taken, what sort of dealing is this ? As to Mr Amyatt's coming, which you wrote about before, I have no objection Recall all your troops, that you have dispatched by every road towards this way, and let Mr. Amyatt proceed hither, in the same manner that you came to visit me, and after his arrival, I will behave to him as becomes me If you consent not to this, and refuse to recall your forces, and are obstinately bent upon my dishonour, I am without remedy Let me have your answer to this letter, which I wait for, for it is every man's duty to take care of his honour "

At this time not a soldier had moved from his quarters, nor could I ever guess from whence the Nabob took up this of the mind, which will sometimes give the appearance of groundless alarm It can be attributed only to a prepossession reality to any phantom of the imagination

The following history occurring in the same order of time, aptly illustrates the truth of the above observation, and proves, that if the Nabob's fears led him to believe every idle report of designs that had no existence, either in fact or probability, our faith was at least as active as his, whether fear, or the zeal of party spirit, impelled and gave life to it It is scarcely

conceivable, that any persons should be so blindly prejudiced, as to give entire credit to a story, of the Nabob's having ordered all the mulberry-trees, and cotton-shrubs in his country, to be rooted up, from no other motive, than a mere spite to the English, and to deprive them of the benefits which they enjoyed in common with other merchants in the products of those plants . yet so great was the eagerness of several members of the Board, to catch at every report that tended to the Nabob's prejudice, that such an absurdity was readily believed, and the most violent measures proposed in consequence, as will appear by the following papers

Extract of Counsultation of April 12, (present Mess Vansittart, Batson, Cartier, Marriott and Watts)

Mr Batson's Minute

"Mr Batson lays before the Board the following letter from Mr Chambers * at Cossimbuzar.

To Stanlake Batson, Esq ,

Sir,

April 3, 1763

The many daily occurrences here and reports convince me, our trade and every thing will speedily be put a stop to, is some measures are not taken to prevent it There is an order passed for destroying all the mulberry-trees in the country, and they have actually commenced putting it in execution ; so that we can expect no silk or silk piece-goods for the ensuing year, if it is not put an immediate stop to I hear there is the same order concerning all the cotton plants, which will be as detrimental to the white cloth trade It is publicly talked at the city, that the Nabob is determined to get rid of us one way or other, that he has money enough to pay his troops longer than we shall be able to stay in the country without trade ; for which reason he will destroy all the produce of the country, which may furnish trade , for it's all one to him, whether we are in the country or not, if we won't pay

* Mr Chambers was the second of the factory of Cossimbuzer and had charge of it during Mr Batson's absence

him any duties, and he will either oblige us to do that, or quit the country.

Several parties of horse and foot have arrived at the city, within these two or three days, and great preparations are making for defence, in case our army comes this way, as it is reported they are coming, and that they had marched a little way, and were recalled I thought it proper to acquaint you of the order concerning the mulberry-trees and cotton, as I think the Governor and Council should be acquainted therewith, by which they will perceive how our trade is likely to be destroyed The tomtoms have actually been about with the orders, and several people sent to destroy all the mulberry fields Should you think with me it is necessary to acquaint the Board with these things, I shall be obliged to you, if you will acquaint me with the result I am, &c

Signed John Chambers

P S I think it would be highly necessary to have a few more seepoys at this factory Reports run very high and insolent, and I believe was the army to march, we should be surrounded at this factory, and therefore should be glad to have a few seepoys to defend ourselves The arms of the seepoys here are very bad, I wish you would apply for some "

He (Mr Batson also acquaints the Board, that immediately on the receipt of that letter, he wrote an answer, agreeable to the opinion of the members of the Council then in Calcutta, desiring Mr Chambers, if the intelligence he had given him was certain, to confirm the same in a letter to the Board, that they might take their resolutions accordingly

Received a letter from Mr Chambers, dated the 9th, acquainting us, in consequence of Mr Batson's letter to him, that it is beyond all dispute, that tomtoms have been beat in several places by order of the zilladars, who pretend to have received orders from the Nabob, to take up all the mulberry-trees on both sides of the great river, but he cannot say for certain, that they have yet put it in execution

The President's Opinion in Consequence of these Letters.

As the intelligence, contained in the publick letter, differs

in some particulars from what Mr. Chambers before wrote to Mr Batson, the President is of opinion, that Mr Chambers should be directed to acquaint the Board, from whence he got his intelligence, regarding the mulberry-trees, and to enquire in the name of the Board, from Syed Mahomed Cawn, whether he has received letters from the Nabob to this effect; if he has, to require from him a copy of such orders, or endeavor by any other means to procure a copy, and transmit it to us

Mr Watts's Opinion

Mr Watts thinks, that the certainty of what Mr Chambers informs the Board, in his letter of the 9th instant, ought not to be doubted; especially, as he had made an inquiry into the affair, at the request of the majority of the Board, that the general behavior of the Nabob has been, and continues to be such, that further application to himself or officers, on any points whatsoever, ought as much as possible to be avoided, but especially in this case, as Syed Mahomed Cawn must know, that this information must come from our Chief and Council at Cossimbuzar, and consequently our doubting the truth of it, must lessen the credit of that Board in his eyes. Mr Watts further thinks, that Mr Chambers may be wrote to, directing him to endeavor to procure copies of the sunnuds and perwannahs, that may have been sent down from the Nabob on this subject, or any other proofs he may be able to get

Mr. Marriott's Opinion

Mr Marriott agrees in opinion with the President

Mr Johnstone's Opinion.

Mr Johnstone does not think it of any consequence to make this further enquiry, as Mr Chambers having been wrote to at the desire of the majority of the members then in Calcutta, may be supposed to have satisfied himself of the truth of what he now publicly informs the Board, nor would Syed Mahomed Cawn's denying to have received such an order,

be any proof of the tomtoms not having been beat Further, because he thinks the other * pieces of intelligence, which Mr Chambers gave us in his letter, may incline us more implicitly to the belief of this, and the certainty of the Nabob's intentions against us, which we must hear from Mess Amyatt and Hay, before any answer could come from Mr Chambers

Mr Cartier's Opinion.

Mr Cartier thinks it would be proper to direct Mr Chambers to enquire of Syed Mahomed Cawn, whether he has received such an order from the Nabob, and to endeavor to get a copy of it

Mr Batson's Opinion.

Mr Batson cannot doubt, but the proclamation concerning cutting down the mulberry-trees was actually made, and he thinks, the President's seeming still to doubt it, and desiring a further enquiry to be made for the confirmation of it, is with a design to discourage Mr. Chambers from sending us intelligence, agreeable to his practice, in regard to the intelligence, which he (Mr Batson) formerly sent down in several of the Nabob's and Petrus's letters †

* That the Nabob had sent bodies of troops to different parts of the country, and was busy in warlike preparations

† As the reflection contained in the latter part of Mr Batson's minute, will be judged to have required some reply, I shall here insert an aextract of the minute which followed, tho' foreign from the subject in hand, this may serve for one instance of the scandalous and indecent behavior, which by the intemperance of some of the members, and the ready connivance the rest, had taken place in our Councils

The President's Question to Mr Batson

"The President desires Mr Batson may be asked, whether by several of the Nabob's and Petrus's letters he means those copies of ‡ Persian letters, said to be the Nabob's and Petrus's read in consultation the 4th of March, 1762, and which after prosecuting the enquiry for several months with the utmost attention, the Board judged to be not authentick

The Opinion of the Majority, and Resolution in Consequence.

The majority of the Board being of the President's opinion. Agreed, Mr Chambers be wrote to accordingly."

A few days after the following answer was received

Copy of a Letter from Mr Chambers to the Governor and Council. Dated April 16, 1763

"Your favor of the 12th instant I have duly received, in answer to your question, from whence I had my intelligence ; I can only say from the vacceel Kissenindee, and several other merchants, who, on hearing the report, acquainted me with it, as did also a considerable dealer in that article, who says, he was told, that in five days the mulberry-trees must be all taken up , but he has heard nothing since, and I believe it was only a false report, occasioned, as I have since learnt, from

Mr Batson's Answer

Mr Batson answers, it is those letters he means, and he does not find, on perusing the proceedings, that the Board did think them not authentick , and as the President has solemnly declared, that he knows nothing of Cawn Bahadre's coming to Calcutta, as related in that correspondence, he desires him to confirm the same by oath, otherwise he (Mr Batson) shall continue to look on his declaration as false

The President's Reply

Altho' the President thinks it a very improper method of proceeding, that any member of the Board should be put to his oath on any occasion, excepting where the law requires it , and that the word of every member of the Board should be regarded as an oath , yet for the satisfaction of the Company, in matter where their interest is so much concerned, and in which Mr Batson has called his (the President's honor so much in question, he desires he may be put to his oath before the Board

The President's Oath.

I do solemnly swear, that I never to my knowledge saw or heard of a man, known by the name of Cawn Bahadre ; nor did any man ever make to me such a proposal, nor did I ever hear of such a proposal, as he is said to have been commissioned with, until the copies of the Persian letters were received from Mr Batson

a custom of transplanting once in two or three years I asked Syed Mahomed Cawn concerning the order, he says, he has received no such, nor given any I have requested of him to endeavor to find out the persons who spread the report, and to punish them The report was not only here, but on the other side the great river It will be impossible for me to trace it to the foundation, I have used already every method in my power, but in vain”

Notwithstanding the proposed negotiation, the Board judged it expedient to take early precautions, in case it should not be attended with success, by forming a plan for the operations of the war. The resolutions upon this subject I shall enter at large, and the debates which followed them I cannot pass by the latter, without taking notice of the proposal made by Mr Johnstone, and supported by Mr Batson, for authorizing the gentlemen at Patna, to begin the war upon the bare appearances of an hostile intention in the Nabob The sentiments of Mr Ellis were too well known, to leave it a doubt, that he would instantly avail himself of such a power, to declare an open rupture, which might have been justified even by the report of a common hircarra, or any pretence as loose, which he might think sufficient (since he was the judge) to construe into an hostile intention in the Nabob. It will be found, that when such a power was afterwards lodged in his hands, such was actually the consequence.

Extract of Consultation, April 14, 1763 (Present Mess Vansittart, Adams, Batson, Billers, Cartier, Hastings, Johnstone, Marriott and Watts)

“Altho’ it is to be hoped, that the disputes with the Nabob will yet come to an amicable issue, it is thought necessary to be prepared with a plan of operations, which may be most expedient to insure success, in case of a contrary event

It is therefore resolved,

First, that in case of a rupture with the Nabob, and the Nabob should march towards Patna, in order to attack our troops and factory there, they shall endeavor to possess themselves of the city, if they think they can accomplish it without much loss, and there remain, until they shall receive further

orders from us or major Adams. But if they should think that by attacking the city, they run a risque of failing in the attempt, or of losing many men, they must then take such post, as they think they can best defend themselves in; and if they can, cover the factory, until they shall receive further orders, as above-mentioned; that in either case, they must be careful to secure all the provisions they can of every kind, and also draught and carriage bullocks.

Secondly, that in case of a rupture with the Nabob, and he should remain at Mongheer, the Patna party shall act as in the first case.

Thirdly, that in case of a rupture, and the Nabob marches down this way, the Patna party shall, after attacking and possessing themselves of the city, move down as far as Runulla, to be in greater readiness to join major Adams, and there wait for orders from major Adams, unless from an alteration of circumstances, their own discretion shall direct them to act otherwise.

That in any of the foregoing cases, these are our present thoughts, but that we do not mean by such a plan, to restrict them from taking any advantage that may offer, in case of a rupture declared.

This plan being settled for the Patna party, in case of a rupture, the question is put

How they shall be informed of a rupture, or what they shall construe as such?

Mr. Johnstone's Opinion

Mr Johnstone thinks, the Nabob's stopping our communication by letter, and moving, in consequence, with his army and artillery towards Patna, when there is no other enemy in the country adjacent, against whom he may have cause to move, or it ought, in reason, to be believed, that he directs his march, or the march of his army, this way, attended by any correspondent acts of hostility of his forces stationed at or round Patna, such as stopping their provisions and communication with the country, or opposing our people in the

execution of their business, might, in the present circumstances, be construed by them as a rupture, and that they might immediately proceed to act as directed in the plan.

The President's Opinion.

The President thinks Mr. Johnstone's proposal is extremely vague, and leaves it in the power of the gentlemen at Patna, by an error in judgment, to involve us in a war which we would rather avoid, and therefore would propose, that the orders to the gentlemen at Patna should be after this manner : "That they will be instantly informed by us, if we should be obliged to declare a rupture with the Nabob, and that, therefore, they must wait for such information, before they act upon the plan laid down, keeping, in the mean time, well on their guard, and defending themselves and the Company's rights against all attacks" That he proposes these limited orders the rather, because he looks upon the party at Patna to be of such strength *, as to run no risk from any attack of the Nabob

The question being put to the rest of the Board, which of these opinions should be adopted

Mr Watts's &c. Opinion.

Mess. Watts, Marriott, Hastings, Cartier and Billers, agree to the President's

Mr. Batson's Opinion

Mr Batson is of Mr. Johnstone's opinion, because, after the Nabob has once commenced hostilities against us, the tying up our party at Patna, from acting on the offensive, as well as the defensive, will give him an advantage, and subject us to a disadvantage in cases of exigency that may happen

Major Adams's Opinion

Major Adams thinks the gentlemen at Patna ought not to commence hostilities without the orders of the Board, but

* See the return annexed

that, should the Nabob march a large force towards Patna, without any apparent reason, or otherwise commit any act of hostility, they should take any step for their own security, even to the taking of the city of Patna, if it should be deemed absolutely necessary, and there defend themselves without proceeding further, until they receive the orders of the Board

Opinion of the Majority and Resolution in Consequence

The majority of the Board being of the President's opinion

Agreed, that we write to Patna, and transmit them a copy of these resolutions for their government

Mr. Johnstone's Dissent

Mr Johnstone begs leave to dissent from this resolution of the majority, ordered to be transmitted to Patna, because, he thinks the restraining the gentlemen there from acting offensively, till they have notice from hence of our declaring a breach with the Nabob, although he may proceed to direct open acts of hostility against them, is giving the Nabob all the advantages he could desire, should his resolution be to attack that detachment, the first, in hopes of overpowering it before our army can arrive to its assistance. The very intention of our council, Mr Johnstone understood, was to prevent the ill-consequences that might attend a stoppage of our correspondence by letter, by the Patna party not having directions how to act, in case the Nabob began hostilities, and prevented our intelligence by removing the dauks, and stopping all letters; should the Nabob march towards Patna, we can expect no notice of it but from the chief there, which, as the dauks will of course be removed, may very probably not reach us in less than ten or twelve days; as many more may elapse before they receive the Board's declaration of a rupture, by which they are tied at least twenty days, not to attempt any thing against the Nabob, or the city of Patna, though their only hope of taking it, depends on their attempting it before the Nabob can reach it; and their circumstances, in regard to provision, and in many other respects may be such, as that their preservation may greatly depend on their carrying it. In war, to prevent and defeat the designs of an enemy.

is allowed to be just as well as prudent ; but this liberty, so essential to self-preservation, is denied to our fellow-servants, though ever so fair occasion may offer Mr Johnstone is not more for their declaring war and beginning hostilities the first, than any other gentlemen at the Board ; but he thinks it ought, and may be very reasonably left to the prudence of the gentlemen at Patna, to judge what are open acts of hostility on the part of the Nabob, who is already armed and bids us defiance

Further Proceedings of the Board

It is further resolved,

That if a rupture does happen, major Adams shall march with the King's regiment, and all the Company's troops at Gherettee and Calcutta ; captain Broadbrook's and Maclean's battalions of sepoys compleated, also captain Champion's company of military from Jellasore, together with the following artillery, viz two twelve-pounders, six six-pounders, and two howitzers. The major is, therefore, desired to make the necessary lists of stores accordingly And it is further resolved, that seven companies of sepoy from Jellasore, and three from Burdwan, shall, in such case, be ordered to Calcutta to compleat the two battalions, to go with major Adams, and serve for the duties of the Presidency"

On the 18th, we received the following letter from Mr Ellis and his council, dated March 5. 1763, which will shew how strongly the report prevailed, that our forces at Patna would attack the city, since the Nabob's officer commanding there, thought it necessary to take such extraordinary precautions for the defence of it It will shew also, in how much contempt they held the Nabob and his forces at this time ; although they could afterwards exaggerate them as much, when it served as an argument to support their application, for a power to act as they thought proper

Letter from Patna

"Your favour of the 24th ultimo, we received the 2d instant, and immediately dispatched the letter inclosed therein to the Nabob As far as we can judge, he inclines not to

pacifick measures , for since the receipt of your letters of the 7th and 10th ultimo, he has been constantly sending troops into this city ; the commanders of his forces in different parts of the country hereabouts, are under orders to assemble at Patna, and some of them are actually in motion, by which it seems as if he intended a blow at this party ; on that head, however, we are perfectly easy, but under the deepest concern for the fate of the city, which we are hourly apprehensive will be plundered by the licentious, undisciplined rabble within its walls The suburbs are already entirely destroyed, and the wretched situation of people of all ranks, is more easy to conceive than describe

Meer Mindy Cawn is the name of the person whom the Nabob has appointed his naib here, but to this time he has not paid the chief the usual compliment of acquainting him with his arrival, he carries on the preparations for attack or defence (for as yet we know not which to call them) with more vigor than his predecessor, and thereby adds to the terror and alarm of the inhabitants The night before last, the whole of his people were under arms till the morning , great part of yesterday the gates were kept shut, and the relief of our hospital guard refused admittance , upon which the chief wrote him a letter , a copy of it we now inclose, as likewise of his answer The guard has been since admitted, but the burbunna gate still remains shut

It is commonly talked, that the Nabob has sent this Mindy Cawn to drive out the English ; but you will judge that there is not much danger to be apprehended from a man, whose talent seems chiefly to lie in sounding his own praises His insolence may, however, reduce us to the disagreeable necessity of taking the city from him. With the greatest difficulty, we have collected money sufficient to pay our Europeans for this month, and our sepoys for March ; and have not, at this time, a single rupee in cash ; we therefore request you will take the most speedy method of supplying us ”

Mr Johnstone, who had already * interrupted the publick

* See page 375, of Vol III

business by personal reflections on me, for the distinction made by the Nabob in his letter to Mahomed Allee, of the Company's dustuck and my own; resumed the same subject in the following minute, in the consultation of the 18th, to which I shall subjoin my reply

Extract of Consultation of April 18, 1763

Mr Johnstone's Minute.

"Mr Johnstone begs leave to remark, in answer to the President's minute of the 28th of March, that the true translation of the paragraph of the Nabob's letter, to Mahomed Allee, No 29, hereto subjoined, done by Mr Gulston, is very different from that which Mr Vansittart appeals to, and stands entered in the country correspondence, and which Mr Johnstone objected to at that time, though by not then being able to get the original, it could not be altered. The very letter produced by the President, which though wrote after the appearance of his order of the Nabob's, he would refer to as a proof, that no agreement of this kind had ever been mentioned betwixt him and the Nabob, plainly and expressly declares the same sense of the paragraph that we have followed, referring to the gomastahs of Mr Vansittart's private business, who might have either the Company's, or his own private dustuck, that they should not be impeded further

It does not appear from any line in the Nabob's letter, that the Governor's trade was stopped, nor any instance or place referred to, which would have been the case, and particularized, it may be supposed, as well in regard to them, as to his particular gomastah Coja Wannis.

By this, and many other of the Nabob's publick letters and orders, it appears, he considered and directed nine *per cent* to be levied on whatever goods are purchased, being the produce of this country, without regard to their being for exportation or inland trade"

Extract of the Nabob's Letter (delivered in by Mr Johnstone)

"The Governor writes to me, that you interrupt his own gomastah; notwithstanding in the paper of regulations, there

is no distinction of private and publick. Yet, as the Governor is my friend, I accordingly write to you, not to impede the gomastah of his private trade, that may have with him either the Governor's or Company's dustuck "

The President's Reply

In answer to Mr Johnstone's further minute, I observe, that the only difference between Mr Rogers's translation of the postscript of the Nabob's letter to Mahomed Allee, and Mr Gulston's *, is, that in the first it stands *the gomastah*, in the other *the said gomastah*, but whether the Nabob's intention was general, or particular, all that I assert, is, that I never desired, nor would accept of any privilege, for my gomastahs, over those of the rest of the gentlemen in the service, and that I never sealed dustucks with any other than the Company's usual dustuck seal My letter to the Nabob, No 1 dated January 24, contained the complaint I mentioned, of two parcels of my own goods being stopped, with the Company's dustuck, under the charge of Ramnaut Holdar, and Coja Askasuk, belonging to Coja Wannis ; and it was in consequence of that complaint, the Nabob sent the orders in question to Mahomed Allee, in which the complaint of Coja Askasuk, and Coja Wannis is particularly noticed As soon as I got a sight of these orders, I wrote the Nabob, as by the extract entered in consultation the 28th of March, to let him see that I did not mean to have any particular indulgence for my own gomastahs, but expected equal justice with others "

Messieurs Amyatt and Hay remained some time at Cossimbuzar, waiting for the Nabob's approbation of their visit to proceed His answer arrived on the 20th, and signified, tho' reluctantly, his consent to receive the deputation This letter and one received some days before, being laid before the

* See Mr Rogers's translation, page 341, Mr Gulston's is the above extract, delivered in by Mr Johnstone, who thinks proper to produce that only of the Nabob's letter, because in the beginning of the very same letter, it appears, that the trade in question, which Mahomed Allee had stopped, belonging to me, was a part of thirty bales of cloth, provided for me with the Company's dustuck

given by the sircar, were not consistent with the Company's rights and interests ; and that if I should refuse to confer with those two gentlemen, it would occasion a rupture between us " Sir, it is surprizing, that you do not see the actions of your own people, and will not give credit to them

Nothwithstanding the treaties between us and the country, and the money I have given for the Company's army, the only favor shewn me on all sides, is the sending troops, and seizing the aumils of the district of Dacca, attacking and beating the tannadars of Jatirapoor, and, on the Patna side, taking my aumils, and keeping them in prison What are greater hostilities than these ? It is surprizing, that you do not see the disturbances of your own people, and will derive every thing, tending to hostilities, from my words and letters, and having prepared an army, the gentlemen hold themselves ready to begin a war with me I am really struck with amazement

With respect to Mr Amyatt and Mr Hay, I before wrote, that if they came only on a visit, my house was their

Now I write again, that if they come with only one or two companies of necessary attendants, I have no objection But I must remark, that on the one side, you use only violent measures ; while on the other looking towards the treaties between us, you send to confer A conference, attended with such unreasonnable violences, never was heard of in any country, and certainly you intend to do nothing contrary to custom

By what you write of other articles of business, besides the customs, I understand, that for this remaining country, which is left for my share, you have appointed me aumil, or regard me as wadadar, or zemindar, or gomastah, or muttaseddee ; that you have given in charge to the said gentlemen other articles of business, exclusive of customs Write me fully and explicitly of this that I may be acquainted and act accordingly "

Extract of Consultation of the 20th of April, 1763 (Present Mess Vansittart, Baston, Cartier, Hastings, Johnstone, Marriott and Watts) The Nabob's Letter of the 11th Instant,

being read and debated in at the Board, as also his Answer to Mr Amyatt's Letter wrote at the same time

“The question was put, whether Mess Amyatt and Hay should in consequence be recommended to proceed to Mongheer and demand of the Nabob a definitive answer to the points contained in their instructions

Mr Watts's Opinion

Mr Watts is of opinion, that the present letters received from the Nabob, are as evasive as those read in consultation the 11th of April; and that they are not in the least satisfactory, therefore thinks, from the treachery the Moois are famous for, and the Nabob's disposition and character, that it is unsafe for Mess Amyatt and Hay to proceed, but as every method ought to be tried to prevent a rupture, he proposes, that the letter be sent to those gentlemen, and if they believe no risk would attend them, he is of opinion, it would certainly be very proper for them to proceed to Mongheer, and demand a positive answer to their instructions

Mr Marriott's Opinion

Mr Marriott is of opinion, that a copy of the Nabob's letter to the President, and his letter to Mr Amyatt, should be transmitted to Mess Amyatt and Hay, and that they should be recommended to proceed to Mongheer, and require, from the Nabob, a definitive answer to every point of their instructions, as being the most speedy and certain method of bringing things to a conclusion

Mr Johnstone's Opinion

I think the Nabob gives not Mess Amyatt and Hay any greater encouragement to go to on their deputation, by the letters now before us, than in those he wrote of the 2d instant. The Nabob only consents to receive their visit, if they come as friends; but without satisfying us, he will treat with them on business, on which we had demanded a positive answer, and the expression of his letters induce me to think, he will make use of this pretext, of his not having consented to enter

on business, to decline treating on any of the points for which these gentlemen are deputed

I would leave it to those gentlemen to judge and decide, whether they have sufficient reason to proceed in hopes of success from such an equivocal letter . and, in the mean time, would have all the stores transported to Gherettee, and all the other preparations made agreeable to the indent of major Adams That whatever resolution be taken hereafter, a day may not be lost in waiting after we have determined

Mr Hastings's Opinion.

The Nabob, in my judgment, plainly declares, that he is very willing to receive Mr Amyatt's visit, and only expresses his fears, lest he should be going upon an hostile intention ; for this reason, and to put a stop to the insurrections which these disputes have given rise to, in the province of Bahar, and the alarm spread thro' both provinces, I think Mess Amyatt and Hay should proceed, without loss of time, on their deputation

Mr Cartier's Opinion

Mr Cartier is of the same opinion with Mr. Marriott

Mr Batson's Opinion

In the sense I understand the Nabob's letters, he still refuses to treat with Mess Amyatt and Hay on any matters of business, and still continues in the same evil disposition towards us ; I therefore think it improper to those gentlemen to proceed on their deputation.

The President's Opinion, and that of the Majority

The President agrees in opinion with Mr Marriott , and that appearing also to be the opinion of the majority

Resolution in Consequence

Agreed, that we do write accordingly to Mess Amyatt and Hay ”

Whilst this point was in debate, the following letter was received from the Chief and Council at Patna to the Board. Dated April 11, 1763

“It is highly necessary, that you should bring matters to a speedy issue with the Nabob, for the disaffected zemindars, and other male-contents, taking the advantage of his infamous and foolish behavior, are rising up in arms, and threaten destruction to the country. He has already lost Beteea, and we have intelligence, that Camgar Cawn, Baboo Cawn, and some other Chiefs, are plundering the country about Doudnagar. The Bougepoor Rajahs are also assembling forces on the other side of the river, and we daily expect to hear of their entering and possessing themselves of their antient domains.”

Whatever was the design of those gentlemen, in painting, in such strong colors, the troubled state of the province of Bahar, it could not but have some weight with the Board, in shewing the necessity of putting an end as speedily as possible to our disputes with the Nabob, and must have afforded a convincing argument of the little inclination the Nabob could have to protract them, since the consequences, according to this representation, appeared so fatal to his country, and destructive to his government. At the same time, truth obliges me to observe, that the whole story was without foundation, it being well known, that the province never enjoyed a state of more perfect tranquility. Not a zemindar in the country, ever lifted up his hand against the Nabob, from the beginning of our troubles, and Camgar Cawn, in particular, upon the first call, joined him with all his forces. The aversion which the Nabob shewed to Mess Amyatt and Hay's visit is very observable, thro' every one of his letters, and the reason is as obvious. He was now firmly persuaded by Mr Ellis's conduct, and the approbation it met from the Board, that they were resolved to break with him, and he well knew Mr Amyatt's connection with that gentleman, and his disaffection to himself. These circumstances, added to the report (which he readily believed) of our forces being actually on the march against him, made him conceive, that the proposed negotiation was only a blind to other designs, and that Mess Amyatt and Hay were going

to conduct or assist them I thought no way so likely to convince him his apprehensions were groundless, as the arrival of those gentlemen, when he would see, with own eyes, that they had only a small escort

On the second of May a letter arrived from the Nabob, addressed to the Company, of which the following is a translation.

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob to the Company Dated April 21, 1763

“The particulars of the ruinous state of Bengal, you will have been doubtless acquainted with from the writings of Mr Vansittart, your Governor, and the other gentlemen of the Council, the same I will briefly lay before you

The Nabob Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn, by the assistance of Colonel Clive, became Nazim of Bengal But by reason of the infirmities of old age, he was incapable of bestowing that attention which was necessary to the administration of affairs, especially after the death of his son by a stroke of lightning, when an excess of grief and affliction, deprived him of the exercise of his reason and understanding, and added to the infirmities of old age At this time the Prince of the empire, whilst his father was yet in possession of the throne, by reason of the enmity of the Omrahs coming down from Delly, arrived in the districts of Patna, and caused great troubles there

Altho’ Alumgheer, his father, wrote to Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn, to send the Prince to his presence, yet, as the Prince had no fixed residence, the endeavors of the Nabob, afore-named, and of the English army, were productive of no profitable effect, whilst the revenues of the country were entirely obstructed, and the business also of the Company’s commerce was much impeded. During this confusion, the Nabob afore-named became indebted about two crores of rupees to his army, and the troops of the Company, besides the debt owing to the Sircar of the Company, from the Nabob afore-named, of which, from his extreme negligence, and want of authority, he was

unable to discharge the smallest part *, and he was reduced to such an extremity, that the army surrounded, and tumultuously gathered about him every day for their arrears, whilst the demands of the Royal treasure became more pressing

Besides this, he was indebted to other merchants, and the Morattas lay at the distance of five or six coss from Moorshedabad, encreasing the general disorder, and possessing themselves of the whole country Upon this occasion, the honor and dignity of the Nabob afore-named, was openly attacked by the hands of the army and other people, who surrounded his house, and crowded upon and underneath his walls, loading him with opprobrious language, and raining stones and bricks upon him

When I saw things come to this pass, and the army and the people, who, from the prospect of their impending ruin, had applied themselves to me, were a little appeased; I offered myself as security for the arrears of the army, and I satisfied the people Then, by the means of Mr Hastings, I made known to the Governor, Mr Vansittart, the extremity to which my honor was reduced, the universal confusion which reigned in the Nizamut, that all methods had proved ineffectual, and that the people and the army had applied themselves to me, and therefore I desired him to come and assist me. The Governor, Mr Vansittart, seeing the disorderly state of the Nizamut, and of the currency of the Company's affairs, judged it highly adviseable, that I should be invested with the direction of the affairs of the country, and the command of the forces of the Nabob afore-named, with this view, he came with some of his council to Moorshedabad, and advised the Nabob in these terms "Do you remain at ease and in quiet in the palace, and entrust all your affairs to him †, who will serve you with his heart and life, and effectually restore good order to your country" The Nabob afore-named, not consenting to remain at Moorshedabad, immoveably declared that he would go to Mecca, and accordingly, with this design departed to Calcutta, where I have ever since remitted a monthly sum for his subsistence For this cause, regarding

* In the original, the tenth of a tenth

† Meer Cossim

the welfare of the people, and the preservation of my own honor and character, which were united with the Nabob aforementioned, I strenuously applied myself to the management and establishment of the affairs of these provinces

The Governor, Mr Vansittart, represented to me, that the Company suffered a great loss by the heavy expences of the English forces, and he desired that I would assign a tract of land for their pay, and they should attend me, and be of service to me : I replied, that I would pay them ready money When he consented not this, exclusive of the ready money, effects, lands, and the farm of salt-petre, given by the Nabob Meer Jaffier Cawn, I assigned three districts, which produced an income of fifty lacks of rupees for the charges of the forces of the Company, that they might collect the rents they pleased, and apply them to the defraying of their expences, and when called upon, afford me assistance Besides this, I furnished five lacks of rupees, as an assistance which was necessary for the charges of the Company's forces, in the siege of the fort of Pondicherry Also, twenty lacks of rupees, the debt owing from the Nabob Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn, I entirely discharged At that time, the troubles caused by the Prince increasing, I marched from Moorshedabad to the province of Bahar, expecting to be assisted by the Company's forces, and as the father of Shah * Aalum was dead, I addressed the Shah, requesting, that whatever improper measures had been taken by Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn, he would pardon my offences, and the sums due to the imperial sircar I would pay. But several gentlemen and chiefs of the Company's forces (of whom there were at that time many dismissions and changes) making certain agreements with the Prince, conducted him to Patna, and associating with some of the muttaseddees of the Nizamut, and having taken the fort of Patna into their own possession, they laid me under an heavy expence to my troops for six months, and strove to throw all my affairs into disorder By the blessing of God, Mr. Vansittart remaining firm to his treaty and agreement, called several gentlemen from Patna to Calcutta, so that their designs proved abortive, and by paying and promising, I prevailed upon Shah Aalum to return

* The name assumed by the Prince, on the death of his father

toward the imperial city What I have done these three years for the welfare of the people, the care of the country, the preservation of your friendship, and the currency of your affairs, is as manifest as the sun There is no occasion for me to write it, and without doubt, you have been sufficiently informed of it from the addresses of your Governor, Mr Henry Vansittart The condition of these three years, how shall I write, and what I have suffered, and yet do suffer, from the hands of several gentlemen? The flame of enmity every day rises higher, whatever they please they do, binding and carrying away my officers, whatever comes into their mouths they speak, and they place guards upon my houses and forts

On any taxable goods imported, I have never troubled them for one rupee; and such of the most valuable commodities of the country, as they have brought and carried to other ports, have passed in like manner, without any demand from me for duties upon them Yet not contented with this extensive trade in all articles free from duties, they carry on a trade in many things not customary, such as dried fish, straw, bamboos, bettle-nut, salt, tobacco, timbers, and other trifling articles, which used to afford the means of subsistence to the poor and indigent in the country, nor are fit for exportation, nor can produce any profit to the Company; and for their own trade and advantage they raise disputes

By such means, the poor, and the inhabitants of the the country were reduced to, and still continue in ruin and misery, of all these matters I wrote repeatedly to the governor, Mr Vansittart Altho' he did not consider, nor do justice to the poor, nor redress their oppressions, yet for my sake he came to me, and agreeing to a small duty on goods bought and sold in the country, he returned to Calcutta But several gentlemen of the council, not regarding the words or acts of the Governor, proceeded to improper and unbecoming measures, and fixed the root of enmity so deep, that there was no resource left in Bengal, and the disorders of the Nizamut are daily increasing Whatever I say or write upon this occasion these gentlemen will not consider, nor do me

justice : disregarding the treaty and good name of the Company, they desire not to abstain from hurting their own characters with the Company, nor to abide by our agreement.

But I have one hope yet left in the justice of the Company, since in the presence of the Company, the inequity of any one, whether relation or stranger, servant or friend, meets not with countenance ; and such practices as tend to the subversion of the country, and the ruin of the inhabitants, will, upon no account, be approved of by you. Assuredly, on hearing these things, you will graciously befriend me, and I, for my own part, ever attentive to the friendship, the confirmation of the union, and the observance of the treaty and agreement with the Company, which I have in my hands, under the seal of the Company, do remain, and will continue, in a quiet and forbearance to the utmost of my power. I have that reliance on your friendship and benevolence, that you will, in the strictest manner, enjoin the chiefs of the army, and the gentlemen that reside in, or may come into these parts to assist and befriend me according to the treaty and agreement, nor in contradiction thereto, to labour at introducing disorders into the country, and amongst the inhabitants.

It is proper that you grant me in answer to this address, that hereafter I may have a written pledge of your affection and kindness, to shew to these gentlemen, that your affairs and mine may be conducted in a proper manner. In this view I shall use my endeavors, and labour with my heart and life in promoting the success of your affairs.

If you refuse me this, this province, on which your commerce and my Nizamut depend, will be one entire scene of ruin and misery, without any resource left ; and with the payments to the royal treasury, the charges of the army, and other necessary expences, I shall be involved in inextricable distresses. For your information I have represented this. What more shall I trouble you with ? May the degree of your wealth and prosperity be for ever encreasing”

From the good sense and temper apparent in this letter, I now began to flatter myself with the hopes of a reconciliation ;

nor were they a little encouraged by the good opinion I had of Mr Amyatt, whom, in spite of the lengths to which the violence and unhappy influence of others had driven him, I knew to be possessed of a moderate disposition, and by nature, the most ill-suited to the litigious scenes in which he had unwarily engaged. The Nabob had always professed a favorable opinion of him, and as by this time he must have been convinced, that the report of our forces being on the march against him, was without foundation, his objections to the visit must vanish of course. I therefore made it my endeavor, in all my letters to the Nabob, to convince him of the good intentions of Mr Amyatt and to persuade him to yield to the terms which were prescribed to him, repeating the assurances of my own unchanged attachment, with promises of redress from the justice of the Company, to which he had appealed. But it was now too late, our differences had taken too deep root to be removed. Mr Ellis, encouraged by the support afforded him by the Board, continued to widen the breach, and the Nabob, tired out with repeated provocations, and more plainly convinced of my inability to protect him, lost all temper, and shewed himself from this time scarce less violent than his enemies.

On the 9th of May we received the following letter from the chief and council at Patna

Patna Letter to the Board

‘We have received your favor of the 14th instant, with the resolutions of the Board. which as far as we can comprehend them, will not allow us to construe any act of the Nabob as hostile, although ever so greatly tending to our ruin, but we are to wait until we have notice from you of a rupture being declared. Who there may be to receive your commands is hard to say, but most probably, neither any of us, nor of the party now here, as we shall clearly evince

We have had intelligence (not from hircarras) that if the army should come from Calcutta, the Nabob intends marching here to attack us, in which case, he will certainly remove our dauks, and cut off all communication by that channel. It will

be the third day of his march before we can receive certain advice of it, and a single cossid will be twelve days reaching Calcutta, provided he meets with no impediment, but it is more probable that, at such a juncture, he never gets there, and still more so, that your answer never reaches us

How then are we to act? This factory, it is well known, is not tenable if attacked from the city, and to abandon it, will, amongst many other evils, give such a shock to the spirit of our troops, as may induce the greatest part of our seepoys, (in whom our principal strength consists) to desert us, and go over to the Nabob, where they are better insured of success, and will meet with ample encouragement, which has not been spared, even when there was no appearance of a rupture, to those who would desert with their arms. Another substantial reason why we cannot leave the factory, is, our having put our ammunition, for its greater security, in the lower part of the house, the magazine where it before lay, being liable to be blown up by a common rocket

But let us suppose, for a moment, that on the Nabob's marching against us, we quit the factory and take post, are we to sacrifice our surgeons and sick who reside in the city? For it cannot be supposed, that they will be permitted to come out, or if they could, the situation of most of them is such, that their being brought into the air, will be attended with certain death. When we have fortified ourselves in this post, our affairs are not at all mended, for the Nabob has only to surround and starve us, whilst we, dying by inches, sit waiting for your orders, which can never arrive, but with the army, and that at the soonest will be forty days after his march from Mongheer. How are we to subsist all this time? The Nabob seizes all provisions coming from Bengal, and such is the scarcity here, that had it not been for the gunge, which so much pains was taken to abolish, we had long e'er now been obliged to take up arms, to procure our daily sustenance, but was there plenty, we have not a rupee to purchase it. With the utmost difficulty we have scraped money together to pay our troops, for these two months past, and, at this time, have not sufficient to discharge a fourth part of the demands, that will be upon us in a few days, altho' we acquainted you of

the lowness of our cash as long ago as the 2d of February. This party 'tis true, runs no risk from the Nabob, provided we are allowed to act, and make the most of every advantage that may offer, but if our hands are tied, our destruction becomes inevitable such a body as this must ever act offensively and vigorously, and nip the designs of the enemy in the bud. 'Tis so, such conduct only that they can hope to preserve themselves and, surely, it is just and laudable to make use of every means providence has put in our power to defeat the attacks of a cruel and faithless enemy.

Our safety lies in mastering the city, by a coup de main, before the Nabob gets into it, for, afterwards it may be impracticable and the consequence of our acting on the defensive any where but in the city, we have already pointed out. Our distance from Calcutta is very great, and whenever the Nabob marches this way, our communication will be cut off and most probably not opened but by your army. If therefore we should obey nature's first law we hope we shall not be found culpable tho' it may not perfectly coincide with your orders.

We cannot conclude without observing to you, that we think we have no ways merited the diffidence you express, nor given the least reason ever to suspect, that we would involve the Company in a war by any rash or unpremeditated step. We rather think, that we have given proof of a contrary disposition, in bearing the many insults we have received, particularly since Mehdee Allee Cawn has been appointed Naib here, whose people have even dared to abuse and call us opprobrious names aloud from the walls. We shall be as far as any, to whom the management of the Company's affairs are entrusted, from bringing them into difficulties, but when it is really necessary, shall endeavour to act with a spirit that becomes subjects of Britain, and servants of her greatest commercial body.

Your letters are always one, and often two days earlier in date than any others from Calcutta, which gives the Nabob a great advantage in point of intelligence. We therefore request you will order them to be dispatched with the utmost expedition."

I cannot help remarking here, upon the unbecoming style and false reasoning used in this letter. Instead of a decent representation of their opinion, it is a passionate exclamation against the orders of the Board, which they endeavor to make appear unintelligible, and inconsistent with the safety of the Company's factory and troops at Patna.

The orders of the Board, at which the chief and council of Patna are so much offended, were these *, that in case of a rupture with the Nabob, we should give them the earliest notice, which they were to wait, and, in the mean time, they were to content themselves with defending the Company's interests, and property against all invaders. This surely was sufficient, for what danger could we apprehend to so strong a detachment as theirs, from any number of the Nabob's forces. They themselves always called them an undisciplined † rabble, and gave an ‡ instance of 4000 repulsed by 50 of our seepoys, who made good their retreat from Gyah to Patna, unwards of eighty miles. Money we supplied them with so plentifully, that when they quitted the factory, they carried off sixty thousand rupees in cash, which fell afterwards into the Nabob's hands.

They are offended, that it was not left to them to declare a rupture when they thought proper, "because they had certain intelligence (not from hircarras) that the Nabob was determined, upon the first notice of the march of any troops from Calcutta, to proceed with all his force to attack the detachment of our troops at Pana."

In answer to which, I say first, that I believe the determination of peace and war, was never known to be left in the hands of any interior power; and, secondly, that if the power of declaring a rupture with the Nabob, had been left to the Chief and Council at Patna, it was to be apprehended, that partly thro' false intelligence, and partly thro' their particular indisposition towards the Nabob, they would be induced to declare against him, without real or sufficient reason, and

* See page 417, of Vol. III.

† See page 418, of Vol. III.

‡ See page 380, *ibid*.

contrary to the intentions of the Board. Indeed, I must add, that it was my own firm persuasion, that they only sought such a power for a sanction, to the immediate execution of their own designs

For proof that their intelligence was sometimes fallible, I refer to that very article, which they call "*certain*", of the Nabob's intention to march to Patna, upon the first notice of any of our troops setting out from Calcutta. It was plain from the Nabob's letter already inserted*, that he had received such accounts of our troops setting out from Calcutta, as he believed to be true, and yet he shewed not the least sign of marching towards Patna. In like manner, in the Patna letter, of the 15th of March, we were advised of the Nabob's being encamped at Poonarek, and that he designed to march back to Patna, to attack our troops; but we heard for certain the next day, that he had proceeded quietly to Mongheer. Many more instances, were it necessary, might be produced from the Patna letters, of mistaken intelligence. For proof of their particular indisposition towards the Nabob, and their endeavors to aggravate every accidental circumstance into a crime against him, I might refer to numberless passages in their letters; but I believe those which have already occurred, in the course of this narrative, will be sufficient, nor need the support of further quotations

Whilst Mess Amyatt and Hay were at Cossimbuzar, they advised us, that the Seets† had been seized and carried away to the Nabob. This being judged a consequence of the Nabob's suspicions, that they were concerned in some ill designs•with us, and a breach of the promise which he made to me, upon his first accession to the subahship; a severe remonstrance was sent to him against this proceeding, with a demand for their release

The Nabob in answer, wrote as follows

*Copy of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor Dated
May 2, 1763*

* See page 143, of this Vol

† Juggutseet and his brother, two famous bankers.

“I have received with pleasure your friendly letter, you write, that in the same manner as the writers of news, incendiary reports, had falsely informed me. forces were dispatched by land and water, and thro’ the woods and mountains, they must have wrote upon the affair of the Seets, that the English forces had been dispatched thro’ their instigations, and that those gentlemen were associated with the English, for which cause they must have fallen under my displeasure, you write also, that you understand, from Mr Amyatt’s letters, that Mahomed Tucky Cawn having taken the same gentlemen from their house, had placed them in Heerajeel. The news of this procedure had greatly amazed you, because, at the time that I sat in the musnud of the Nizamut. I, yourself, and the Seets were joined; and, it was agreed, that these being the principal men of the country, it was proper to carry on the management of affairs through their means. And also at the time you came to Mongheer, you said all that was to be said concerning them, and now to carry them away with such indignities, is unbecoming, that this procedure is a diminution of my character, and breach of faith, between you and myself; and will give a public reproach to your good and my own. That such a disgrace was never offered to them, in the government of any former Nazim. That their business is only commerce, nor have they ever assumed any concern in the affairs of the government; and you desire, that I will write to Meer Syed Mahomed Cawn Bahader to release them that they may return to their own house.” Sir, your forces have not marched to Luckypoor, neither have they entered Dacca, nor have they gone to Rangamettee or Rungpoor, and where have they not committed violences? and what place, or what districts, are free from them? And what day passes, that the dependents and companies of the English at Gherettee and Calcutta, do not raise reports of war and tumults, and troops, marching from every quarter to Mongheer and Patna, that you write that the hircarras, and writers of news, write falsehoods? The hircarras of necessity write what they hear

And in the affair of the Seets, no person has to this time ever wrote any thing, nor spoken to me concerning them.

Now that you write to me, with all these specious pretences, it is as manifest as the sun, that under the government of every Nazim of Bengal till now, Omichund (for instance) and every other dependent of the English. and these gentlemen too attend on the Nazim and assisted on the affairs of the sircar, at the same time that they carried on their mercantile concerns God be praised, that you yourself write that I say, these gentlemen are of consequence it is proper to carry on my affairs with their interventions" For these three years that I have borne this burthen, and have repeatedly wrote to these gentlemen to carry on their own business and assist in the affairs of the Nizamut they paid not the least regard to my summons, and have put a stop to all their mercantile business, and have done all they could, to throw the affairs of the Nizamut into confusion, and treated me as an enemy and out-law, and refused to come Now that I have sent my people. and brought them hither, it was not because they were intriguing with the English, &c but for the management of such of my affairs as indispensably required it Since the beginning, this was agreed upon between us that these gentlemen, &c should always attend upon the Nizam and carry on both the business of the Nizamut, and their own As to your writing to me in this manner and knitting your brows without reason, and treating the covenants and treaties which are between us, like children's play, breaking entirely through them, as if you had not any kind of regard to them. what other construction can I devise for this? Whilst your people drag and carry away my aumils and keep them in confinement, in this unjustifiable insolence of your people, which is over-setting the treaty between us there is no diminution of character, no breach of faith, nor cause of reproach between us, neither is any violation of the treaty in this But when I summon a man, who is my own dependent, the treaty is broke, and my administration becomes weak, and my name suffers in the sight of every one, but particularly in yours O gracious God! this is a matter of astonishment, which my understanding cannot reach In a word, that these gentlemen, from the first day, swore and agreed, that "wherever my life was, their life was and wherever my business was, their busi-

ness was" God be praised, that this is a fact known to all the world Now I have brought them to this place, that they may always be with me, and attend to my business and their own, according to custom I know not, whether what you write in behalf of these gentlemen, be by way of intercession for them, or whether their names are included in our former treaty, which you have recourse to, when you charge me with breach of faith, and violation of former agreements, and reproach me with weakness, and a bad name God be praised, that I have sent for them with no other design than for the currency of business, and for their continuance in one place neither, as in the case of Coja Wajeed, have I seized any person unjustly, nor charged my conscience with the unjust death of any man If you are resolved to put misconstructions on every proper and lawful action of mine, I am utterly without remedy, but if you regard equity, this matter is not of such consequence, as to give occasion for so much contention and reproach

In the Nabob's Hand-writing

Sir, Though it is agreed by the treaty between us, that I should never pay any thing in behalf of the servants and dependents of the Company, nor you, gentlemen, interfere in behalf of the servants and dependents of the Nizamut, yet you, gentlemen, have regarded all this as utterly obliterated, and in contradiction thereto. persist in the violation of the treaty, and desire to raise your name, and establish your own customs I am remediless"

The Nabob had never expressed himself with so much acrimony, nor betrayed the vehemence of his resentment so strongly as in this letter, which seems to have been dictated from a sense of the deepest injuries It must be confessed, the provocation was sufficient to draw such a recrimination from the Nabob, upon the little account which we made of seizing and imprisoning his officers, whilst we were so ready to reproach him for doing the same to his own dependents But with contributed at this time to make him the less relish our remonstrance, was the news which he had just received of the seizure of Mahomed Allee, which. in consequence of our

orders * to the chief and council at Dacca, they had effected happily without opposition, and immediately sent him prisoner to Calcutta, this treatment (however merited) of an officer of such consequence, affected the Nabob more than all that had passed, nor could he mention it with temper in any of his letters after this period

On the 30th of May, we received the following letter from Mess Amyatt and Hay, containing an account of their first interview with the Nabob

Copy of a Letter from Mess Amyatt and Hay to the Governor and Council Dated May 18, 1763

"We waited on the Nabob the 15th, to acquaint him of your resolution In conversing on the different articles, we found it impossible to discourse separately upon them, and he desired us to write down what we had to say to him We delivered to him a Persian translate we had made of our instructions The same being read, he desired we would leave it with him, as also the Firmauns, &c which we acquiesced to The next evening he sent his moonshee Hafiz, Issrar Cawn, to us, to desire we would sign that Persian translate, or draw out a list of such demands as we were commissioned to get complied with, which we accordingly did and sent it to him signed and sealed, a copy of which is here inclosed We again waited on him this morning, to desire his answer, if he would comply with these articles, and give us the satisfaction required He replied, it would take up some time to consider on them, and desired two days to give his answer We had a good deal of conversation with him on different subjects, in which it appeared he had considered himself as in a state of war with us for some time past, and had issued orders, and made preparations accordingly, which has been the cause of some of the interruptions and insults our people have met with lately; and most of the others, he said had been occasioned by Mr Vansittart's letter, which he hitherto looked on as a treaty, the Governor had been authorized to enter into

with him, which caused him to send these orders over the country to his aumils, the executing of which, we now so much complain of. We remarked to him, many of those interruptions we had laboured under, before that letter. As far as we can judge from our last conversation, he seems somewhat convinced that our intentions are not hostile, as long as he does not attempt to infringe our rights (of which we have used our best endeavors to persuade him) and gives us satisfaction for the losses sustained by insults offered to the English by his officers in different parts of the country. This we are in hopes he will comply with, though he make great use of the argument, of his having acted by Mr Vansittart's agreement. We cannot write you, at present, with certainty of his intentions, but hope to be more so in our next. We shall again wait on him, for a further conversation on the many articles he is to comply with, before the time appointed by him for giving his answer, to endeavour further to convince him of the reasonableness of them, when we shall mention to him the moving* our troops to Patna, which hitherto we have declined on account of his suspicions."

This letter afforded some hopes, that the Nabob would submit to the demands, and thus our disputes be ended, but it appeared from his letters afterwards, that his disposition for peace, was little assisted by his conversation with Mess Amyatt and Hay, who instead of allowing room for negotiation, or shewing an equal willingness to hear and redress his grievances, persisted only in requiring a determinate answer to their own demands, which might as well have been insisted on by letter from Calcutta, without putting them to the risk or trouble of so long a journey. The Nabob complained much of this proceeding, and by some passages in his letters, appears to have been as little pleased with the haughty style in which they addressed him, whilst they, in their turn, retorted the same complaint upon him. But what were the Nabob's real intentions at this time, whether to submit to necessity, and sign to the

* This was in consequence of a resolution of the Board, to relieve the Patna troops every year, by sending a fresh detachment from Calcutta

articles, or by rejecting them refer our differences to the chance of war it is hard to judge. It is certain, he was provided as well as he could be, against the worst. though it is my own belief, that his intention was never to begin the war, but to avoid it, till he should be forced to defend himself. That such was his disposition, I judged both from his letters and conduct. his letters though filled with the most bitter remonstrances of the violences committed against him, shewed always a fear of coming to extremities and a desire to treat, while ours which he was answering contained the most absolute commands, enforced with a denunciation of war if he refused to submit to them. And as to his conduct if he had resolved upon war he would surely not have neglected the many ways he might have taken to distress us. he would have attacked the detachments sent out from Patna and endeavoured to cut them off from the body, instead of making ineffectual complaints to us, above all things, he would have been prepared on the first commencement of hostilities, to ravage the Burdwan province from whence he knew we received our chief supplies of money in short, he would have stopped the currency of the Company's business in all parts which he never once attempted, till the city of Patna was attacked and taken by our troops.

Whilst our affairs were in this critical suspense, a very unlucky circumstance happened, which gave a turn to the scale, and introduced a fresh subject of dispute. Some boats laden with arms for our troops at Patna, which had been dispatched about two months before, passing by Mongheer, were stopped there by the guards. Mess Amyatt and Hay demanded their release, but the Nabob looking upon this as a fresh proof of our design to break with him and naturally concluding that these arms to be employed against himself, refused to part with them, unless our forces were removed from Patna, declaring, that whilst they continued there, employed as they had always been to intimidate the officers of the government, and screen the violences and oppressions of Mr Ellis, he could put no confidence in our professions. At the same time, as a proof that his view in the demand was only to prevent the ill use which he knew Mr Ellis would make of those forces,

he offered, as an alternative, that they should continue there, provided that Mr Ellis was recalled, and either Mr Amyatt, M M'Gwire, or Mr Hastings, appointed chief in his room, otherwise he insisted that the detachment should be ordered down to Mongheer for his service, according to the terms of our original treaty. In short, he pretended, that the only object he aimed at, was to obviate the mischievous designs of Mr Ellis, by depriving him of the means of effecting them, and declared, that this only could preserve the peace between us; for that he was certainly informed, Mr Ellis was resolved to attack the city of Patna. The first advice that we received of this affair, was in a letter from Mess Amyatt and Hay, of the 26th of May, which inclosed, at the same time, the Nabob's reply to the demands of the Board, and was confirmed by their letters of the 29th and 31st of the same month. These letters, with translations of the demands presented to the Nabob, and his reply annexed, I shall here insert

Extract of a Letter from Mess Amyatt and Hay to the Governor and Council Dated May 26, 1763

“We have not seen the Nabob these four days, he being indisposed, which caused us to importune him by letters, for an answer to the several demands, you ordered us to insist on his complying with. This morning he sent it by Nobit Roy, which we now inclose you; we had before flattered ourselves he intended given us a favorable one, though he all along continued to insist on our people being the aggressors, and complained of our seizing his aumils, when he was always ready to redress our grievances, without entering into just argument, but confining it to occurrences lately happened, since his order issued in consequence of Mr Vansittart's letter, but he seemed to agree, by his conversation, that the method we now wanted our business to go on in, properly observed, was just, and to appearance he was free from apprehensions of our wanting to quarrel with him, but we now must conjecture, this behavior was only to delay time for some purpose or other

The boats, with the arms for Patna, arrived here yesterday, and were stopped by the Nabob's chokey. We immediately

applied for their release by letter, and gave them a dustuck, mentioning they contained arms, which they have kept, and the boats still continue detained. The Nabob promised an answer by Nobit Roy this morning, who said they were detained for having arms in them.

The letter written him to day we have sent, hoping it will have some effect on his mind, reflecting that our going away must necessarily bring on a rupture, to prevent which, it may make him hearken to reason, and he may still be brought to company with the articles required, therefore, if he desires us to stay, and releases the boats, we shall continue here till such time as we receive your orders how we are to act in case of his non-compliance with any, or every article, but if he still continues the hostile action of detaining the arms, we shall move from hence either towards Bengal or Patna, as most convenient, if we have reason to suspect his wanting to stop us."

Copy of the Demands presented by Mess. Amyatt and Hay to the Nabob

"We have already pointed out to your Excellency, the grounds of our right to a free trade throughout the provinces, and the independency of our people upon the country government, founded upon the royal Firmaun, &c Attested copies of which we have laid before your Excellency, as well as the hearty resolutions of the Board, to support you in your government with all its advantages, as long as you do not attempt to infringe the privileges of the English.

We now proceed, agreeable to your desire, to draw out a writing of the demands we are commissioned to make from the whole Board, and under their hands and seals

First, that your Excellency do annul the treaty you made with Mr Vansittart, and recal the several attested copies of it, which were circulated, together with your perwannah, in consequence thereof, to the several aumils of your government, informing them of its being void.

Secondly, that reparation be made for the losses sustained by the English, both before the said treaty was made and

after it, by the stoppage of their business, and the oppressions of your several officers

Thirdly, that the sunnuds granted by your Excellency, for the exemption of all duties, for the space of two years, be immediately annulled, and all duties collected as before, as it in a great measure deprives the English of the advantages which the tenor of the Royal Firmaun has ever entitled them to, above other merchants, and is entirely repugnant to their interest, and prejudicial to the good harmony which ought to subsist between your Excellency and the English

Fourthly, that disputes between the English and the dependents of your government be adjusted in the following manner, viz.

At all those aurungs which are adjacent to, or under the management of the subordinate factories, the gomastah, in case of being injured by any of the officers, of the government or their dependents, shall first make application for redress, in writing to the officer of the government, residing on the spot, from whom, if he does not receive immediate satisfaction, he shall send his complaint to the chief of the nearest factory, who shall be empowered to take cognizance of the same, and demand and exact (if necessary) the satisfaction which the case may require. But that it is to be understood in respect of weavers, pykars, and all others, who receive advances of money for goods to be provided, or are indebted for goods bought, the gomastahs shall retain their power as usual, to call such debtors to account. On the other hand, where the government's people shall have reason to complain against an English gomastah or agent, they shall give the said agent or gomastah notice of the complaint in writing, requiring and recommending to him to settle it in an amicable and equitable manner, and in case the agent or gomastah refuses, or neglects to settle it in such manner, as shall appear reasonable to the government officer, he shall then transmit an account of it to the chief of the nearest English factory, and deliver a copy of the said account to the gomastah; and the chief of the factory is hereby required to examine strictly

into the affair, and decide it according to justice, giving a copy of his determination to the officer of the government who made the complaint. That the gentlemen of the subordinates shall keep a register of such complaints, which the decisions passed on them, a copy whereof shall be forwarded monthly to the Presidency. With respect to the distant places where trade is carried on, such as Rungpoor, Poorneea, Gwalparah, and Rangamettee, there is at present no resident on the part of the Company, but the situation of the former being such, as will make it convenient for examining the complaints, and deciding the disputes, which may happen in most of those places, we have accordingly appointed a gentleman to reside there for that purpose.

Fifthly, that a gentleman, on the part of the English, do always reside at your Durbar, by whom all transactions between your Excellency and the English, will be carried on in future; and that he be acquainted with, and approve all orders, which are to be issued thro' the country relative to the English.

Sixthly, that jagheeree sunnuds be granted the Company for their lands of Burdwan, Midnapoor and Chittagong.

Seventhly, that you do issue peremptory orders to the shroffs and others, for effecting the currency of the rupees, coined in our mint, and for our coining three lacks rupees annually, in each of the mints of Dacca and Patna.

Eighthly, that the money disbursed by Mahomed Reza Cawn in the expedition of Tippera, out of the revenues of Chittagong, after that province was made over to the Company, be reimbursed.

Ninthly, a public and exemplary punishment is required to be inflicted on Lawl Shaw, the commander of the troops from Tekarree, belonging to your Excellency, who attacked a subahdar, and fifty seepoys belonging to the English, declaring, that he had the Nabob's orders to cut every English seepoy to pieces wherever he should be found; and that the said punishment be inflicted before our departure from hence.

Tenthly, that the Seets be released, and permitted to go where they please unmolested.

Eleventhly, that your Excellency do give us an explicit answer to the above demands, and with all convenient expedition issue your orders agreeable thereto, so that the English business may be freed from the interruptions which it now labors under."

Copy of the Nabob's Reply to Mess Amyatt and Hay's Demands

"As I have nothing to do with customs or duties on any kind of goods from any merchant whatever, and have wholly exempted them for two years to come, ye may engage in whatever trade ye please, nor will any one meddle or interfere therein. After the time of exemption is expired, every officer will again interfere for duties, then ye will prove your rights from grants, &c and I will answer you.

First, the Governor's agreement was never regarded by me, and an order is now going to my officers, that the copies of the writing he gave me, wheresoever they appear, are null and void

Secondly, what does it matter? The loss that has arisen in the revenues, due to my Nizamut, on account of you gentlemen, settle with me for that, and I am ready to settle the loss that it can be proved the Company have suffered in their business thro' my officers

Thirdly, the profit and advantage that has ever used to accrue to the Company, for my own part, I covet none of it. The distinction of the Company is what it has been, but do you examine my papers, and see, that in the chucla of Hoogly, Dacca and Patna, &c thirty or forty lacks of rupees is the annual amount of the taxation arising from those letter receipts of custom

For these two or three years part, what have I received? Nay, have I not paid the expence of these three districts, and other offices, out of my own pocket? Besides all this, your

folks have proceeded against my officers, with the utmost indignity, and carried them away into confinement

Altho' I have again and again wrote to you on this head, advised you thereof, it availed not at all, nor did you concern yourselves about it. As I perceived there was no redress for me, and, on the contrary, I suffered the greatest indignities and insults from your hands, for the sake of recovering your friendship, having no other remedy, I preferred my own loss, and have taken off all customs whatever.

Fourthly, whenever the chiefs and gomastahs of your factories interrupt not my people, and the dependents on the government, my officers also will not interfere with the weavers, pykars, and others, usually dependent on your factories. And when we shall agree on both sides, to act in this manner, for what will my officers causelessly commit injuries against you? You write, what the chiefs of your factories will settle disputes. You have never brought an officer of this government before a chief of a factory, for settling any matter in my administration until now, at present, if contrary to custom, you are purposed to overthrow my influence and authority in the countries of Bengal, &c it is a means of destroying our friendship. There never has been a factory of yours at Rungpoor, and the power too which ye have given to the chief, ye would have raised there, of hearing and determining all causes in the country round about, is altogether foreign to any agreement or grant you have. If ye are resolved to act contrary to all agreement, how will my authority and influence be kept there? And my officers being there, is altogether needless

Wherefore those places, whither you are to send chiefs, and to direct the administration of all causes, and the magistrature in such a manner, you ought, first, to advise me of, for the removal of my officers, that I may call them thence, and deliver the business of the place into your hands, because, from there being two rulers in the same district, the country and inhabitants are ruined and oppressed.

Fifthly, whenever we have agreed together, to our mutual

satisfaction, there will be no necessity for your deputy remaining at my court, as a single letter, for these two or three years post, has sufficed for every thing that has happened

Sixthly, in the treaty between us, as it shall have been mentioned, either for the expence of the Company's troops, or as a jagheer, I will perform accordingly

Seventhly, the revenues arising from all the provinces are received in Sunwaut rupees The payment of my troops is also in the same species, as well as all other charges of the Nizamut great or small ; and I have never molested any one for the revenues in Sicca rupees, coined either at Moorshe-dabad, Patna or Calcutta Moreover, the shroffs and merchants are no one's servants but for the sake of a small profit, deal one with the other Let every man of his own fancy buy and sell whatever he pleases, I shall interrupt no one

Eighthly, all the money that Mahomed Reza Cawn had collected from Chittagong, since it has been made over to the Company, is paid into their cash, as I have your receipt for it

Ninthly, in the districts, dependent on the Nizamut, be pleased to see an account of the very many of my people plundered and massacred by your folks When ye shall have given satisfaction for the whole, and punished your folks accordingly, I will immediately send for Lawl Shaw, where-soever he may be found, altho' he is no servant of mine, and have him properly punished before you two gentlemen

Tenthly, it has ever been custom for the Seets to attend upon the Nazim At this time, on account of the insinuations of evil speakers, they were become mistrustful of me, and afraid to come near me, therefore I sent for them hither Wheresoever I am to be, there also will these gentlemen be, according to custom, and have their business carried on

Eleventhly, the Company's adherence to their promise was evident to all men I also thought you do what you say, and do not go back from your word At present it seems, as tho' you keep neither promise nor treaty for a single year,

may, a month or a day Now that you have written and brought me these demands, what article of them rests upon me, that you require a public writing of me ? I have not, by any means, broken my word, ye receded from your promise, and fain would again make a new treaty and agreement It is necessary too, that what will make me easy be considered, in the treaty If you allow me the management of the Nizamut, leave in Patna, and other places, the people necessary for conducting the business of your factory, as you formerly used to do, and remove all English troops and seepoys wherever stationed I shall never be backward in promoting and assisting the business that properly concerns you ”

*Extract of a Letter from Mess Amyatt and Hay to the Board
Dated May 29, 1763.*

“Notwithstanding our repeated remonstrances to his Excellency, setting forth the hostility of the action, he has not yet released the boats with the arms ; neither does he shew the least confidence in what we say, and declares (at the same time hinting to us the former revolution) he shall not place any in us, till we remove the detachment from Patna to Mongheer

We beg leave to offer it as our opinion, that the having the troops intended to be quartered in this province, stationed here, would be very adviseable, but cannot be thought of, till such time as he complies with our demands, as it is probably made by caprice, or with design.”

*Copy of a Letter from Mess Amyatt and Hay to the Board
Dated May 31, 1763*

“The inclosed is a duplicate of our last, dated the 29th instant, on which day we sent you a cypher made out here, which, we imagined, might be useful in carrying on a correspondence in case of a rupture : a copy of the same was likewise forwarded to Mr. Ellis at Patna.

Whatever we urge to his Excellency, in regard to the release of the boats with arms, or the necessity of his placing a

proper considence in us, his general reply is, that we have seized his aumils, that the words of the English are not to be trusted, and that he will not release the boats till such time as we remove our troops from Patna, either to this place or to Calcutta Altho' he will take no step towards a reconciliation, or to give us satisfaction, yet he, upon all occasions, mentions his desire of peace, in short, his aim seems to be entirely to gain time."

About the same time, the following letters were received from the Nabob.

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor Dated May 25, 1763

"At this time Mr Amyatt and Mr Hay being arrived here, have delivered a list, containing several demands, which are unreasonable and foreign from former treaties and grants I expected not, whilst you yet remained, that I should be involved in this trouble, and so unjust a negotiation, that in one year, new agreements were to be made so often, after the breach of the antient treaty, that upon every occasion made use of to intimidate me, I should be threatened with a breach of the treaty, and vexed, and mortified without cause, and my affairs obstructed At this time, from the arzees of Meer Mehdee Cawn Behader, I am repeatedly informed, that the troops under Mr. Ellis's charge, create continual disturbances and quarrels with my people, and daily leave a fresh root of dissention

From these appearances, all the tenants, and the troops which are at Patna, are ever in alarms, and taking means for their security This has given, and still gives occasion to the people to believe, that there is no longer a friendship and union between us It affords me a subject of continual anxiety and apprehension, lest (which God forbid) these things should produce a difference between us, and you unjustly reproach me To this purpose, I have spoken to Mr. Amyatt likewise; but the gentlemen do not hear me nor regard what I say This day I have received an arzee from Meer Mehdee

Cawn, of which I send you a copy for your perusal. If you, gentlemen, intend the English army for defence, it is proper that you call it from Patna to Calcutta, that it may be called upon in time of need, or else keep it with me at Mongheer, which will put an end to disputes, and restore the currency of affairs between us, and shut up the mouths of the people from so many rumours. But if it is not your design to remove the troops from Patna, and you seek only to disturb my affairs, and to awe and intimidate me, let me know it, that when I have learnt your pleasure, I may clear my hands from every business, and all this vexation. To this purpose, I have expressed myself also to Mr Amyatt, both by speech and writing."

Copy of a Letter from Meer Mehdee Cawn (Naib of Patna) to the Nabob

"I have frequently and repeatedly advised your Excellency, that Mr Ellis, and the troops which are with him, creating troubles and disputes with the people of the sircar, seek for a rupture; and the tenants and inhabitants of the city, and seepoys of this place, seeing this state of things, are fallen into apprehensions and alarms, and are providing for their own security. The people judging from hence, that there is no longer a friendship and good understanding between us, raise many reports of different kinds, and the zemindars, taking the occasion of their not being called upon, withhold their rents, so that the revenue is entirely obstructed. I cannot describe to you, how much the affairs of the Nizamut are fallen into confusion. In whatever light you regard these affairs, you will graciously be pleased to issue your orders for the quieting of these disorders and troubles, otherwise the whole business of the government is destroyed, and these mutual animosities, which tend to ruin the interests of both parties, raise suspicions in the minds of the people."

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor Dated May 26, 1763

"When Mess Amyatt and Hay came to this place to treat, with a list of demands, I expected that those gentlemen would

inform themselves of every particular, and put an end to all affairs and matters of contention between us. Accordingly I sent the aumils with Rajah Nobit Roy, and Hafiz Issrar Cawn, that having heard the particulars of the oppressions of the English gomastahs, they might use such means as might settle every affair. Those gentlemen at once plainly answered, that they wanted not to hear what I had to represent, and in the affair of the forces at Patna likewise, they replied, "For what shall we recal the forces from thence? Nay, we will send other forces. If you have any design to quarrel with us, we are ready." Again, Mr. Amyatt and yourself formerly wrote to me, that you had never sent any muskets or military stores to Patna, but the day before yesterday, six boats laden with muskets, &c. arrived here from Calcutta.

Sir, openly to deny sending any military stores, and secretly to send them in this manner, what can it mean? I have no objection to two or three hundred Englishmen remaining at Patna, but to keep up such a force with Mr Ellis, to ruin my affairs, is very improper, and that gentleman every day keeps his forces in readiness, and creates troubles and quarrels with my people. Therefore I write, that I will not suffer a larger force than two or three hundred men to remain with Mr Ellis. If you, gentlemen, regard your words and engagements, and the condition on which you received Burdwan, &c. from me, for the expences of your army, it is fit, that in conformity thereto, you recal the said forces, and place them with me, or remove them to Calcutta. If not, write me a plain answer.

P S I am yet ready to comply with your word, but things are brought to the last extremity, and however desirous I am of avoiding the worst, yet I see no means of it, and my patience is near exhausted. Wherefore, I write this beforehand for your information. I send you inclosed a copy of the answer, which I wrote to the list of demands, presented to me by Mess Amyatt and Hay."

These letters being laid before the Board, a general Council was held upon them on the 9th of June, in which it

was resolved, that the troops should not be removed from Patna, and that if the Nabob persisted to demand it, or to detain the boats, Mess Amyatt and Hay should be directed to leave Mongheer. At the same time the gentlemen of Patna were advised of these resolutions, and ordered to act as they might be directed by Mess Amyatt and Hay. For the motive of these resolutions, I refer to the following extract of the debates which produced them.

Extract of Consultation of June 9 (Present Mess Batson, Adams, Billers, Cartier, Hastings, Marriott and Watts) the President indisposed

“The Governor sends to the Board the following letter, which he has just received from Mr Amyatt

Sir, his Excellency has received a kellaat from the King, which the day before yesterday he put on in form, and last night he made an entertainment for us on the occasion

The arms still continue stopped; they lay in boats on the opposite side of the river, surrounded by his seepoys. He still insists on our forces being withdrawn from Patna and other places, to convince him and all the country, of our peaceful intentions, and then he is ready to issue any perwannahs we please, for the forwarding our business. He does not rightly declare, which of the articles he will comply with, but I perceive he will not give sunnuds for the lands, nor consent to a resident being with him, nor establish the other mints, but will endeavor to take some measure to prevent our being sufferers by our rupees.

He will not agree to our punishing his servants, nor do I think we ought to insist upon it, but alter that article to be punished by him, after our chief has heard and represented the case, and for us to chastise them, if he delays or neglects to do it. The Seets, I am persuaded, he will keep here, nor suffer them to be of much consequence in future; likely he will not use them ill, nor take their money at present. He denies the agreement with you, tho' he says, if he did, it is not any where in writing. He requires satisfaction from

us, for any immediate damage done him by our people, when he is ready to make good ours, that may be proved against any of his aumils and chokeys, excepting Mahomed Allee, whom you have in your hands to do with as you please, he objects to our any where working or cultivating his lands, or purchasing any thing for them at first-hand, it deprives him of his duties and advantages therefrom. In short, he objects to every thing; and says, it's our own private interest we want to benefit, the Company's being no where molested, nor does he want to molest it. We told him he must grant a free trade, which was our right, and if in any particular he was much aggrieved, or suffered thereby, to represent it to the Council, and they would restrain themselves and others to serve him, but no restraints from his people would be admitted of, as under that pretence they would hurt and injure the trade. I have done my utmost endeavors to persuade him to a thorough confidence, but I believe it is all in vain. I have also represented to him his danger, to as little purpose, he seems very indifferent at present, and no ways anxious. He swears he does not want to quarrel with us, and will do every thing, at the same time, he, in a manner, refuses every thing. Thus matters stand in the same situation as at the first day. I believe he does not stop or impede the business, but will not permit arms or men to go to Patna, for which reason, we have never mentioned our troops moving for that place. A perwannah is gone to clear the petre. He said, he thought the produce of that place did not belong to us.

I am, &c
Signed P Amyatt "

The Persident, at the same time, transmits to the Board his opinion of the measures proper to be taken, in the present situation of affairs with the Nabob

The Governor's Opinion

If the Nabob detains the arms, it can be looked upon in no other light, than as an open act of hostility, and I think Mess.

Amyatt and Hay should be directed to make such a final declaration to the Nabob ; and if they are not then delivered up, to take their leave. But supposing the Nabob to make satisfaction for this ill advised step, it should be considered, whether his answers to the several articles, delivered him by Mr Amyatt, are such as ought, when coolly and separately reflected on, to resolve us to engage the Company in a war with the Nabob , or if it is admitted, that every article is not of so much consequence, then it should be considered, which are, and which are not, and instructions sent Mr Amyatt accordingly

The placing our troops with the Nabob, as he desires, would certainly be a means of establishing a confidence in each other, and of making that confidence appear to the world, and at the same time, answer all the purposes of preserving our influence, and securing the tranquility of the country

Yet, I am not for removing them upon the Nabob's demand , but if he will comply with the articles delivered him by Mr Amyatt, or the material ones, I think this request might then be granted, and that Mr Amyatt should be empowered to give him to understand as much

Lastly, if a rupture is unavoidable, the season should be considered, the state of the treasury, and the peace in Europe, by which the French will be repossessed of their factories. The troops from hence, could not at this time march by land to join the detachment at Patna, therefore it may be adviseable to defer publishing the resolutions of the Board, whatever they may be

All these papers being read and considered

The members likewise delivered in their opinions as follows

Mr Watts's Opinion

The Nabob's behavior, since Mess Amyatt and Hay's arrival at Mongheer, leaves no room to expect he will ever enter into any terms with us ; but, on the contrary, it appears

from it, that he only waits for a proper opportunity to break with us, and by his several replies to the demands in Mess Amyatt and Hay's letters, it is very evident he places no confidence in us, and as we have no reason to place any in him, I therefore think, that his demanding our troops at Patna to be recalled, ought not to be complied with. That as the rainy season is so near advanced, a letter should be wrote to Mess Amyatt and Hay to take their leave of the Nabob, and return to Calcutta or Patna, as they think proper. That they may demand the release of the boats, but altho' complied with, not remain there any longer, but acquaint the Nabob, that if he has any proposals to make, he must send them to the President and Council, who will reply to them. That as soon as they think it will be out of the power of the Nabob to stop them, they shall write to Mr Ellis, and the council at Patna, to follow the regulations laid down in case of a rupture.

That as the Nabob is raising forces every where and it plainly appears he only wants to gain time, a letter should be wrote to Patna, to acquaint the gentlemen there, that we judge a rupture unavoidable, and that, as there is reason to expect the Nabob will take every advantage, they have our orders, in case they have certain intelligence of his marching towards Patna, to take any steps that will distress him, and look upon him as an enemy.

That as he does suspect the Nabob will attempt to detain Mess Amyatt and Hay, he thinks they ought, in such case, to have the power of declaring the rupture, and that a note from them to the chief and council at Patna, should be sufficient for their acting, as if received from the Board.

Mr Marriott's Opinion

Mr Marriott is of opinion, that a letter be immediately wrote to Mess Amyatt and Hay, directing them, in case the Nabob has not released the boats, with arms to quit Mongheer, and either return to Calcutta, or go to Patna, as they may judge most eligible for ensuring their own safety; and that application to the Nabob on this occasion should be left to their discretion. That the troops at Patna should not be

removed agreeable to his demand ; as their remaining at that place will prevent the Rajahs, on the borders of the province, from taking any advantage of the present appearance of a rupture, happening between the Nabob and us, by making an invasion into his territories. That if the Nabob either does, or has released the arms, and will comply with the most material demands, some of the other might be given up, particularly those mentioned by Mr. Amyatt, in his letter to the President, first, that regarding the jaheeree sunnuds, for the provinces of Burdwan, Midnapoor and Chittagong, as possession and the force we maintain in the country will always secure them to us, secondly, that regarding our punishing his officers This article he thinks might be altered, that application should be first made to the Nabob, on the occasion of any complaints against them, that we should only observe the method already laid down upon his refusing to give us satisfaction for the same, thirdly, the article concerning the mint.

That in case Mess Amyatt and Hay should be obliged to leave the Nabob, orders should be sent to the gentlemen at Patna, to act agreeable to former instructions, unless they received some certain intelligence, that the Nabob was marching for Patna, in which case, they should be ordered to act on the offensive, and endeavor to seize the city by a coup de main He further thinks, Mess Amyatt and Hay should hear what the Nabob has alledge concerning the losses of the sircar, by our agents or gomastahs

Mr Hastings's Opinion

Tho' I have, from the beinning, expressed my disapprobation of the measures taken in our late unhappy disputes with the Nabob, and which have given occasion to the temper, which he, at this time, shews towards us ; yet, after having gone such lengths, I cannot but think it very unbecoming, to submit quietly to so open an act of violence, as he has been guilty of in the stoppage of the boats of arms It is therefore my opinion, that Mess. Amyatt and Hay be ordered to demand of the Nabob the immediate clearance of those boats, in the name of the President and council, and in case of his refusal,

to inform him, that it will be deemed equal to a declaration of a rupture on his side, and that they do accordingly take their leave of him, and return to Calcutta, but if he consents to release the boats, and expresses a willingness to yield to our demands, I think we cannot in justice to him, or consistently with the interest of the Company, refuse to comply with the demand he has made, that the detachment of our forces now at Patna, may be stationed with him. The alarms of the people cannot be so effectually appeased, as by the appearance of a confidence, such as this will occasion, between the Nabob and us. The Nabob will derive more benefit from our influence, whilst our troops are with him, and it will be less in his power to form any ill designs against us, whilst we have such a check continually upon him.

I agree with the President, that in case of the Nabob's objecting to any of the demands, it should be determined by the Board, what should be insisted upon, and what may be dispensed with, and Mess Amyatt and Hay instructed accordingly; in which distinction, the Board will doubtless consider the real interest and honor of the Company, and not involve them in a war (which must at all events prove of great detriment to them) for ends indifferent or inadequate to the expence and risk which may accrue to them from it. I am likewise of opinion, that if Mess Amyatt and Hay find the Nabob in a proper temper to yield to the proposals offered him, they may privately signify to him, that the Board will consent to the removal of the Patna detachment as he desires, provided he first complies with our demands.

Mr Cartier's Opinion

Mr Cartier judges it adviseable, that Mr Amyatt and Hay should be immediately recalled from Mongheer, as it appears to him, from the advices received from those gentlemen, that the Nabob has no other design by prevailing upon them to stay (after a flat refusal almost of every demand they were empowered to make, and the hostile act of detaining the arms sending to the Patna factory) than to gain time to answer some purpose, that may be very prejudicial to our affairs.

That it appears to him a very probable circumstance, the Nabob's principal view, is to engage us in a scene of negotiation, till such time as the season of the year will render any military operation nearly impracticable, which, when the case, he will have it in his power to bend his whole force to oppress our troops at Patna. That the party there should by no means be removed from that place, in compliance with the Nabob's request, at this present juncture. That if Mess Amyatt and Hay are allowed to quit Mongheer, without concluding the business they were sent on, it is his opinion, the army (when those gentlemen are so far advanced on their way as to be out of danger) should be immediately ordered to march to Cossimbuzar, and take post there, which will be the means of preserving the health of the people, and by such a motion of the troops, the Nabob will be convinced, that something more is designed, than mere negotiation.

Mr Billers's Opinion

Mr Billers is of opinion, that as the Nabob still persists in detaining the arms, it should be looked upon as an act of hostility. That Mess. Amyatt and Hay should therefore be immediately directed to leave Mongheer, and that our army should march to Cossimbuzar; for it at present seems, as if the Nabob only wanted to gain time, and endeavored to embarrass us as much as possible, by the rains coming on. He thinks the troops at Patna, ought by no means to be removed at this juncture, and that if Mess Amyatt and Hay should quit Mongheer, the Patna gentlemen should be permitted to take such measures, as they may judge best for their own safety, and the Company's interest.

Major Adams's Opinion

Major Adams is of opinion, that the troops should by no means, for the present, be removed from Patna, but that it should be left to the pleasure of the Board, to dispose of them as they think proper, if matters can be amicably accommodated. That any particular articles of the demands, which the Nabob mostly objects to, should be transmitted to

the Board, with his reasons, that they may be reconsidered, and it be determined, whether they shall still be insisted on, or may not be moderated ; but before any regard is paid to either of these points, he thinks orders should be sent to Mess Amyatt and Hay, to demand the release of the arms , and, at the same time, acquaint the Nabob, that should it not be immediately complied with, they have orders to leave his court That they will make this demand and intimation, if they think it consistent with their own safety , otherwise, retire to Patna, or take such other rout, as they may judge most eligible and conducive to their own security ; and when they find themselves out of his power, to transmit him in writing the orders of the Board ; and, lastly, that if Mess Amyatt and Hay quit Mongheer, the gentlemen at Patna should be left to act as they judge most proper for their own security, and the Company's interest

Mr Batson's Opinion

I am of opinion, that we can by no means consent to withdraw our troops from Patna That the Nabob's desire of having them with him at Mongheer is insincere , his real design being only to get them removed from Patna , that our withdrawing them will be a great step towards running entirely our influence and power in the country ; and therefore I esteem it highly detrimental and dishonorable to the Company and nation

I am further of opinion, that the Nabob's evil disposition towards our nation, is evident beyond dispute , nay, that it is avowed by his insisting on our withdrawing our troops from Patna, and by the act of hostility he has already committed in seizing our arms That it will be weakness to think of treating any longer with him, as he has refused several times to comply with our demands ; and all his answers are filled with sneers, reproaches and calumnies That therefore Mess Amyatt and Hay should be directed to endeavor, by stratagem or otherwise, to get the arms released if possible, and to return to Calcutta as soon as they can, or to go to Patna, if they judge the former impracticable. That on their

departure, they should advise the gentlemen at Patna, and direct them to act as they may judge best for the service

Questions proposed

The several opinions being read ; to render the resolutions to be taken more clear, the following distinct questions were stated and put at the Board.

Question I Shall the Nabob's demand, of removing the detachment from Patna, be consented to or not ?

Answer, The Board unanimously think it ought not.

Quest II In case of the Nabob's compliance with our demands, shall the Patna detachment be removed and stationed at Mongheer, or not ?

Ans. The majority, viz Mess Watts, Cartier, Billers and Batson think it ought not

Quest III Shall Mess Amyatt and Hay be directed to leave Mongheer, immediately on the receipt of the letter we now send them, or remain to treat further with the Nabob ?

Ans. The majority, viz Mess Marriott, Hastings, Billeis and major Adams, are of opinion, that if the arms are not released, they should come away, if they are, that they should stay to treat further ; and that it should rest in their option to make a fresh demand of their release, or not Mess Watts, Cartier and Batson think, they ought to return immediately on the receipt of the orders now to be sent them

Quest IV. If the Nabob continues to insist on the removal of the troops, as a preliminary to his entering upon any treaty, altho' he release the arms, shall Mess Amyatt and Hay remain to treat further with him, or not ?

Ans. All the members except Mr Hastings think, that they ought in such case immediately to leave Mongheer

Mr Hastings's Dissent

Mr Hastings dissents, because he has given his opinion,

that the troops might be removed from Patna , and does not think, that the Nabob's refusal to any one of the demands is sufficient to justify our breaking with him

Resolution of the Majority.

Agreed, that Mess Amyatt and Hay be wrote to in the following terms That we cannot consent to the Nabob's demand of removing the troops from Patna , and therefore, if he persists in making that a preliminary, and refuses to treat on other terms, or to relase the boast of arms, they are, in either case, immediately to leave Mongheer, and return to Calcutta, if they think it practicable , or otherwise take such other rout, as they may judge most eligible for their safety That if they think it unsafe to notify these resolutions to the Nabob, and that it may induce him to detain them at Mongheer, we permit them to come away without mentioning our resolution any further to him

That on their departure from Mongheer, they are to advise us and the gentlemen at Patna, directing them to be upon their guard, and to act in the manner they judge most proper for their own security, in case the Nabob marches or sends any troops to attack them

Agreed, that we write likewise to Patna, and inclose them a copy of these order to Mess Amyatt and Hay and desire them to act as they may be directed by those gentlemen

Mr Hastings's Dissent.

I enter my dissent to the two last paragraphs of the letter, ordered to be wrote to Mess Amyatt and Hay, for the following reasons

Tho' I cannot believe, that Mess Amyatt and Hay desire such a permission, as is here given them to leave the Nabob, without informing him of the resolution of the Board, in case of his persisting to detain the arms, or to demand, as a preliminary, the removal of our troops from Patna , yet I think it very unbecoming in the Board, to grant them such permi-

ssion After having entered into a treaty with the Nabob, and flattered him with repeated assurances of our desire of an accommodation, abruptly to break it off, and declare war against him (since one is made a consequence of the other) without letting him know the terms on which our friendship depends, what is this, but to insnare the Nabob into a rupture which he might avoid, if he was certain, that his insisting on those points would be the cause of one, and which, I am convinced, he would wish to avoid, by every concession that should be required of him, as the means of peace, since he has no force to oppose us, and it is well known he has no dependence, and can have none, but on our friendship

I cannot, for my own part, see how Mess Amyatt and Hay should run a greater risk now than hitherto, from a free declaration of the sentiments of the Board, to the Nabob, nor can I see any reason to suspect him, of forming any treacherous designs against the persons of those gentlemen, as I know of no act of his, that can justify that opinion of him, and such an attempt if made, could answer no end

The order given to the chief and council at Patna, to take such measures as they think proper for their security, in case of the Nabob's marching, or sending any forces to attack them, is authorising those gentlemen to commit open hostilities against the Nabob, on the first pretence offered them, by the march of a few men from Mongheer to Patna, or the false reports of their hircarras, who may tell them, that the Nabob, or his forces, are on the road to attack them Till therefore they are openly attacked, or the Board have declared war against the Nabob, I object to any power put into their hands to commence a war themselves "

It will be remarked that I was not present myself at this consultation, having been for some days confined by sickness, and therefore knew not of the resolutions of the Board, till acquainted with them afterwards by the secretary, whom I desired to summon another meeting of the Council the next day, and detained the dispatches, that this matter might be reconsidered, as I judged the orders sent to Mess Amyatt and

Hay precipitate ; and that they shut out all possibility of an accommodation, altho' the Nabob should be inclined to it. The Council being met, I sent in my opinion in a letter to the secretary ; which being read at the Board, produced the alteration which I proposed in the orders to Mess Amyatt and Hay.

The following is an extract from the consultation of my letter to the secretary, and the resolutions taken in consequence of it.

Extract of Consultation of June 10 Present Mess. Billers, Adams, Cartier and Marriott.

"The secretary lays before the Board the following letter, which he this morning received from the Governor.

Sir, as my late indisposition prevents my attending the Board, I must take this method of delivering my opinion upon the instructions, which should be sent to Mess Amyatt and Hay, in answer to the last advices received from them

If the Nabob persists in detaining the boats with arms, I think it must be deemed a declared act of hostility, and Mess Amyatt and Hay directed, in such case, to take their leave. If the Nabob refuses to treat further with those gentlemen, without our removing the troops from Patna, by way of preliminary, I think, in that case likewise, they should take their leave, as I am not for consenting to make any change in the station of our troops upon such demand. But supposing the arms to be released, and that Mess. Amyatt and Hay find the Nabob in a disposition to treat, without insisting on the removal of our troops from Patna, as a preliminary ; then, I think, those gentlemen should be furnished with instructions what further to say to the Nabob ; and those instructions, I think, should be, with respect to the troops at Patna, to represent to the Nabob, that they were stationed there with a view of being in readiness to assist him, whenever his affairs might require it, and that they should be ready to act in conformity to that view, as soon as the present differences between us were accommodated. They should be

further directed to call upon the Nabob, for his particular objections to the several articles or demands delivered him ; and having transmitted the same to the Board, it should be considered which are material to be insisted on.

Some answer should likewise be sent to Mess Amyatt and Hay, regarding Mahomed Allee, and the other officers of the government, at present kept here prisoners The Nabob says, as we have seized them, and have them in our hands, we may take our own satisfaction for the losses some have suffered in their private trade. We should either tell Mess. Amyatt and Hay, that we will do so, or else we should send those officers up to them, with instructions to deliver them to the Nabob, desiring him to oblige them to make good such losses ; at the same time, receiving from the government's officers, the accounts of losses they say they have suffered by the violence of English agents and gomastahs , and this second method, I think, the most proper

Neither the Company's, nor private trade, meet at present with any interruption This is an essential reason, why we ought to avoid, if possible, engaging our employers in an expensive war, and involving the country in troubles, to their great loss, as well as that of the settlement in general.

The low state of our treasury, and the peace in Europe, by which the French will be repossessed of their settlements in this country, are, in my opinion, other strong reasons, why we should, if possible, keep on good terms with the Nabob

Finally, I think, that further instructions should be sent to the gentlemen at Patna, concerning their manner of acting, in case a rupture with the Nabob should be unavoidable ; with reference, I mean, to the season, which would prevent the troops from hence marching by land to join those at Patna ; and going up by boats, would take a long time. Upon this article, I submit myself to the judgment of major Adams.

The same being read and considered

Resolution of the Board

Agreed, that we write in consequence, a further letter to Mess. Amyatt and Hay, acquainting them, that supposing the arms to be released, and they should find the Nabob inclinable still to treat, without insisting on the removal of the troops from Patna, as a preliminary, they may assure him that those troops have been always stationed there for the security of his government, and to maintain the tranquillity of the country, and that they shall still continue to act in conformity to this view. That they shall then call upon the Nabob for his particular objections to the several articles or demands delivered him, and transmit them to us, when we shall consider and determine, which of them are so material as to require being still insisted on; and which may be moderated; that if the Nabob should again make mention of Mahomed Allee, and the other prisoners here, we leave it to them to judge whether we had best prosecute the enquiry against them ourselves, or send them up to them, to have it finished in presence of the Nabob, and to give him their answers accordingly; that they may receive from the government's officers, the account of any losses they say they have sustained, by the violence of the English agents and gomastahs, upon their being properly authenticated; and again assure the Nabob, that for whatever appears to be just, he shall receive full satisfaction. On the further subject of the Governor's letter, the Board are of opinion, that their utmost endeavors have been already used to prevent the country's being involved in troubles, or their employers engaged in an expensive war; that they can now leave it only to time to satisfy them, whether these endeavors will prove effectual. That the circumstance of a peace in Europe, and the supposition drawn from thence, that the French will obtain their resettlements here, is rather a strong reason, why we should employ the most spirited methods, to become immediately assured of the Nabob's intentions and disposition towards us, and not delay time in a fruitless negotiation. That with regard to the last paragraph of the Governor's letter, referred to the judgment of major Adams, the major, with the rest of the members,

think it unnecessary to send further instructions to Patna, than those contained in the letter of yesterday to Mess. Amyatt and Hay, and whereof a copy was transmitted to that factory

On the 13th we received a letter from Mess Amyatt and Hay, giving a very different account of the Nabob's disposition, from that contained in Mr Amyatt's letter to me, received four days before They advised now, that "the arms still continued under seizure. That all conversation with the Nabob, upon business, was at a stand That the Nabob, buoyed up with the notion of his own strength, shewed, by all his actions, that he was resolved on a rupture, which they now looked upon as unavoidable, and therefore, wished us to remove them out of his power as soon as possible." In answer, we recommended to them to temporize in any manner they could, to get themselves out of the Nabob's hands, in case they still judged a rupture unavoidable, and that he designed to detain them On the 17th, we received a letter from the same gentlemen, which confirmed their former sentiments, and the same day, the following letters were received from Mr Ellis, which brought the prospect of war but nearer to our view, and left the Board nothing now to do, but approve of his measures, and wait the issue

Copy of a Letter from Mr Ellis to the Governor and Council Dated June 5, 1763

"The Nabob, whose brain it ever teeming with inventions, to distress, and render us subservient to his tyranny, has now hit upon a method of doing it very effectually, by inveigling away our seepoys His emissaries, employed on this service, promise to the private men double the pay we give, advancing them one month; and to the officers, a promotion in rank and so well hath his scheme succeeded, that we have lost 200 men since the first instant; amongst whom are many officers, and the remainder old seepoys, perfectly versed in our discipline

It is now near four months, that we have been in a

most perplexing state of suspense, just between the bounds of peace and war, with the government here, and during that time, have patiently borne the many insults daily offered us; insomuch, that our people begin to think, and with some appearance of reason, that we cannot do ourselves justice; which is another motive for their going over to the Nabob

This, gentlemen, merits your most serious and immediate consideration, for I do assure you, if we remain much longer in the situation we have been in for some time past, there will not be 500 old seepoys left in the two battalions here (which I can safely say, were inferior to none in the service) and the unhappy consequences that may attend our acting with a parced of raw, undisciplined people, against those whom we have taught to be soldiers, are sufficiently obvious.

The Nabob, in order to bring every force against us, which it is possible to collect, has made up matters with Comgar Cawn, and put him in possession of the country he before held. The seepoys, who were stationed there, to the number of about 1000, arrived here this day”

Copy of a Letter from Mr Ellis to the Governor and Council Dated June 6, 1763

“Our seepoys still continuing to desert in great numbers, I have judged it most expedient, and for the good of the service, to order the whole party to hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment’s warning, and have thereby entitled them to Batta

This is the only means of putting a stop to the desertion; and if it has the desired effect, will be well worth the expence”

The next days, we received two more letters from Mess. Amyatt and Hay, containing an account of an affront offered to some of the gentlemen of their company, by the Nabob’s chokies, and mentioning, that the Nabob still insisted on the removal of our troops from Patna, and satisfaction for his grievances, that parties of horse were stationed all round them to prevent their escape, and 5000 men were detached

to Bengal ; with other circumstances, confirming their opinion that the Nabob would not treat

It appearing to the Board, that there was the strongest reason to apprehend our disputes with the Nabob would end in a rupture, it was thought necessary to form a plan for the conduct of the war, whenever it should break out

The following disposition was resolved upon accordingly , with which Mess Amyatt and Hay were acquainted, and again directed to leave Mongheer as they could.

Extract of Consultation of June 18, 1763 Present Mess. Vansittart, Adams, Billers, Cartier, Hastings, Marriott and Watts

“It is agreed, in order to form a front for the protection of the Company’s aurungs and lands, secure their investment and revenues in the best manner possible, and to endeavor to collect what we can from the other provinces, to answer the expence of the war, that our troops be immediately prepared for taking post, according to the following disposition.

Captain Knox, with his detachment, in the province of Beerboom , a detachment of 200 of the Company’s troops, and 300 seepoys, in the province of Nuddeea or Kissnagur ; the body of the army from Gherettee at Cossimbuzar, to possess themselves of the city of Moorshedabad That in this disposition, the troops shall march as nearly as possible in a line, so as to be able to support each other, and the whole to act under the orders of major Adams

The distance of captain Knox’s present station at Jellalore being considerable.

Agreed, that whilst the other preparations are making, he be directed to march to Midnapoor, and there wait with his party in readiness for moving, until he shall receive our further orders, leaving behind him one company of seepoys and two or three gunners, to defend the post at Jellalore”

As there was now so great an appearance of an approaching rupture, it was judged necessary to come to some certain

resolution with respect to the government of the country on such an event. Supposing the removal of Meer Cossim from the subadarree should be the issue, likewise, with respect to the precautions which should be taken, for reimbursing to the Company the expence of the impending war; and to private merchants, the losses which they might sustain in their concerns in the country. On these points the several members were to come prepared with their opinions, to the next meeting, which was held accordingly on the 20th, and the following are their opinions."

Extract of Consultation of June 20, 1763 Present Mess. Vansittart, Adams, Billers, Cartier, Hastings, Marriott and Watts

Mr Watts's Opinion.

"Mr Watts is of opinion, that should a rupture be unavoidable, the best method would be taking of the government into our own hands, on account of the Company; but as the keeping of it, and the settling it properly, will require a large force, he thinks it at present impracticable, and that the attempting it would be running a risk of involving the country in a scene of war, which, with our present force, we could not soon put a stop to. He therefore judges, that the most adviseable method will be the fixing upon a proper person who has some influence in the country; but that before we declare him, a treaty ought to be made, and every precaution taken to prevent any disputes hereafter, which will be unavoidable, if the limits of each party's power are not fixed, as also the liberties of our trade settled. These two points require much consideration, and as each party must give up something to the other, he begs leave to defer giving his further sentiments at present.

The person who shall be appointed, should pay to the Company the charges that may attend the war; but as it cannot be expected he will, or it may so happen that he will not have ready money to answer this, and the many other demands he will have on him, at arriving to the government;

and the pressing him for the payment might give uneasiness ; he thinks a grant of certain lands might be given the Company for ever , and he would prefer the following, as they may be maintained with a very little expence, are almost secure against any invasion, and are those in which the greatest part of the Company's goods are manufactured ; all the lands bounded on the west, by the Hoogly river ; on the north, by the Jillinguy river ; on the east, by the Pudda , and on the south, by the sea

All lands and cities which lie between the south bank of the Magna, or any other great river to the northward of the city of Dacca and the sea ; and as far east, as that river may run.

He also thinks, that the person fixed upon, should make restitution for all private losses

Mr Marriott's Opinion.

In regard to the settling the country, in case of a rupture with he Nabob, and the removal of him from the subahship, which now appears unavoidable , the first disposition that occurs, is the taking the country into our own hands, calling ourselves Dewan for the King, and applying to him accordingly for sunnuds, promising and paying him his annual revenues, for the provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, as former Nabobs used to do, and which latter ones have never done This disposition, however, is liable to many objections, and at present impracticable, as our whole force is very insufficient, to keep possession of such a tract of country

The next method that occurs, is the fixing on another man as Nabob, who may be more under our direction than the present For there appears no medium can be observed ; we must either govern him, or he will us ; and we must submit to have affairs upon the footing they were in Serajah Dowla's time, if such a step is not followed

If putting another Subah in the government is approved, the next thing to be considered, is the person proper for this

purpose, and being unacquainted with any of the persent Nabob's Jemmatdars, or other men of family in the country, I can think of no one but the late Nabob whole chief cause for resigning the Subhship being then removed, he would take the weight of government again on himself, and agree to what we might propose, which I think need only be the demands now made upon Cossim Allee Cawn, with a stipulation of the number of troops he should keep up, and also of the number of ours he should have about his person.

With regard to the reimbursing the Company, for the expences of the war,, a calculation should be made of them, as near as possible, and such a sum required for the payment, either in money, or in the revenues of a tract of lands, held and collected by the Company, till such sum was discharged It should likewise stipulated, that the person promoted should make good the losses private persons may sustain on this occasion, but the necessary amount cannot be determined on at present, and that he should make a gratuity in money to the military for their services Many objections I am sensible may be started against reinstating the old Nabob, one, our Honorable Masters approved of the late change, but yet, if their noble acquisitions are continued to them, and tranquility restored in the country, I flatter myself they will not object to the name of Meer Jaffier Allee, whose natural resentment against us may be changed, if it should not it may be curbed, by keeping always some of our troops with him The late Nabob's weak capacity, that was made an argument against him, I think would, consistent with good politics, rather plead in his favor, as it certainly can never be the Company's interest to have an enterprizing Nabob, for the Subah of these provinces, it being so natural for a man, in that station, to endeavor at all rates to render himself independent

Mr. Hastings's Opinion.

Whatever be the event of a war with the Nabob, which I yet hope may be avoided, as I have ever declared against all the measures that have led to it, I might well decline giving

my opinion, with respect to the fittest establishment to take place upon the subversion of the present. But I must confess this a point of such difficulty, that I must of necessity leave it to abilities superior to my own, to point out such a provision as may serve both to remedy the divisions, and prevent the bloodshed, which such a change will introduce in the country, and to preserve the English name, and the Company from sinking with the weight of their own acquisitions. These consequences I think unavoidable, tho' there is little likelihood that our dispute with the Nabob will be of long duration, or give us much trouble.

For reimbursing the Company's expences, and the loss which their trade, as well as that of private merchants may sustain, in the course of the war, care should be taken to assign a proper and limited fund for that purpose, which may be determined upon, whenever the plan is fixed for the operations of the war.

Mr Cartier's Opinion

The keeping of this immense tract of country for the use and service of the Honorable Company, would lead us into such a scene of difficulties, as we should not easily get over, nor do I think the civil or military body, on this establishment, sufficiently large for the management and protection of the same, which would be the means of giving birth to endless wars and oppressions, and produce disaffections among the natives, these, among other reasons that might be urged, are sufficient with me to disapprove a step of this nature; but a war being in my opinion now unavoidable, it becomes necessary to consider what measures are most likely to bring it to a speedy conclusion, as well as those which may tend to support us in its duration. It is therefore, in my opinion, absolutely necessary we aim to form, or fix an alliance with such officers, as may be in or out of employ, under the present government, whose influence or credit might be of real service; and that we immediately declare in favor of some person, as Subah of this province, whose interest in it might facilitate the method of gaining over these officers. The restoring of Meer

Jaffier Allee Cawn to his former dignity, would be the most likely means of effecting those ends, and in all human probability most agreeable to the country. It would furthermore be doing an act of justice to a man, who, in my opinion, never injured us.

Tho' I declare in favor of Meer Jaffier Allee Cawn, I think we ought to regulate certain matters with him, as might tend to a solid establishment of his government, and preserve our own influence ; which, if not abused, the restrictions we may subject him to, will, I hope, be considered as a method best adapted to continue a lasting peace in the country. The restrictions are as follows.

First, that his standing army should not exceed 5000 effective horse, and 10,000 gunmen ; and this body to be distributed on the different frontiers of his country That his constant residence be at Moorshedabad, and that no more than 500 horse, and 2000 gunmen, do take post there Mongheer to be evacuated by the court of his Excellency, and to be garrisoned as a fort That a corps of 250 Europeans, and a battalion of sepoys, be always in cantonments at Cossimbuzer, for the protection of his Excellency's person, in case of necessity

Secondly, that a treaty, previous to the operations of our army, should be settled with the Nabob, on the above points ; likewise, as to the grant of jagheer sunnuds for the three provinces of Burdwan, Midnapoor and Chittagong the settling of our trade, on the footing we demand it to be on, till the pleasure of the Company is known , and a ratification of the rest of the several demands made on Cossim Allee Cawn, which we may think indispensably necessary to stick to That the expences of the war be defrayed by the Nabob, and indemnification for all real losses that may be sustained by private persons of this settlement, in the course of the war, and since the commencement of these disputes, if owing to them , the capture of whatever treasure may be made from the present Nabob, to belong to Meer Jaffier, to enable him to answer the above disbursements, and to make a gratification to the troops of his Majesty, and those of the Company.

Mr. Billers's Opinion

Mr. Billers gives it as his opinion, that (if the present Nabob, in consequence of a war is removed from the subahship) a person of influence should be put in possession of the government, for, on a declaration of such our intention, it is to be imagined may of the zemindars, that are disaffected with the present Subah, would declare themselves in our favor. He would have such person put under proper restrictions, likewise those sunnuds for the lands, now called tuncaws, changed into jagheeree sunnuds, and confirmed by him as such, and the several remaining articles insisted on from the present Nabob, ratified by him. That he should be obliged to hold his court at Moorshedabad, and evacuate Mongheer, and only look upon it as a frontier town, and guard it as such; he should be allowed a proper number of troops to guard the three provinces, and collect his revenues, which number should be settled by the Governor and Council, and limited so, as to put it out of his power to hurt the English. He should be put in possession of all the treasure that may be sound in Mongheer, and such riches as may belong to the present Nabob. For reimbursing the expences of the Company, and losses sustained by private people, he should be obliged to allow a certain sum, which may be hereafter stipulated.

If he (Mr Billers) is called upon to nominate a man, he thinks the former Nabob, Meer Jaffier Allee Cawn, in every respect, a very proper person.

He is further of opinion, that a proper recompence should be made, both to the King's and Company's stroops, for putting the person fixed upon in full possession of the government.

Major Adams's Opinion

If it should be deemed necessary to remove the Nabob, in consequence of a war, I think it will be requisite to set some person up in opposition to him, whose influence in the country may draw to his, and our assistance, many of the Nabob's officers. As I am not acquainted with either the influence or abilities of the principal men of the country, I beg to refer

to the sentiments of the other gentlemen at the Board, whose personal acquaintance with them, and knowledge of their characters, enables them to judge who would be the properest person to treat with, on an affair of such importance.

The person nominated should, I think, be laid under such restrictions, as to render him incapable of disturbing the trade or tranquility of the country, and oblige him to reimburse the Company the whole expence of the war, and satisfy the private merchants for the losses they may sustain, but that no step should be taken in the affair, until the Board have received answers to their letters, written to Mess Amyatt and Hay on the 9th and 10th instant.

The President's Opinion.

Altho' some of the demands made upon the Nabob, and which have occasioned his present ill disposition, are such, as I have always disapproved and thought unjust, and such as the Company's interests are no ways concerned in; yet, I hoped, and believed the Nabob would have acquiesced therein, and waited with patience, till an answer could be received from the Court of Directors. But as he is so rash and ill-advised, as to commit acts of violence against us, of such a nature, as portend a total rupture, I shall use all diligence in forwarding the necessary preparations for such an event; and notwithstanding my disapprobation of the steps, by which this war is likely to be brought on, at a time, when the Company's business meets with no interruption, yet, when hostilities do unavoidably commence, no one will be more forward in promoting such vigorous measures, as seem most conducive to bring it to a speedy issue.

While such measures are pursuing, and we are in a state of war, I shall think it my duty to remain here; but as soon as I see our Honorable Masters affairs restored to a state of security and tranquility, I am determined to quit the chair, as I will never be concerned in a second regulation of the government of these provinces, after the deposing of Cossim Allee Cawn, which I suppose to be the intent of the war, and, in all human probability, will be speedily accomplished.

I was one of a Board of Select Committee, who, in the month of September, 1760, determined on the treaty with Cossim Allee Cawn, which soon after brought him to the Nizamut. Altho' our resolutions were unanimous, some members, who were at that time not in Bengal, raised afterwards abundance of objections, were not sparing of reproaches against the members who were present, and some even declared, they thought the said treaty not binding upon them. A strong opposition was formed hereupon, and every opportunity has since been taken, of aggravating disputes with the Nabob, by which means, jealousies and suspicions have been nourished, until they are grown into the state, in which we now see them.

Thus experienced, it is not surprizing, that I should be unwilling to give my vote for any particular person, to succeed Cossim Allee Cawn, or to enter into a discussion of the Company's right to nominate to such succession, upon which some doubts may arise, for altho' they may contract with the nearest heir, to support his pretensions, which was the nature of our engagement with Cossim Allee Cawn, it does not follow, that they have a right to proceed to a new appointment, in case there be no heir of the same family. But as it is my design, that my government shall expire as soon as Cossim Allee is deposed, and the tranquility of the country restored, it is more for our Honorable Masters benefit, and the welfare of the province, that all questions relative to the succession, be decided by those who will remain here to support the person, in whose favor they may turn.

Whatever may be there solutions of the Board, I shall do my utmost to promote their successful execution, as long as I remain in the chair, and the person who may be treated with, I think, should engage to pay the Company such a sum, as may be stipulated for the expences of the war; as likewise such further sum, as shall be agreed upon for the indemnification of the losses, which the merchants, living under our protection, will unavoidably suffer in their concerns in the country."

After these opinions had been read, and much debate passed on the subject at the Board, it was resolved, that the

members should take time till the next meeting, to determine on a matter of such importance.

On the 23d, arrived the following letter from Mess Amyatt and Hay to the Board Dated June 14, 1763

“It appears to us from the Nabob’s disposition of his forces, both by his strengthening the detachments towards Beerboom and Moorshedabad, and his ordering to be assembled at Patna his troops from the Mey country, and other places to the westward, and from what he has dropped in conversation, that he designs to attack, at the same time, both Burdwan, and our forces at Patna, in hopes of subduing them before they can be succoured. He continues to treat us with the greatest flight and we almost daily meet with insults from his people. We have thought it necessary to write you the above, and to forward you a duplicate of the cypher, the receipt of which you have not yet acknowledged, as we are doubtful what the event may be, on our delivering the Governor’s letter to his Excellency to-morrow, especially as we have received so little protection from him for our people since we have been here, and he seems to have so high an opinion of his own force, which, we imagine, he is led to by the Armenian, who is his sole minister, and we believe the only person that influences him to a rupture. The last time we were with the Nabob, he told us, that peace or war depended on the removing our troops from Patna, which, if we complied with, he would then talk on business.

Our gentlemen were again stopped this morning at the same chokky, and carried prisoners to the Nabob through his army, the Nabob has been pleased to say, he has confined the people, and will give us satisfaction for this.

A Note in Cypher

We delivered the Governor’s letter to the Nabob this morning; on receiving which, he immediately declared there was war, but told us, we might wait till we received the Governor’s and Council’s orders, and send him under our hands and seals the amount of them, when in case they did not order

down our troops from Patna, he would send us passports to go to Calcutta, but that he would detain Mr Hay for security that his aumils, and the people in our hands, be delivered up

We conclude, that the Nabob's view in this, is principally to secure the safety of Petrus, we therefore recommend the immediate securing of that man, as Mr Hay's only security, who has agreed to remain with the Nabob."

The precaution, which they recommended with respect to Coja Petrus, was accordingly observed, tho' I had sufficient reason to believe their surmise groundless, since the Nabob's declared pretence for detaining Mr. Hay, was the most natural construction that could be put upon that action; and had he stopped here, the strictest justice could hardly have condemned him for it, after the provocation which we had given, and the example which we had afforded him; but I shall forbear any further reflections for the present on this subject, and hasten to the conclusion

The next letter brought a short glimpse of hope, and made me imagine, that the Nabob, having tried the effects of a long opposition, and dreading the consequences of a war, was now resolved to consent to peace upon any conditions. This letter was as follows.

*Copy of a Letter from Mess Amyatt and Hay to the Board.
Dated June 19, 1763.*

"This evening, Rajah Nobit Roy has been with us to inform us, that his Excellency consents to release the boats of arms immediately, and will treat without persisting in his preliminary demand of removing the troops from Patna, and we have accordingly agreed to wait upon him to-morrow"

The flattering prospect which this letter had opened, vanished almost in the instant of its first existence, and was succeeded by flying reports of troubles already commenced at Patna, which tho' impossible to be traced to any credible authority, and told with improbable and contradictory circumstances, yet left no doubt, that some extraordinary and cala-

mitous event had given rise to them. What added to the credit of these rumours was, that we had not heard from Patna for some days. And on the 30th of the month we were informed, by a letter from the gentlemen at Cossimbuzar, that our dauks had been made prisoners by the fougedar of Rajemahl, and the letters seized, by which our communication with Patna and Mongheer was stopped.

In the mean time, I received two letters, in a very different style, from the Nabob, one on the 26th, and the other on the 29th of June. I shall enter both, and leave it to the reader to make the obvious comments on the pacific disposition, which the Nabob plain shewed to the last, till driven to the necessity of standing on his defence, by the actual hostilities begun by our factory at Patna.

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor Dated June 19, 1763

“I have received your kind letter with pleasure, you write, that you have read the list of demands, presented by Mr. Amyatt, with my answer to each article, that it is surprising that not one of them have been consented to, and that I repeatedly write for the removal of the troops from Patna, and that you and Mr. Amyatt never wrote to me that arms were not dispatched to that place, but that the forces which are already there want muskets. That I had stopped six boats loaded with muskets, and taken from the Company’s gomastah at Bahar 2000 maunds of salt-petre. That 4 or 500 muskets, or 2000 maunds of salt-petre, were no great matter to either of us, but by such unprofitable actions, I rendered entirely useless and ineffectual, all your endeavors and study to preserve peace and union between us. That from all these circumstances you supposed, that I was resolved upon a rupture, if so, that I should write it plainly. That I might be assured, that unless I released the boats and arms, there would be an end to all our friendship and peace, and to all concerns between us. Sir, in my reply to each article of the demands, what have I answered contrary

to the treaty, or not conformable to justice, or what business of yours have I put a stop to ? Write me any instance that I may know it From the professions of you, gentlemen, and my own confidence in you, I assured myself, that the troops at Patna were for my service, and for that reason I sent for them I now understand, that they are kept at Patna for the defence, and the business of the factory, and for my grievance and detriment Had I known as much before, I should not have sent for them ; nor had I any other reason for desiring their removal from Patna, but that Mr Ellis is my professed enemy ; and for these two years has created disturbances, leaving unattempted no means to ruin my affairs For this reason, if you think it proper to keep up forces at Patna, and that the boats of arms should be released, it is fit that you should appoint Mr Amyatt, or Mr M'Gwire, or Mr Hastings, whichever of these gentlemen you approve of, to the chiefship of Patna, and remove Mr Ellis from that place. By this means, good order will be introduced into both our affairs ; but if you, gentlemen, are resolved at all events upon a rupture, write me so plainly

Whoever wrote you, gentlemen, that I had seized your salt-petre, wrote an absolute falshood, and with a wicked design It is true, that 4 or 500 muskets, are no great matter to you ; nevertheless, they would be of use to me, in the appearance which they would have with the zemindars, and the common people of this country If you will oblige me, by granting this slight favor, I may at length reap this benefit (be it great or small) in three years, from the influence of the Company, and the kindness of you, gentlemen. The amount of their price I will pay ; if you will not give them, you are masters of your own goods You ought to consider well, from what quarter war and discord shew themselves For instance, the English Council has sent strict orders to all the gomastahs of their factories, that upon any fault being committed, by any of the officers of the sircar, they shall, without acquainting me, or my naibs, or aumils, chastize him, and carry him away a prisoner And tho' I had dismissed Mahomed Allee from my service, and sent for him, when

he had waited a few days to prepare his accounts, and was upon the point of setting out for this place, your people seized and carried him to Calcutta ; and besides this, they have imprisoned several others of the officers of the sircar.

It is needless to write, what disgrace they have thrown upon my affairs Had I refused to punish them upon conviction of their faults, yet, in that case, it would not have been just to quarrel with my officers Whatever claims or seizures, or war, or force were to be made, ought to have fallen upon me After so opprobrious an act, so opposite to the rules of friendship, what room was there left for mutual confidence ? To your demand that I should write plainly, whether my designs are for war ? I declare to you plainly, that I upon no account do desire a war with you, gentlemen , nor do I interrupt either the Company's trade, or your foreign commerce But you, gentlemen, setting on foot once or twice every year a new treaty, enter into negotiations and insist on an answer to your own liking , by this you leave me without remedy Whatever is to be done, delay not. If I have any thing contrary to the old treaty, acquaint me with it You have taken Burdwan, and the other countries, for defraying the expences of the English army , and in the old treaty you have written, that your army shall attend me , and now, when I desire you to remove your forces from Patna, and suffer them to attend me, you make excuses and denials This is foreign from justice With respect to Mr Ellis, how shall I speak, or how shall I write what quarrels he has made with my people from the beginning, and how he has injured my affairs ? Now, he is every day making preparations against *Meer Mahomed Mehdee Cawn, and making a shew of his forces before him, and is ready to attack him In this case, I and my people are without remedy It is a duty on every man to defend his own honor

P. S. Sir, concerning what you have wrote of Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn's monthly allowance, you know, that at this time, I have not an aumil in any place, and that the

* Naib of Patna

revenues of the sircar are at a stand As soon as the aumils are gone into their stations, I will without fail discharge it."

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor Dated June 22, 1763.

"I have already acquainted you fully and repeatedly with the affairs of this place, and you will have understood the whole At this time, upon the receipt of your letter, in which you insist on the release of the boats laden with muskets, I have complied with your desire, and released the boats with the muskets But Mess Amyatt and Hay have given me this plain answer, they have received an order of the Council, which is, that the troops at Patna shall never be removed, as you will observe by the letter written to me by those gentlemen, of which I send you a copy.

As to the particulars of Mr Ellis, what shall I write? Daily he is seeking occasion to quarrel with Meer Mahomed Mehdee Cawn Behader, and now, by what I can learn, that gentleman is bent upon the design of assaulting the fort of Patna To this purpose, I have just received an arzee from Meer Mahomed Mehdee Cawn Behader, with a paper of news of that quarter I opened them in the presence of Mess Amyatt and Hay, a copy of each I send you inclosed in this letter for your perusal; and from them you will have a clear view of all particulars, and in the same manner, the English seepoys are committing all manner of violence and hostilities in the pergunah of Bahrbund A letter upon this subject, which I received from Mahsing, the aumil of that quarter, I have shewn to the said gentlemen, and now send a copy of it likewise to you, for your information

By your friendship and kindness my affairs have been brought to this pass The meanest person that exists, could never have submitted to use so great a forbearance, and that I have forborn so long, was owing to this only, that your reputation might not suffer with your masters I now leave you to your own concerns Since Mr. Ellis has proceeded to such lengths, as to prepare ladders and platforms, in

order to take the fort of Patna , now you may take whatever measures you think best for the interests of the Company, and your own. I repeatedly wrote to you to release me from this business, and appoint another, but you did not even reply to me on this subject Since the chiefs of the factories are stretching out their hands against my honor and reputation, I had my people are in every respect without remedy, nor is it in my power to use any longer forbearance

S P. Sir, since the receipt of the former arzee from Meer Mahomed Mehdee Cawn Behader, another arzee, with a paper, of news, is arrived , the substance of it is, that the English are throwing down the houses at Baukipore, and expelling the tenants, in order to make entrenchments

When the zemindar of that place went to Mr Carstairs *, to represent this affair to him, that gentleman paid no regard to him.

I send you a copy of the arzee, and the paper of news.”

Copy of a Letter from Meer Mahomed Mehdee Cawn Behader to the Nabob

“I have continually represented to your Excellency, that the chief of the factory at Patna is bent upon a rupture , and your Excellency, in answer to my arzees, continually informs me, that a peace will shortly be concluded, and the English troops withdrawn from Patna. I have sent repeated representations of the state of this place , and that gentleman was resolved upon a rupture, insomuch, that he has even made platforms and ladders for scaling the walls of the fort. One day, he made them ready for this design, and was near the walls, when a storm of wind and rain came on, and caused him to defer it This is our state , but your Excellency neither sends us any reinforcements, nor gives me any orders to fight , what then am I to do, sitting inactive ? Since the seepoys of Bengal have gained an ill name, for their treachery to former Nazims, it is not in my power to bring myself to so much forbearance

* Commanding officer of the detachment

and want of spirit. If that chief is determined on a quarrel, I will put up with no more insults, but will fight with him

P. S On 5th of the moon, the hircarras of the sircar delivered me a paper of news, which I send, for your Excellency's information inclosed

Copy of the Paper of News

I have repeatedly informed your excellency of the disturbances committed by Mr Ellis This is the present state, the disturbances created by the said gentleman daily increase, his seepoys come close to the fort, and give ill-language to the people of the fort, and say to them, "what do you do sitting in the fort? Why do you not come out into the plain, that we may cut your heads off?" In this manner they use insulting expressions, and that gentleman has also made platforms, and high ladders for scaling the walls One day, with this design, he approached the fort, when a storm of wind and rain came on, and caused him to defer it I daily write to you what passes, but your Excellency takes no measures for redressing these disorders, and Meer Mahomed Mehdee Cawn Behader will not fight without your orders

Second Paper of News

To the west of Moorlidur's gardens dwelt many tenants; Mr M'Leod* turned then out, pulled their houses down, and threw them upon the intrenchments, where builders are at work The zemindar of the place, taking the tenants with him, carried them before captain Carstairs, and complained; but receiving no answer, was forced to return with the tenants to his own house"

Copy of a Letter from Mahsing, Aumil of Bahrbund, to the Nabob

"I have before represented the particulars of the assault made by Dearam, the English gomastah, with a body of 500 seepoys, &c at the last pahr of the night, on the cutcherree

* One of the officers of the detachment

of the pergunah of Bahrbund. At this time about 700 Europeans and seepoys are arrived at Cheelmarree in the said pergunah, have plundered the merchants and tenants, and making their way to the cutcheriee, early in the morning they attacked my peshkar, in Rannee Gunge, they killed and wounded about 15 of my peons &c and committed great ravages. Though they are now returned to Dacca, yet they will not desist from their hostile intentions. These disturbances, repeatedly caused by the English, have entirely ruined the pergunah. The tenants are fled, the revenues are entirely at a stand, and the lands are waste; added to these damages, the tuncaw of the Rangamettee fougedar has suffered; and your Excellency can well judge in what manner the balances are to be recovered, and the new collections made, amidst these disorders. As the past disturbances have made it necessary to entertain a few horse and foot, for the protection of my honor, and I have been obliged to borrow money to pay them two months pay, I request, that a perwannah may be granted me for a tuncaw."

The advices transmitted to the Nabob, by his officer at Patna, of Mr. Ellis's intention to attack the city, agreeing with the general report which had prevailed for some days, it was no longer doubted that hostilities had begun at that place, and therefore, on the 2d of July, orders were given for the army to march from Gherettee. Some days before, a letter was dispatched to meet Mr Amyatt, directing him to leave his escort at Cosgumbuzar, which would sufficiently secure that factory till the army reached it.

It is argued by many, that the army should have marched sooner, but if it be considered, that the march of the army would have been regarded by the Nabob, and all the country, as a certain declaration of war, it would have been improper, while we had any hopes from the negotiation, and after that hope was nearly lost, it would have been imprudent to move the army, until our deputies had received their dismission, least it should put them in danger of being detained with their escort. All the necessary preparations were made to insure, as far as the nature of war will admit, the success of

our arms in case of a rupture , and if the Patna detachment had not been lost by their own disorderly behavior, the troubles would scarce have spread into Bengal

On the 4th arrived the following note in cypher from Mr. Amyatt, directed to Mr Ellis, but brought by mistake to Calcutta, instead of another of the same tenor, addressed to the Board

“We are made prisoners, as far as seizing our boats, and surrounding of us can make us The boats of arms were stopped a few miles from hence * Mongheer June, 21, 1763 ”

The hircarra that brought the note reported, that being stopped and detained a little on this side of Mongheer, by

* This was the last of Mr Amyatt's letters from Mongheer, that reached us before the war was declared , but major Adams finding some of his papers at Moorshedabad, sent me a copy from his letter-book of a letter of the 22d of June This giving some further account of the footing on which he parted with the Nabob, I have thought proper to insert it

Copy of a Letter from Mr Amyatt to Mr Ellis, dated Mongheer, the 22d of June, extracted from his Letter-Book, where is a Memorandum, that he wrote a Letter of the same Tenor to Mr Vansittart

SIR,

From the Nabob's actions, two nights ago, we were effectually made prisoners, surrounded by a body of horse all night, and our boats seized That day in the morning we desired Nobit Roy to tell the Nabob, as we were ordered to return, we could not, nor would not stay, therefore desired, perwannahs and dustucks for our free passage and if he did not give them, we would go without In the evening Nobit Roy informed us, the boats with arms should be released, upon which we assured him, we would not think of going, but with the Nabob's consent Notwithstanding this, he, that night, took the above precautions to stop us, not trusting our words To-day all our boats were given us back again, and the Nabob has promised to dismiss us the day after to-morrow , for we declared to him, we could not think of treating with him as affairs are now situated, we prisoners, and he sending reinforcements to Patna, nor could we answer for the consequence, when all this intelligence reached you and the gentlemen in Calcutta The boats with the arms are cleared from the chokey at Surygarrah, and gone on, but there are many more chokeys for them to pass I believe Thus matters stand at present, which I think necessary to inform you of The Nabob has given us assurances of our persons and honor being safe, as far as words will allow

I am &c

the Nabob's chokeys, he learned, that Mr Amyatt was gone to Patna, and that our forces had attacked and taken the city

Though we could not depend upon this news, yet there was great reason to think it true, and from this moment I was to enter on a new part. Hitherto I had regarded the Nabob as the injured party, and his conduct from his accession to the subahship, to the opening of our last disputes, and even to the present period as irreproachable, excepting a very few instances easily to be accounted for, by the distress and despair to which he was driven. I considered myself as the instrument of his advancement, and that he placed his entire dependence on me, to support him in it, whilst he observed the conditions of the treaty, and as more especially concerned to preserve the security of the Company's interests, and the tranquility of the country, upon the establishment which I had so principal a share in forming, and which the Court of Directors had approved, and ordered me to support. Therefore, in all our disputes, I had placed myself between the Nabob, and the rage of his opponents, till the flame grew too violent to be extinguished, and threatened our own possessions. But justice must now give place to necessity, and I must take the part which my station required, in repelling the evils to which the Company and the nation were exposed.

These motives had induced me to form the resolution which I had before publicly declared, in a minute already noticed of the 20th of June, to remain in the chair, and assist in all operations of the war, until it should be brought to a final issue, leaving it to the other members of the Council to form a new plan of government, in which I was determined to have no concern. This resolution I now repeated to the Board in the following minute, believing, from the hircarra's report, that Mr Amyatt, who was the next in succession to the chair, was now at Patna.

Copy of the Governor's Minute in Consultation of the 4th of July, 1763

"I think it certain from the stoppage of our letters, the intelligence of the hircarra and other reports, that hostilities have begun at Patna, and that the breach with the Nabob is irrepa-

nable The army under the command of major Adams should therefore march on towards Mongheer, with all expedition, to secure the Company's possessions, and bring the war to a speedy issue, altho' I am quite of opinion, as I always have been, that it would be begun, continued and ended, by our forces at Patna For the rest, as it is my resolution for the reasons mentioned, in my minute of the 20th of June, to quit the government as soon as the war is so far determined, as that the Company's settlements and possessions run on risk, and which I doubt not will be the case before the month of September I shall be glad that Mr Amyatt, who we have reason to hope is safe at Patna, was directed to return to Calcutta, by that time to receive from me the charge of the government, with the papers and instructions thereunto belonging."

The minutes entered in consultation if the 20th of June, regarding the plan for settling the government, in case of the removal of Cossim Allee Cawn from the subahship, were now read again at the Board, in order to come to some conclusion upon the point, and the opinions of major Carnac Mr. Batson, which had not been taken with the rest, were now delivered in, in the following terms

Major Carnac's Opinion

Tho' major Carnac entirely disapproved of the revolution in favour of Cossim Allee Cawn, and did not deem the authority, by which it was effected, as sufficient, from a conviction if the whole Council had been consulted, the majority would have been against it, yet, from the moment we had the advice of our Employers having acquiesced therein, it became our common duty to support to the utmost the new Nazim, so long as our rights and privileges were not infringed by him, and the major can safely aver, no person at the Board is more truly concerned than himself, at the measures we are under the necessity of taking

The Nabob Cossim Allee Cawn has for some time past shewn such an indisposition towards us, as would render it the height of folly to place any confidence in him, and however inclined the Board have shewn themselves (by their long for-

bearance, and sending deputies) to the establishment of a mutual friendship, he has by his late acts absolutely put it out of our power, consistently with honor, to come to an accommodation with him. We shall therefore be justified to the Company and the world, in exerting our endeavors for the restoration of Meer Jaffier, an atonement which major Carnac looks upon as due to him, for the injustice he thinks was done him in deposing him, and he is of opinion, he should be proclaimed at Calcutta, and taken up with major Adams to Moorshedabad, and there placed upon the musnud. That a manifesto should be published, setting forth the reasons for the change of government, and there is no doubt, but as Meer Jaffier, from the consideration in which he has for many years been held, must have a number of friends, several of the most considerable persons in the country will flock to his standard. Major Carnac begs leave to submit to the Board the terms, which, in his opinion, should be made the groundwork of a treaty, to be concluded between us and Meer Jaffier.

The confirmation of the cession of the three provinces of Burdwan, Midnapoor and Chittagong, with this alteration, that they be now made over to us in property, instead of their revenues only being assigned to us, as is the case at present.

An universal freedom of trade to be allowed us, and the other privileges which the deputies were commissioned to demand of Cossim Allee Cawn. The defraying the expences of the war, and a full indemnification to be made to the private sufferers, as well as to the public, for all losses sustained. To enable Meer Jaffier to do so immediately, the treasure of Cossim Allee Cawn, if laid hold of, to be put into his hands; but in case of failure herein, the revenues of the Nudeea province to be mortgaged to us, till every body is reimbursed. The farm of the Pooneea salt-petre to be given to the Company.

The evil consequence of suffering an overgrowth of power in a Nabob, being but too apparent, he should in future be limited in the number of his forces, so as to be obliged to have his main dependence upon those of the English, the principal of our troops should therefore be stationed at Burrumpoor, where there is a piece of ground already marked out and given to us; proper cantonments may be erected, and whenever he has

occasion for their services, they may be ready This disposition will preserve our military, it being a very healthy spot, whereas they have fatally experienced (the two last seasons particularly) the unhealthiness of Calcutta.

Mr Batson's Opinion

The Nabob Cossim Allee Cawn has plainly manifested by his general conduct, since he has been raised to the subahdarree, and more particularly by the several acts of hostility, to which he has lately proceeded, that he has the most inveterate enmity against us, and that his design is to extirpate us entirely out of his country, if ever it should be in his power The delays already procured by the gentlemen, who have so strenuously supported his cause, have subjected our affairs to great dangers and inconveniencies, and brought on us some disgraces I am of opinion, therefore, that to keep terms with Meer Cossim any longer, or attempt any accommodation with him, is highly detrimental to the interests of our Company and nation; and I propose, that we reinstate the old Nabob in his government, of which he has been unjustly deprived, hereby I think we shall attain the desirable end, of establishing the Company's affairs on a solid foundation, and clear ourselves of the imputation, and clear ourselves of the imputation of a breach of faith, which, tho' really due to a faction amongst us, has thro' this been cast on the nation in general"

The majority of opinions agreeing in the appointment of another person to the subahship, this point came the next under consideration, and the choice of the Board fell of course upon Jaffier Allee Cawn, Mr Hastings and myself remaining neuter upon the occasion, and it was accordingly resolved, that he should be restored to the Nizamut The next day we received two letters from Mr Amyatt, the first dated from Seepunge, the 25th of June, advising us, "that from all the Nabob's actions, he and Mr Hay both judged, that he intended war, and that he would attack our troops at Patna That four days before, an Armenian commander, with a strong reinforcement of horse, foot and cannon, went to Patna, and that the Armenians solely managed him, and urged the disputes" The last dated from Sootee, the 30th of June, advising us, that the Nabob

had given him a passport, and sent a man with him, to conduct him and his party safe to Calcutta. We were accordingly in expectation of seeing him, when we received a letter from the factory at Cossimbuzar, informing us, that as he was passing the city of Moorshedabad, he was attacked by the Nabob's forces—Mr Amyatt himself, and some other gentlemen, killed, and the rest made prisoners

SECTION XIII

The new Treaty with Meer Jaffier, War with Meer Cossim, and the Massacre at Patna

The Proclamation of Meer Jaffier, and Declaration of War—Meer Cossim's Letter, confirming the Report of our Defeat at Patna.—Cossimbuzar Factory surrounded—Minutes in Council of Mr Vansittart, and Mr. Hastings, containing their Reasons for signing the Acts in favor of Meer Jaffier—Proposed Articles of Agreement with Meer Jaffier. A Deputation of the Board sent to him with the Articles—Minutes in Council of Mr Vansittart and Mr. Hastings, upon the Subject of the proposed Articles.—Preliminary Demands delivered by Meer Jaffier to the Deputies—Debates and Resolutions thereupon—Remarks on this Subject—Meer Jaffier's Objections to the Articles—The Objections admitted—Treaty with Meer Jaffier—further Demands of Meer Jaffier—Agreed to—Letter from Meer Cossim to Major Adams, threatening to cut off the Prisoners in his Hands—Mr Vansittart's Letter to Meer Cossim on that Subject—Major Adams's Answer to Meer Cossim—The Massacre perpetrated—Letter from Mr Fullerton to the Board, giving an Account of this Catastrophe, and of his Escape

This unexpected attack, which we judged for certain to be a consequence of hostilities, begun at Patna, being the next day confirmed by some of the gentlemen's servants, and one or two soldiers of the party, who had escaped the fate of the rest, determined the Board, immediately to declare war against

Cossim Allee Cawn, and the Nabob Jaffier Allee Cawn having consented to take upon him the government, the following declaration of war against Cossim Allee Cawn, and of the restoration of Jaffier Allee Cawn, was drawn up, signed by the members of the Council, and publicly read thro' the town, copies thereof being dispersed amongst the zemindars, and other principal people of the country.

Copy of the Proclamation of the Nabob Meer Jaffier

“The Nabob Meer Mahomed Cossim Allee Cawn, having entered upon, and committed acts of open hostility against the English nation, and the interest of the English united East India Company, we, on their behalf, are reduced to the necessity of declaring war against him, and having come to a resolution of placing the Nabob Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn Behader again in the government, we now proclaim and acknowledge him as Subahdar of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa and further, as the said Cossim Allee Cawn, has likewise exercised acts of violence and oppressions over many of the principal merchants and inhabitants of the country to their entire ruin, we do hereby require all manner of persons under our jurisdiction, and also invite all other officers and inhabitants of the country, to repair to the standard of Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn Behader, to assist him in defeating the designs of the said Cossim Allee Cawn, and finally establishing himself in the subahdarree

Given in Council at Fort William, the 7th day of July 1763, under our hands, and the seal of the said United East India Company”

Whilst the Board were sitting, the following letter arrived from Meer Cossim, and confirmed what we had for some days apprehended, the news of the defeat of our detachment at Patna. The particulars of this disaster, with the other operations of the war, are sufficiently known, let it here suffice to observe, that the city was surprized and taken without resistance, by our troops, in the night of the 24th of June; and by their disorderly behavior afterwards, whilst they were dispersed, and intent only on plunder, was retaken by a handful of the Nabob's people, the next day at noon, after which loss,

the gentlemen of the factory, with the scattered remains of the army, retired across the river, and were there all destroyed or taken prisoners

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob Cossim Allee Cawn to the Governor, Dated June 28, 1763

“In my heart I believed Mr Ellis to be my inveterate enemy, but from his actions, I now find he was inwardly my friend, as appears by this step, which he has added to the others. Like a night robber he assaulted the Kella of Patna, robbed and plundered the bazar, and all the merchants and inhabitants of the city, ravaging and slaying from the morning, to the third pahr (afternoon) When I requested of you 2 or 300 muskets laden in boats, you would not consent to it This unhappy man, in consequence of his inward friendship, favored me in this fray and slaughter, with all the muskets and cannon of his army, and is himself relieved and eased from his burthen. Since it was never my desire to injure the affairs of the Company, what even loss may have been occasioned by this unhappy man to myself, in this tumult, I pass over. but you, gentlemen, must answer for any injury, which the Company’s affairs have suffered, and since you have unjustly and cruelly ravaged the city, and destroyed the people, and plundered effects to the value of lacks of rupees; it becomes the justice of the Company to make reparation to the poor, as formerly was done for Calcutta. You, gentlemen, are wonderful friends, having made a treaty, to which you pledged the name of Jesus Christ, you took from me a country, to pay the expences of your army, with the condition, that your troops should always attend me, and promote my affairs In effect, you keep up a force for my destruction, since, from their hand, such events have proceeded, I am entirely of opinion, that the Company should favor me in causing to be delivered to me the rents for three years of my country Besides this, for the violences and oppressions exercised by the English gomastahs for several years pasts, in the territories of the Nizamut, and the large sums extorted, and the losses occasioned by them, it is proper and just that the Company make restitution at this time. This is all the trouble you need take, in the same manner as you took Burdwan and the other lands, you must favor me in resigning them”

This was followed by a note from the gentlemen at Cossimbuzar, dated the night of the 4th of July, informing us, that the factory was surrounded by a numerous force, and that they expected an attack the next morning

The Nabob's letter putting it out of all doubt, that our troops at Patna, which consisted of a great part of our force, were entirely defeated, and the war becoming thereby more serious than had been expected, that no appearance of disunion amongst ourselves might hurt the public service, I now resolved to set my name to the declaration of war, and the treaty with Meer Jaffier, in which I had before declared my intention to have no share. This I accordingly did, having first explained the motives for this change in my conduct, in the following minute, delivered in the consultation of the 8th of July

The President's Minute

"The President (sensible that it will be more for the public service, we should appear unanimous in every measure now entered upon, for prosecuting the war against Cossim Allee Cawn with the utmost vigor, and supporting the alliance with Jaffier Allee Cawn, to re-establish him in the government, and particularly, that it will be a satisfaction to the Nabob Jaffier Allee Cawn) consents to sign the proclamation, and all other public deeds, which shall be made in consequence, now recording once for all, that he does not mean hereby to prejudice his former declarations and opinions, entered on the consultations "

In the same sentiments, I was joined by Mr Hastings (the only member who had opposed the claims of the rest of the Board upon the Nabob, and the proceedings which brought on the war) in the following minute.

Mr Hastings's Minute

"It is long since I forboded that our disputes with the Nabob would terminate in an open rupture, but as from the ill opinion which I had of his strength, I expected that our contention with him would be of a very short duration, nor otherwise affect the interests of the Company, than in the

future ill consequences of a broken and disordered state , and as I had not the same tie upon me with the President, in respect to any military charge, it was my resolution, as soon as a war should be declared, to resign the Company's service , being unwilling, on the one hand, to join in giving authority to past measures, of which I disapprove , and to a new establishment, which I judged detrimental to the honor and interests of the Company . and apprehensive, on the other, that my continuance at the Board, might serve only to prejudice, rather than advance the good of the service, in keeping alive, by my presence, the disputes which have so long disturbed our Councils, and retarding the public business by continual dissents and protests But since our late melancholy advices, give us reason to apprehend a dangerous and troublesome war , and from the unparalleled acts of barbarity and treachery, with which it has opened on the part of the Nabob, it becomes the duty of every British subject to unite in the support of the common cause, it is my intention to join my endeavors for the good of the service, not only as long as the war shall last, but as long as the troubles consequent from it may endanger either the Company's affairs, or the safety of this colony On the same principle, and to remove every appearance of disunion amongst ourselves, I will freely set my hand to the declaration published by the Board, though I still abide by the sentiments which I have all along expressed, of the measures taken in the course of all our disputes with the Nabob, hereby confirming all that I have declared in my former protests and minutes, which stand upon record in our consultations."

I shall go back to relate the proceedings of the Board, in forming the new treaty of alliance with Jaffier Allee Cawn. A committee having been appointed to draw up the articles of this treaty, delivered in their proposals, in the consultation of the 6th of July, as follows

Articles of the Treaty with Meer Jaffier Allee Cawn

"First, to confirm to the Company the cession of the provinces of Burdwan, Midnapoor and Chittagong, made by Meer Cossim, either by jagheeree, sunnuds, or such deeds as may

secure the property of them, in the strongest manner, to the Company for ever.

Secondly, to ratify and confirm to the English, the privilege granted by their Firmaun, and several husbulhookums, of carrying on their trade by means of their own dustuck, free from all duties, taxes and impositions, in all parts of the country, excepting the article of salt, on which, according to a resolution already taken, we agree to pay a duty of two and a half *per cent.* on the Rowana or Hoogly market price

Thirdly, that he do grant to the Company, the exclusive right of purchasing the salt-petre of the province of Poorneea, that he do also grant to them, for the space of five years, the sole privilege of making chunam, in the province of Silhett, half whereof shall be delivered to the fougadar there, for the Nabob's use, at the rate which the prime cost and charges may amount to

Fourthly, that the troops of the English army shall always be ready to be employed in the service of the Nabob, for the support of his government, and the defence of his country; the Nabob on his part shall agree, that he will maintain in his pay, no greater number of troops than 6000 horse, and 12000 effective foot, for the protection of his frontiers, and collection of his revenues

Fifthly, that wherever he shall think proper to fix his court, he shall agree to a body of our forces being always cantoned near his person, for the security thereof, and protection of his government, and that a Company's servant shall reside at his court, to transact any affairs between the Company and the government

Sixthly, that the late perwannahs issued out by Cossum Allee Cawn, granting to all merchants the exemption of all duties for the space of two years, shall be reversed and called in, as they are detrimental to the revenues of the government, and highly destructive of the immunities enjoyed by the Company from their Firmaun

Seventhly, that the Nabob shall engage to cause the rupees coined in Calcutta, to pass in every respect throughout his

government without any deduction, equally the same with the rupees struck in his own mint

Eighthly, that he shall defray all the expences and loss accruing to the Company from the war, and stoppage of their investment, and reimburse to all private persons, the amount of the authenticated losses, which they may sustain in their trade in the country

Ninthly, that for the former purpose, he shall give thirty lacks of rupees, for the latter, ten lacks of rupees.

Tenthly, that the most authentic account of these losses shall be laid before a committee of the Board, and that all sums of money, which may exceed the losses sustained by the Company and private persons, shall be faithfully restored to the Nabob

Eleventhly, that whatever treasure or effects may be seized at Mongheer or elsewhere, belonging to Cossim Allee Cawn, the Nabob shall be put in possession of, to enable him to make good the stipulations in the ninth article

Twelfthly, that if we should not be so fortunate as to seize Cossim Allee Cawn's treasure and effects, the Nabob shall assign over the revenues of certain lands for making good the sums stipulated

Thirteenthly, that the treaty entered into between the Nabob and the Dutch, in the year 1760, to which we, by the desire of both parties, signed as guarantees, shall, after his restoration to the government, be renewed, and with regard to the French, he shall engage, that when they come to re-establish themselves in Bengal, they shall not be permitted to build forts, or keep up any forces, or hold any territories whatever, exclusive of their trading factories "

I shall add what followed in the words of the consultation.

"The foregoing articles, the committee are of opinion, may be included in a public treaty to be ratified between us and the Nabob Meer Mahomed Jaffier Allee Cawn Behader, and would further recommend, that a method be settled with him for determining such disputes in trade, as may arise between

the English agents and gomastahs, in the different parts of the country, and the officers of the government.

Agreed, that major Adams, major Carnac, and Mess Batson and Cartier, be appointed a deputation to wait on the Nabob Meer Jaffier, to acquaint him with our resolution in his favor, and the substance of these articles, and report his answer to the Board, and if he should accept of the government, on the terms therein contained, to recommend to him to use his interest in gaining over such of the country people, as may be attached to his cause, and particularly to appoint proper officers for collecting the revenues of the provinces, which lie at hand for us to take immediate possession of

The President's Minute

The President on this occasion minutes, that having already declared he should not be a party to this or any other treaty, which might be made with the country powers, he remained neuter to the question, with respect to the propriety of the articles proposed, yet, as his opinion has been asked upon them, he declares, that he can see no objection to any of the articles, excepting the second, which he has already given his opinion, extends the privileges of our private trade beyond the true intent and meaning of our Firmaun, beyond what is consistent with the English reputation in the country, and with a good understanding with the Nabob, and this without any benefit to the Company Further, that he does not at present recollect any thing to be added to the articles, which is material to the Company's service

Mr Hastings's opinion being likewise required on the articles, he delivered it in writing as follows

Mr Hastings's Minute.

I declare my dissent from the treaty proposed to Meer Jaffier, and think, that if his restoration to his just rights be the point aimed at in it, there is a manifest injustice and inconsistency, in exacting his compliance with new terms, not mentioned in the original agreement with him, notwithstanding, as my opinion upon the several articles now before the Board

is required, I shall freely give it, but as a neutral member only, for the good of the Company, whose interests may be essentially affected by them.

First, I agree materially with the first article, but think, that the lands should be fully made over to the Company by treaty, and not by jagheeree sunnuds, the first conveying a certain property, and the latter leaving them still dependent.

Secondly, I disapprove of the second article for the reasons given by the President.

Thirdly, I think the monopoly of the Poornea salt-petre, an acquisition very trifling for the Company, and likely to distress the Nabob greatly, by depriving him entirely of one of the principal necessities of life

Fourthly, and fifthly, to make the Nabob an useful ally, and not a meer instrument in the hands of the Company, for the exercise of their own power, it is my opinion, that a larger body of horse might be maintained by him, than the number to which it is proposed to limit him, tho' that may serve when he is at peace, and in no apprehension from an enemy, but that the foot (an useless and expensive rabble) be entirely excluded from his army, and only a few kept up to be employed in the collection of his revenues, where only they can be of service

For the real purposes of war, he can need no other infantry than ours; and his own army, consisting only of horse, and unincumbered by the disorderly crowd of Peons and Burgundasses, with their baggage and train following them, will be more under the command of their leader, and may act with greater advantage in conjunction with our forces.

Sixthly, tho' I opposed the demand made on the present Nabob, to reverse the decree passed by him for a free trade, as an encroachment on his rights, and a breach of our own treaty; yet, I think it may with propriety be made an article in the new treaty, tho' the strict execution of such an order, must of necessity be left to the Nabob's own pleasure.

Seventhly, I judge the Nabob's order insufficient to enforce the currency of the Calcutta siccas; but it may with propriety

be insisted on, as it may serve as a just pretence for regulating the coin of the country in general, when ever the Board may have leisure, in conjunction with the Nabob, to resume the subject, and upon this, my opinion in few words is, that the only effectual regulation to answer equally the purposes of commerce and the revenues, would be to strike off the batta entirely, on all rupees of the Bengal standard, and abolish the pernicious custom of lowering the value of rupees every year

The other articles appear to me very proper, nor do any other occur to me, that ought to be added to them

The gentlemen now withdrawing from the Board to wait on the Nabob,

Agreed, that we adjourn till the evening”

At a Consultation of the Evening of July 6, 1763

Present

The Hon Hen Vansittart, Esq, President

Thomas Adams, Esq,

John Carnac, Esq,

William Billers, Esq,

John Cartier, Esq,

Warren Hastings, Esq,

Randolph Marriott, Esq,

Hugh Watts, Esq,

The gentlemen, who waited as deputies on the Nabob, report to the Board that they made known to him the resolution of Council in his favor, and endeavored to give him a general knowledge of the articles which it is thought requisite he should agree to, as also of the other circumstances which were recommended by the Board To the whole, he in general terms replied, that he assented to resume the government, but that before he would determine on particulars, or enter upon business, he desired to have delivered to him a copy of the articles in the Persian language, and that we would comply with the two following requests First, to secure the person of Coja Petrus, and have him taken up with the army,

as he may be made the means of carrying on a correspondence with his brother Secondly, to permit him to take into his service Nundcoomar, as his muttaseddee, to assist him in commencing and carrying on the business

It being necessary therefore, that the Board should determine immediately on these requests, for the benefit of forwarding the business with the Nabob, their opinions, with regard to Nundcoomar, were first collected as follows

The President's Opinion.

With respect to the appointment of Nundcoomar for the Nabob's muttaseddee, the President desires his opinion may be minuted, that from the knowledge he has had of Nundcoomar since he came to Bengal, he thinks him a dangerous man, and not fit to be trusted, but that he does not think it is in his power to dissent from the Nabob's taking whom he pleases, or indeed, that it is necessary, as he will* not be a party in the treaty

Mr Watts's Opinion

Mr. Watts has no objections to the Nabob's appointing Nundcoomar to be his muttaseddee

Mr Marriott's Opinion.

Mr Marriott is of opinion with the President, that Nundcoomar is not a man fit to be trusted, but that if the Nabob insists upon it, he must be allowed to appoint him That he looks upon Rajdoolub, in many respects, as a more proper person, if thro' the persuasion of the gentlemen in the deputation, the Nabob could be prevailed upon to appoint him

Mr Hastings's Opinion

Mr Hastings is of the same opinion with the President, in regard to Nundcoomar's character, but leaves it to the other

* It is to be observed, that this declaration was made the 6th of July—My resolution to sign the proceedings with Meer Jaffier, was not till the 8th, altho' in the course of this narrative, it is first mentioned, Page 497

gentlemen to take what measures they please, for the security of the future establishment

Mr Cartier's Opinion

Mr Cartier is of Mr. Watt's opinion

Mr Billers's Opinion

Mr Billers is of Mr Marriott's opinion

Major Carnac's Opinion

Major Carnac is of opinion, that Roydoolub would be a more proper person, as having more influence in the country, and therefore thinks the gentlemen in the deputation should mention him to the Nabob, but as he apprehends he (the Nabob) will still insist upon appointing Nundcoomar, that he cannot be refused him

Mr Adams's Opinion

Major Adams has no knowledge himself of the intrigues of Nundcoomar, but from his general character, given him by gentlemen who know him better, he thinks, if the Nabob would dispense with him, it would be more proper, yet, if the necessity of the times may make his services requisite to the Nabob, and he insists on appointing him, he thinks that we cannot refuse

Sum of the Opinions and Resolutions in Consequence

It being thus resolved, that if the Nabob should be still desirous of appointing Nundcoomar his muttaseddee, it shall be admitted him

Agreed, that Nundcoomar be in such case released from his confinement*

Next, in respect to the Nabob's request, regarding Petrus.

* He was in confinement, for having forwarded a correspondence between the Shahzada and the Governor of Pondicherry during the French war

The President's Opinion.

The President is of opinion it may be complied with, so far as to send him up with the army, but that he should be under no restraint, because he thinks the appearance of Petrus's being employed by us, would be a means of sowing a jealousy between the Nabob and Petrus's brother, and, on the contrary, apprehends that confinement, or any other severity exercised towards Petrus, from being reported to the Nabob with exaggerations, as is always the case, might be the cause of a worse treatment to our gentlemen, who are in the Nabob's hands. He thinks further, that Petrus, before he goes, should take the oath of allegiance to the King of Great Britain, and an oath of fidelity to the Company, in order to subject him more regularly to our laws, in case of his failing in his duty. That we shall have in our hands all the security, which it is in a man's power to give, namely, his wife and family, and houses and effects, to a great amount, and if he should resolve to forfeit all these, and perjure himself, leaving the army, and going over to the Nabob, the President lastly thinks, that it is not in his power to do us any prejudice, and therefore that by this method of treating him good may come, but no harm.

Messieurs Watts, Marriott, Hastings, Cartier and Billers, are of the same opinion.

Major Carnac's Opinion.

Major Carnac is very indifferent whether Petrus go with the army, or remain in Calcutta, but thinks in either case, as he is of so near a relation, as that of a brother to the person, who has the chief direction of the Nabob's affairs, and therefore justly to be suspected of being a well-wisher to him, his person ought to be secured, to prevent his giving any intelligence of our preparations, and, moreover, the major believes his detention may be a means of engaging Coja Gregory, to use his influence with his master, for the preservation of our gentlemen now in his power, for fear we should retaliate upon his brother. He does not think any security can be given by Petrus, sufficient to justify us in giving him his liberty. As to his family, tho' left with us, he is convinced we will not hurt them, and with regard to whatever effects he may have at Cal-

cutta, the Nabob can more than compensate him for the loss of them

Major Adams's Opinion

Major Adams thinks Petrus should go with the army, but that he should be put under proper restraint

Resolution of the Board.

It is therefore resolved, that Coja Petrus shall be sent with the army, and that he shall be under no restraint, but that major Adams be directed to keep such an eye over his actions, and make such use of him, as he shall judge necessary for the good of the service "

The arguments produced in the course of this debate, will shew how far the public service was concerned in Nundcoomar's advancement, and Petrus's disgrace To me the proposal evidently appeared, as it probably will to the world, only as the first display of the triumph of an unrelenting faction I have already taken notice, in the course of this narrative, of the prejudices which were raised against Coja Petrus, and his brother Goorgheen Cawn, from the favors shewn by the Nabob to the latter, who was in his service, and derived from him to Coja Petrus

Many attempts had been made to render Petrus obnoxious to our government, and he had probably suffered the greatest disgraces, if not worse consequences, had I not protected him, knowing the aspersions thrown upon him to be utterly groundless, and the passionate invectives against Armenian insolence and authority, meer artifices to keep alive the flame of party. Tho' I was persuaded, in my own mind, that it was the same spirit which dictated to the Nabob Meer Jaffier the proposal, yet as it was urged with the pretence of promoting the public service, I consented to it, with the exception to his being kept a prisoner, and the majority of the members came into the same opinion

As to Nundcoomar, he had, hitherto made himself remarkable for nothing but a seditious and treacherous disposition, which had led him to perpetrate the most atrocious acts

against our government, having been detected and convicted by the voice of the whole Board, in encouraging and assisting our enemies in their designs against Bengal, taking the opportunity of the indulgence granted him, of living in Calcutta, under the Company protection, it make himself the channel for carrying on a correspondence between the Governor of Pondicherry, and the Shahzada then at war with us. During the subahship of Jaffier Allee Cawn, he had distinguished himself by fomenting quarrels between him and the Presidency. After the promotion of Cossim Allee Cawn, he became as active, but with greater success, in inventing plots, and raising jealousies against him. This gave him an ascendancy over some of the members of the Board, and made him a party object, by which and an unparalleled perseverance, he was enabled to set the whole community in a flame. Such was the man whom the Nabob chose for the administration of his affairs, and whose exaltation to this rank, he made a condition of his acceptance of the subahship.

The articles of the treaty having been sent to the Nabob, were returned with the following alterations, which were agreed to by the Board, for the reasons annexed

The Nabob's *Objections to the Articles*

"In article 2d, he objects to the words, "that the three provinces shall be invested in the Company for ever," alledging, that in fact it is not material to the Company; as any future Nabob, who was inclined and able to dispute the Company's possessions; might insist it was a cession which he had no right to make, and that the same might be objected to his prejudice by the King, if he comes to be established at Delly, and therefore desires the article may run as formerly, for defaying the expences of the English army

In article 4th, he desires he may have half the produce of the Poorneea salt-petre, for the use of his own Sircar

In article 6th, he increases the number of his forces to 12,000 horse, and 12,000 foot, on account of the addition of territory, by the reduction of Boudgepoor and Betteea coun-

tries, and adds, that in case of troubles, he may take more into his service, with the consent of the Governor and Council.

In article 7th, he refuses to stipulate, that a body of English troops should always attend him, alledging, that it implied a suspicion of his friendship, and good intentions towards us. would be extremely prejudicial to his, as well as our business and therefore insisted, that it should stand, that such a number of troops as he, at any time should desire, should be sent to attend him”

The same, with his reasons assigned, were maturely considered and debated on

Resolution of the Board

“The Board are unanimously of opinion, that they should be agreed to, because they think the three first alterations which the Nabob has made, for the reasons given, are very just, and that the other being an alteration which he positively refused to reverse, it is thought better not to insist upon it, for fear of giving him distrust, especially, as the present situation of affairs (which renders the Nabob’s presence at the city, as soon as possible, absolutely necessary) will not admit of time being wasted in discussing them further

On the 11th, the treaty was concluded, and interchanged with the Nabob Jaffier Allee Cawn, who, at the same time, presented a paper of demands, to be engaged to on the part of the Company, and it was subscribed to accordingly The following are copies of both”

Articles of a Treaty and Agreement, concluded between the Governor and Council of Fort William, on the Part of the English East India Company, and the Nabob Shujaa-ool-moolk Hissam o Dowla Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn Behader Mohabut Jung

On the Part of the Company

“We engage to reinstate the Nabob Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn Behader, in the Subahdarree of the provinces of Bengal,

Bahar and Orissa, by the deposal of Meer Mahomed Cossim Cawn, and the effects, treasure, jewels, &c belonging to Meer Mahomed Cossim Cawn, which shall fall into our hands, shall be delivered up to the Nabob afore-named.

On the Part of the Nabob

First, the treaty which I formerly concluded with the Company, upon my accession to the Nizamut, engaging to regard the honor and reputation of the Company, their Governor and Council as my own, granting perwannahs for the currency of the Company's trade, the same treaty I now confirm and ratify

Secondly, I do grant and confirm to the Company, for defraying the expences of their troops, the chucklas of Burdwan, Midnapoor and Chittagong, which were before ceded for the same purpose

Thirdly, I do ratify and confirm to the English, the privilege granted them by their firmaun, and several husbul-hookums, of carrying on their trade by means of their own dustucks, free from all duties, taxes and impositions, in all parts of the country, excepting the article of salt, on which a duty of two and a half *per cent* is to be levied on the Rowana or Hoogly market price

Fourthly, I give to the Company half the salt-petre, which is produced in the country of Poorneea, which their gomastahs shall send to Calcutta, the other half shall be collected by my fougedar, for the use of my offices, and I will suffer no other person to make purchases of this article in that country.

Fifthly, in the Chucla of Silhet for the space of five years, commencing with the Bengal year 1170, my fougedar, and the Company's gomastah, shall jointly prepare Chunam, of which each shall defray half the expences; and half the Chunam so made, shall be given to the Company, and the other half shall be for my use.

Sixthly, I will maintain twelve thousand horse, and twelve thousand foot in the three provinces, and if there should be occasion for more, the number shall be increased proportionably

to the emergency Besides these, the force of the English Company shall always attend me when they are wanted

Seventhly, wherever I shall fix my court, either at Moorsheadabad or elsewhere, I will advise the Governor and Council, and whatever number of English forces I may have occasion for, in the management of my affairs, I will demand them, and they shall be allowed me, and an English gentleman shall reside with me, to transact all affairs between me and the Company, and a person shall also reside on my part at Calcutta, to negotiate with the Governor and Council

Eighthly, the late perwannah issued by Cossim Allee Cawn, granting to all merchants the exemption of all duties, for the space of two years, shall be reversed and called in, and the duties collected as before

Ninthly, I will cause the rupees, coined in Calcutta, to pass in every respect equal to the siccas of Moorshedabad, without any deduction of batta, and whosoever shall demand batta shall be punished

Tenthly, I will give thirty lacks of rupees to defray all the expences and loss accruing to the Company, from the war and stoppage of their investment, and I will reimburse to all private persons the amount of such losses, proved before the Governor and Council, as they may sustain in their trade in the country, if I should not be able to discharge this in ready money, I will give assignments of land for the amount

Eleventhly, I will confirm and renew the treaty which I formerly made with the Dutch

Twelfthly, if the French come into the country, I will not allow them to erect any fortifications, maintain forces, or hold lands, zemindarrees, &c but they shall pay tribute, and carry on their trade as in former times

Thirteenthly, some regulations shall be hereafter settled between us, for deciding all disputes which may arise between the English agents and gamastahs in the different parts of the country, and my officers

In testimony whereof, we the said Governor and Council

have set our hands, and affixed the seal of the Company to one part hereof, and the Nabob afore-named, hath set his hand and seal to another part hereof, which were mutually done, and interchanged at Fort William, the 10th day of July, 1764

(Signed) Henry Vansittart,
John Carnac,
William Billers,
John Cartier,
Warren Hastings,
Randolph Marriott,
Hugh Watts ”

Demands made on the Part of the Nabob Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn, to the Governor and Council, at the Time of signing the Treaty

“First, I formerly acquainted the Company with the particulars of my own affairs, and received from them repeated letter of encouragement with presents I now make this request, that you will write in a proper manner to the Company, and also to the King of England, the particulars of our friendship and union, and procure for me writings of encouragement, that my mind may be assured from that quarter, that no breach may ever happen between me and the English, and that every Governor and Counsellor, and Chief, who are here, or may hereafter come, may be well disposed and attached to me

Secondly, since all the English gentlemen, assured of my friendly disposition to the Company, confirm me in the Nizamut, I request, that to whatever I may at any time write, they will give their credit and assent, nor regard the stories of designing men to my prejudice, that all my affairs may go on with success, and no occasion may arise for jealousy or ill-will between us

Thirdly, let no protection be given, by any of the English gentlemen, to any of my dependents, who may fly for shelter to Calcutta, or other of your districts; but let them be delivered up to me on demand I shall strictly enjoin all my fougedars and aumils on all accounts, to afford assistance and counte-

nance to such of the gomastahs of the Company, as attend to the lawful trade of their factories, and if any of the said gomastahs shall act otherwise, let them be checked in such a manner, as may be an example to others

Fourthly, from the neighborhood of Calcutta to Hoogly, and many of the pergunahs bordering upon each other, it happens, that on complaints being made, people go against the taalookdars, reiat, and tenants of my towns, to the prejudice of the business of the Sircar, wherefore, let strict orders be given, that no peons be sent from Calcutta on the complaint of any one, upon my taalookdars or tenants, but on such occasions, let application be made to me, or the Naib of the fougedarree of Hoogly, that the country may be subject to no loss or devastation And if any of the merchants and traders which belonged to the bux-bunder and azimgunge, and have settled in Calcutta, should be desirous of returning to Hoogly, and carrying on their business there as formerly, let no one molest them Chandernagore, and the French factory, was presented to me by colonel Clive, and given by me in charge to Ameer Beg Cawn For this reason, let strict orders be given, that no English gentlemen exercise any authority therein, but that it remain as formerly, under the jurisdiction of my people

Fifthly, whenever I may demand any forces from the Governor and Council for my assistance, let them be immediately sent to me, and no demand made on me for their expences

The demands of the Nabob Shujaaool Moolk Hissam, o Dowla Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn Behader Mohabut Jung, written in five articles We the President and Council of the English Company do agree, and set our hands to, in Fort William, the 10th of July, 1763."

Signed, &c

Having related all the material transactions with Meer Cossim, from his advancement to the subahship, till the period in which he was no longer regarded by us as the governor of

Majors Adams and Carnac absent

these provinces, I shall refer the reader to the accounts already published of the operations of the war, which are foreign to the purpose of this work. It will suffice here to say, that by the superior courage and discipline of our troops, and the admirable conduct and activity of major Adams their commander, the war was brought to a conclusion, by the expulsion of Meer Cossim beyond the Caramnassa, in about five months from its commencement, with little loss, besides that of the unhappy prisoners who fell into Meer Cossim's hands at the beginning of the troubles, and were put to death at Patna by his orders, on the 5th of October. With some particulars of that dreadful catastrophe, I shall conclude this narrative.

The first intimation of such a design, we received in a letter from Meer Cossim to major Adams, a few days after the attack of the entrenchments at Oodwa Nullah, the following is an exact translation of it.

Translation of a Letter from Cossim Allee Cawn to Major Adams Dated September 9, 1763

“That for these three months you have been laying waste the King's country with your forces, what authority have you? If you are in possession of any royal Sunnud for my dismissal, you ought to send me either the original, or a copy of it, that having seen it, and shewn it to my army, I may quit this country, and repair to the presence of his majesty. Altho' I have in no respect intended any breach of public faith, yet Mr Ellis, regarding not treaties or engagements, in violation of public faith, proceeded against me with treachery and night-assaults. All my people then believed that no peace or terms now remained with the English, and that, wherever they could be found, it was their duty to kill them. With this opinion it was, that the aumils of Moorshedabad killed Mr Amyatt, but it was by no means agreeable to me, that gentleman should be killed. On this account I write, if you are resolved on your own authority to proceed in this business, know for a certainty, that I will cut off the heads of Mr Ellis and the rest of your chiefs, and send them to you.

Exult not upon the success which you have gained merely by treachery and night-assaults, in two or three places, over a

few jemmatdars sent by me By the will of God, you shall see in what manner this shall be revenged and retaliated ”

The threats contained in this letter, did not give me any great apprehension at the time, as it was a natural and obvious policy in the Nabob, to make use of the advantage which he had in his hands, to intimidate us to a compliance with his terms, and to execute those threats, would be to deprive himself of that advantage, without any equivalent gained for it As Meer Cossim had never shewn any marks of a cruel disposition, there could be no sufficient reason to suspect him of a design, to make a wanton sacrifice of so many lives to his revenge, much less to involve those in the same fate, who could in no respect be regarded by him as objects of his resentment

It was, however, in his power to execute the worst of what he threatened, and the most proper argument to divert him from such a resolution, I judged, was to set before his eyes the horror, as well as inutility of the act, and the guilt and infamy which would attend it This I did in the following letter, which I wrote to him upon this occasion, with the advice and consent of the Council

*Copy of a Letter from the Governor to Cossim Allee Cawn
Dated September 17, 1763*

“I have received from major Adams the copy of your letter to him, dated the last of Seffer Mr Amyatt and Mr Hay were sent to you as ambassadors, a title sacred among all nations, yet, in violation of that title, you caused Mr Amyatt to be attacked and killed on his return, after having given him your passports, and Mr Hay you unjustly kept as a prisoner with you You surrounded and attacked our factory at Cossimbuzar, and carried away our gentlemen from thence prisoners, in a most disgraceful manner to Mongheer, altho’ they had no concern in the war, nor resisted your people In like manner, in all other parts you attacked the English agents who were carrying on their trade quietly; some you killed, and some were carried away prisoners, and their effects were every where plundered. After these proceedings, do you ask for what reason major Adams was sent with an army? You know the laws of God and man, as you had declared you would turn the

English out of the country, and had proceeded as far as you could towards it, it became necessary for us to take measures for our own defence, and for the care of our own reputation. Thanks be to God, that success has attended our army thus far, and they will continue their march in the same manner as far as the Caramnassa, that the country may be freed from disturbances, and the inhabitants relieved from the horrors of war, and altho' we are shocked, as must all people of all religions and all nations, at the revenge which you threaten to take upon the lives of our chiefs, who have unfortunately and unjustly taken prisoners by you, yet, the honor of our nation, and the interests of the Company, will not be sacrificed to this consideration, nor the operations of our army stopped. To put prisoners of war to death, is an act which will appear shocking and unlawful, not only to Christians and Mussulmen, but to the most barbarous Pagans, such sentiments are no where to be met with, but among the beasts of the forest. After the battle of Oodwa Nulla, above thousand of your officers and men were prisoners in the hands of Major Adams, who released them without hurt or injury. Reflect on this, and on your own character, both in this world and the next, and remember also, that if you had followed my advice, this war would not have happened."

In the mean time, major Adams judging the most effectual method would be to act upon the Nabob's fears, had already returned an answer to his letters, in the following terms.

Copy of a Letter from Major Adams to Cossim Allee Cawn

"I received your letter, and understand the contents. The English having always had in view the articles of the treaty, endeavored by pacific measures to reconcile all differences with you, till the persidious massacre of Mr Amyatt compelled them, contrary to their inclinations, to declare war against you. You say, it was not your intention to murder Mr. Amyatt, why then did you not punish the aggressors with the utmost severity? There are three months elapsed and nothing done. We have now, by the assistance of Providence, brought your affairs to a very low ebb. It is true, you have Mr. Ellis, and many other gentlemen in your power, if a hair of their heads is

hurt, you can have no title to mercy from the English, and you may depend upon the utmost fury of their resentment, and that they will pursue you to the utmost extremity of the earth, and should we unfortunately not lay hold of you, the vengeance of the Almighty cannot fail overtaking you, if you perpetrate so horrid an act, as the murder of the gentlemen in your custody”

But both threats and expostulations proved ineffectual; and our unhappy countrymen, to the number of about fifty Company’s servants, civil and military, and other gentlemen, and hundred private men, were sacrificed to a boundless revenge

Mr Fullarton, the surgeon of the Patna factory, the only person who escaped the wretched fate of the rest, saw Meer Cossim immediately after the execution of this horrid tragedy, and it is from him only, we can have a certain account of the state of mind he was in at the time, a state little different from madness, since he could have a thought of treating with us, after having want only shed the blood of so many of our countrymen, this will be seen in the following extract of a letter which Mr Fullarton wrote to the Board on the subject

Extract from Mr. Fullarton’s Letter to the Board.

“Mr Ellis, with the rest of the gentlemen, were inhumanly butchered by Shimroo*, who came that evening to the place with two companies (he had the day before sent for all the knives and forks from the gentlemen) he surrounded the house with his people, and went into a little outer square, and sent for Mess Ellis, Hay and Lushington, and with them came six other gentlemen, who were all terribly mangled, and cut to pieces, and their bodies thrown into a well in the square, and it filled up; then the seepoys were sent into the large square, and fired on the gentlemen there, and rushing upon them, cut them into pieces, in the most inhuman manner, and they were thrown into another large well, which was likewise filled up.

The 7th, the Nabob sent for me, and told me to get myself in readiness to go to Calcutta, for that though he had been unlucky in the war (which he asserted with great warmth,

* Sombre or Sumroo, a Frenchman in Meer Cossim’s service

had not been of his seeking, nor had he been the aggressor, reproaching the English with want of fidelity, and breach of treaty) yet he said, he had still hopes of an accommodation, he asked me what I thought of it I told him, I made no doubt of it When some of his people, who were present, mentioned the affair of Mr Amyatt's death; he declared, that he had never given any orders for killing Mr Amyatt, but after receiving advice of Mr Ellis's having attacked Patna, he had ordered all his servants to take and imprison all the English in the provinces, wherever they could find them, he likewise added, that if a treaty was not set a foot, he would bring the King, the Mograttas, and Abdallas against us, and so ruin our trade, &c He had finished his letters, and ordered boats, and a guard to conduct me; when, upon the advice of some of his people, he stopped me, and said, there was no occasion for me to go After his sending for me at first, he ordered the seepoys, in whose charge I was, to go to their quarters, two moguls, and twelve hircarras to attend me, but to let me go about the city where I pleased I then applied for liberty to stay at the Dutch factory, which was granted I applied to Mehdee Allee Cawn, for his interest in behalf of the gentlemen in the Chelston, who were seven in number, and were not killed till the 11th of October; but when he was petitioned about them, he gave no answer; but still sent orders to Shimroo, to cut them off. I likewise applied to Allee Ibrahim Cawn, who interceded for them, but he gave him no answer either, tho' I was present when Ibrahim Cawn petitioned for them

The 14th of October, on the approach of our army, Cossim Allee decamped with his troops in great confusion, and marched as far as Fulwarree, five coss to the westward of the city. The hircarras that were with me having no orders about me, I gave them some money, which made them pretty easy

The 25th, after giving money to a jemmatdar, that had the guard to the westward of the Dutch factory, by the riverside, I set out in a small pulwar, and got safe to the boats, under command of captain Wedderburn, that were lying opposite to the city, on the other side of the river, and at 11 o'clock that night arrived at the army, under the command of major Adams, lying at Jonsy."

APPENDIX

General Observations upon the preceding Events, with some later Occurrences

Remarks upon Meer Cossim's Administration, his Behavior in the Course of the Disputes with the Council, and after the War broke out—Observations on the Death of Mr Amyatt—The Necessity and Propriety of the Assault of Patna examined—Review of Meer Cossim's Character and Conduct at different Periods—Proofs of the Intrigues carried on against Meer Cossim, at the Courts of the King, and Shuja Dowla, by Mr Ellis, and Major Carnac—Explanation of Mr Vansittart's Conduct to the Nabob, and to the Party which opposed him—Reflections upon the Nature of the inland Trade, the Complaints on that Subject, lately made by Meer Jaffier, and the Restrictions agreed on in Consequences—Mr Vansittart's Reasons for prolonging his Stay in Bengal—Conclusion

The reproach which Meer Cossim has brought upon himself, by the cruelty exercised on the unhappy prisoners at Patna, puts it in a manner out of my power to do justice to the former part of his conduct, since how strictly soever he may have adhered to his engagements with the English, this will always recur as an argument to vindicate every injury done him before this period, and the repeated violations of the treaty, on our part, whilst we were on terms of friendship with him. However, as my design is not to become an advocate for Meer Cossim, but to justify my own conduct, in opposition to that of the other members of the Council towards him, in which no incidents since past could possibly have served as a motive, I shall proceed to a short examination of his behavior, and that of the party which opposed him, from his first advancement to the subahship, to the breaking out of the war, after which, I shall add some remarks upon my own, in the difficult part which I had to act between both

Since the Nabob Meer Jaffier could not bear an assistant in his government, upon the footing proposed to him, but rather

chose to quit it, I thought it fortunate that he next right fell upon a man so well qualified as Meer Cossim was for restoring economy and good order to the distracted affairs of the country. In this light he was represented to me by all the gentlemen of the Select Committee, upon my arrival in Bengal, and his conduct from the beginning, till the war broke out between us, fully answered this character.

He discharged the Company's debt, and the heavy arrears of his army; retrenched the expences of his court, which had before consumed the income of his predecessors, and secured his own authority over the country, by reducing the power of the zemindars, who were before continual disturbers of the peace of the province. All this I saw with pleasure, well knowing, that the less need he had of our assistance, the less would be the Company's expences, and the better able they would be to attend to the care of their own possessions, at the same time that we might depend upon him, as a sure and useful ally against any common enemy. I was convinced, that whilst we did not encroach upon the Nabob's rights, or disturb his government, he would never wish to quarrel with us; and, in effect, so cautious was he of giving occasion for dispute, that no one instance can be produced of his sending a man into any of the lands ceded to us, or molesting us in a single article of our commerce, till the contention which he was drawn into by the usurpations of our gomastahs, and our new claims with respect to our private trade, and even to the breaking out of the war, during the height of our disputes, the Company's business, in every part, went on without the least interruption, excepting one or two aggravated complaints of Mr Ellis's concerning the salt-petre business.

How different was the conduct of the gentlemen, who had formed themselves into a party against him! From the time of his advancement to the subahship, scarce a day passed, but occasion was taken from the most trifling pretences, to trample upon his government, to seize his officers, and to insult them with personal threats and invectives. I need not point out instances of this, they will be seen in every page of this Narrative; and any one of them would have been, in the Nabob,

pronounced a sufficient reason by those very gentlemen for declaring war against him. It is not to be wondered at, if, irritated and tired out with these continual attacks, he should grow suspicious of our friendship, which only manifested itself in professions contradicted daily by our actions, or that his resentment should, upon some occasions, have urged him to retaliate the injuries which he received. Yet for a long time he submitted to all his grievances, contenting himself with remonstrating against them, in the hopes, that it would be in my power, some time or other, to restore him to his authority.

The first instance of his using force to repel the violences that were offered him, was in the attack of the remainder of the party at Mow, which had just before seized and carried off one of his principal officers. Such an indignity offered before his eyes, and in the presence of his whole army, was sufficient to provoke him to some desperate act, and an absolute forbearance must have rendered him contemptible to the last degree, in the eyes of his own people. Yet after he had caused the sepoys and the gomastahs to be brought before him, he even then gave a fresh instance of his desire to preserve a friendship with us, by dismissing them with out any further notice, than to reproach the gomastah for having drawn this unprovoked insult upon him, altho' his own officer was at this time close prisoner at Patna.

The great pains taken by Meer Cossim, in his letter to major Adams, and in the conversation which he had afterwards with Mr Fullarton, to clear himself from the Charge of Mr Amyatt's death, must have struck the reader with the appearance of great inconsistency, in the first, he threatens to put to death all the English that were in his hands, and at the time that he saw Mr Fullarton, this threat had actually been carried into execution but two days before, yet with the consciousness of having recently sacrificed so many lives, to a deliberate and undistinguishing revenge, he could appear unaffected with all that passed excepting the death of a single person, which he labored to prove the effect of the violence of his officers, who had exceeded his orders. This unhappy affair, even supposing him as culpable as he appeared to be at the

time in which it was transacted, had many circumstances to extenuate the guilt of it, when put in comparison with the last dreadful effect of his resentment.

The suspicion which he had from the first entertained of Mr. Amyatt's deputation ; the date of that gentleman's departure from Mongheer, compared with that of the attack Patna ; and the natural conclusion which he could not avoid drawing from it, that Mr Amyatt had advised it ; might, in the sudden impulse of his fury, have hurried him to revenge himself, in this manner, on Mr Amyatt, for an action which he put to the account of a treachery on his part, designed to be put in execution, as soon as he should be out of the Nabob's reach. Whether this was the case or not, it is plain, he looked upon the death of Mr Amyatt as the principal cause, the proclaimed motive of our declaring war against him, and every thing that had happened afterwards, but as a just and natural consequence of the war. In a word. he thought it needless to justify himself upon any of the blood that was split after the war was begun, and studied only to prove that he did not begin it.

That we were the first aggressors, by the assault of the of Patna will not be disputed. I will not take upon me to pronounce how far Mr. Ellis, in taking this ill-fated step, or the Board in authorizing him to do it, were to blame, of this every one will judge, from the light in which it may differently appear to him. My own opinion is, that Mr Ellis's intention was, from the beginning, to break with the Nabob ; and that the discretionary powers, which he so earnestly solicited, and so passionately complained of being withheld were wanted only as a sanction for executing what he had already resolved on : of this I repeatedly declared my apprehensions ; and, for that reason, always refused to give my consent to any orders that put it in the power of Mr Ellis to begin the war. when he should think proper, and, in effect, no sooner was he in possession of such an authority. than he immediately made the use of it which I had dreaded.

It will be argued by many, that the war with the Nabob was unavoidable, and, therefore, that Mr Ellis was in the

right to strike the first blow, if, by so doing, he could secure an advantage, for my own part, I do not think we were at that time so near to a rupture, but that it was our power to have avoided it, and upon our own terms, had we been in earnest inclined to it

Mr Amyatt's negotiation had been broke off, because the Nabob saw, that whatever concessions he might make, would be rendered of no effect, by the preparations which Mr. Ellis was making to attack the city of Patna, and would appear only as proceeding from a consciousness of his own weakness; he therefore dismissed Mr Amyatt, and as far as we can learn, with all the usual marks of friendship and respect. No war was declared by him, but the last determination upon the subject of our differences left to the Governor and Council; and Mr Hay remained with the Nabob as a pledge, for the release of such of his officers as we had made prisoners

I think, that had Mr Ellis left the Nabob any hope of an accommodation, he would have consented to the terms which were demanded of him, and submitted to all the inconveniencies they would have laid him under, until justice could be done him by the Company. This was certainly his intention, when he took the trouble to write them so full a * remonstrance of his grievances, and it seems to have been his disposition so late as the 19th of June, as may be judged from his letter †, and Mess Amyatt and Hay's ‡ of that date, where it appears that he released the arms, desisted from his preliminary demands, and consented to proceed in the negotiation

Possibly the advices from Patna had given him hopes, that Mr Ellis might refrain from hostilities, till war or peace should be concluded on between him and Mr Amyatt, or the Board. If such was his expectation, he was soon undeceived by Mehdee Allee Cawn's letter §, which informed him that Mr. Ellis was preparing to attack the city. He then ordered the boats with arms again to be stopped, but still con-

* Page 428

† Page 432

‡ Page 481

§ Page 486

sented that Mr Amyatt should take his leave, and transmit him the final determination of the Board from Calcutta.

Those who are fond of searching for refined and deep designs in the most natural actions, may attribute these frequent changes in the Nabob's behavior, to a policy formed to blind Mr. Amyatt and gain time, which, however, will not appear very probable, if we reflect, that the whole of this transaction happened in the short space of two or three days

In this situation Mr Amyatt left the Nabob; Mr. Ellis heard of it the evening of the 24th of June, and the same night surprized and took the city

Left any impartial person now put himself as the place of Meer Cossim, and say whether he could have regarded this assault on the city of Patna, in any other light than as an act of treachery; and the strongest argument, that all the pacific declarations and proffered treaties, were only artifices to make him a dupe to our designs, and the instrument of his own ruin

Altho' I have disclaimed the principle of attacking the Nabob first, because it was probable that he might attack us (an argument which would equally justify every act of enmity, to those whom we have at any time injured); yet, I will suppose it allowable to seize such an advantage, if the safety of our forces at Patna absolutely depended upon it To form judgment of this necessity, it will be proper to consider the force which we had at that time at Patna, compared with that which major Adams had under his command during the war

The former I have already * mentioned to consist of 220 European infantry, non-commissioned and soldiers; 27 officers, 57 men of the artillery, and 2500 seepoys, rank and file, be-

* See the return, page 416 It is true, Mr Ellis advises that 200 seepoys had deserted from the 1st to the 5th of June, but as the best accounts since collected of the force which attacked the city, makes the number of seepoys about 2300, it is probable the encouragement of batta, given them by Mr Ellis, as mentioned in his letter of the 6th of June, prevented any further desertion

sides officers, the most part of the seepoys the oldest, and the best disciplined of any in the service.

Major Adams had, before the battle of Gheerea, about 800 Europeans, including artillery and cavalry; and about 2200 seepoys, many of which were new recruits raised in Calcutta and the neighborhood

The disproportion between the two bodies, will by no means appear so great, as that of the services which they were to perform. Major Adams had to encounter the Nabob's whole force, already flushed with success, whereas the detachment at Patna (which was then generally esteemed, and confessedly by Mr Ellis himself, superior to any force that the Nabob could send against it) had nothing to fear but from a part of the Nabob's troops; since it is not likely, that he would have left the whole province of Bengal exposed to our army, to go and attack them at Patna; and as a proof of this, it appears from Mr Amyatt's letters before he left Mongheer, that the Nabob had actually sent forces down to Bengal.

Neither supposing it necessary to attack the city of Patna, would the place have been made more defensible by any reinforcements that the Nabob might have sent into it, since their numbers were so great already (as Mr Ellis repeatedly mentions in his letters) that any added to them would but have increased their confusion; yet the city was carried without the least difficulty; and I believe it is sufficiently clear, that it was not the want of numbers, but of order, that occasioned our miscarriage afterwards

Meer Cossim had not to this time shewn any instance of a vicious, or a violent disposition; he could not be taxed with any act cruelty to his own subjects, nor treachery to us. He had sense enough to know, that the English friendship would be his greatest security, and to dread their power, if ever they should come to be his enemies. As he perceived some of the Council were disinclined to him, he was the more cautious to avoid giving occasion of dispute; and as long as he saw I could support him against any direct insults, he suffered many affronts and encroachments upon his government with forbearance; but

when the disputes became more serious, and measures were taken of such a nature, as made him judge we were determined to break with him, sensible of the increased power of his enemies, and disappointed of the support which he had been made to expect from the Company, he found himself necessitated to act a different part, and at the same time that he endeavored to evade the impending storm, to provide against the effects of it. This will easily be seen in the change of his behavior after the summoning of the general Council, and to this cause may be ascribed the too great attention he latterly paid to the complaints of his officers, and his connivance at their oppressions, which, whilst his complaints against our own agents yet remained unredressed, he could not punish, without exposing his own weakness, and forfeiting the attachment of the most useful of his subjects

Thus far his conduct may bear the severest examination; and as an argument that it was generally approved by his own subjects, it is remarkable, that when the war broke out between us, altho' he wanted the courage to face his enemies in person, yet his soldiers fought for him with a bravery and fidelity rarely experienced in the undisciplined troops of Indostan; nor did any one of his officers, in the most distant part of his dominions, revolt from his authority to join us, till Patna was taken, and he was preparing to fly the province. This must be attributed to their for him unless we rather chuse to place it to the account of their contempt for Meer Jaffier, or their resentment of our oppressions

As to the last wretched act of Meer Cossim's government, altho' it is far from my design, and from my nature, to attempt to justify his cruelty, yet it is easy to account for it. His forces had been successively worsted; his country was wrested out of his hands; all his hopes of a reconciliation were for ever cut off by our new engagements with Meer Jaffier, and his re-appointment to the subahship. He had no way to elude the danger which pressed upon him, but to fly for shelter into the dominions of the Nabob Shuja Dowla, where his last resource was in the casual support, which the ambitious views of his protector, concurring with his safety, might for a few days afford

him : but his ruin he knew to be irretrievable, and a violent death the certain consequence of ill success and lost power. A dreadful reverse of fortune in a man, who, but a few months before, saw himself master of the richest province of Indostan, and so secure from all appearance of danger at home, as even to form the design of encreasing his dominions, by the conquest of others !

Fallen as Meer Cossim was to this state of desperation, it is no wonder that his temper broke all his former restraints, and gave a loose to that spirit of revenge, so common among his countrymen, and inculcated by their religion and education. In effect, the hoarded resentment of all the injuries which he had sustained in continual exertion of patience, during the three years of his government, from this time took entire possession of his mind, now rendered frantic by his natural timidity, and the frightful prospect before him, and drove from thence every other principle, till it had glutted itself with the blood of all within his reach, who had either contributed to his misfortunes, or by real or fancied connections with his enemies became obnoxious to his revenge. In a word, as the influence of those who were the Nabob's avowed enemies amongst us, had encouraged the contention, which at length became universal against him, his resentment no longer limited itself to particulars, but became national, and the English in general, as well as their adherents, were the natural objects of it. Such was the dreadful end of the measures, which a violent party had prosecuted with immoveable perseverance, from the beginning of Meer Cossim's government ; although I had spared no pains to persuade them, and all the world, of the necessity of the measures which I had taken, and to restore unanimity to our country, by which the tranquillity so happily established would have been preserved, and those effects prevented, which have since fallen, with equal severity, upon us all !

The Nabob, in many of his letters, complained of a correspondence carried on by Mr Ellis, and major Carnac, with Shuja Dowla : and of a concerted design, to procure the King's nomination of another person to the subahdarree. This certainly was a subject of very great uneasiness to the Nabob ;

but however assured he might be of the reality of such designs, he could never produce sufficient proofs to satisfy the Board of the truth of them, as those gentlemen constantly denied the charge, affirming it to have no other foundation, than in his disaffection to the English, and his readiness to credit every idle report to their disadvantage. It has since appeared, that he had but too much reason for these complaints, will be seen in the following extracts of two letters, which were received from Shitabroy, and Momtaz o Dowla, since the conclusion of the war, when they might think there was no longer any occasion to conceal their services, but rather chose to make a merit of them with both parties, now united against Meer Cossim

Extract of a Letter from Rajah Shitabroy to Major Adams.

“You are acquainted with the attachment I have long shewn to the English gentlemen, accordingly, you have seen with your own eyes the favours bestowed on me by colonel Coote; and you may remember, that he introduced me to you at Gherettee. Moreover, you must have heard from colonel Coote, and major Carnac, of my services in treating with the King. Afterwards, when I retired out of the Patna province, on account of the enmity of Meer Mahomed Cossim, I went to the Royal army, where I remained eight months with the King, and the Vizir; and then the Vizir sent me along with Maharajah Bennee Behader, who is Naib of the provinces, and has authority over all the affairs of the empire. As I was always extremely desirous of obtaining the good will of the English gentlemen, I forwarded all the letters which Mr. Ellis and Mr. Lushington sent to the Court, and treated for them in a proper manner; and accordingly it is universally reported, that all the business of the English Chiefs at the Imperial Court is carried on through Shitabroy”

Extract of a Letter from Momtaz o' Dowla Ferzund Cawn Buxy, to Major Carnac. Received December, 15, 1763.

“Meer Cossim, notwithstanding the smallness of his charge, and the short duration of his government, is yet greatly in

debt to the Royal Sircar ; his Majesty has long been displeased with him You several times represented to the Royal presence the Behaviour of Meer Cossim, and your earnest desire, nor was it unadvisable or disapproved, and his Majesty's inclinations and endeavours are now likewise entirely suitable "

I have been accused by my enemies, of espousing, too partially, the cause of the Nabob, and my friends have blamed me as much for exercising too great lenity to the faction which opposed me I think it necessary to shew the principles on which I guided myself towards both

The Nabob was scarcely advanced to the subahship, when the party formed itself against him, and as they made no secret of their sentiments, but rather industriously published them, he had notice of it almost as soon as it was formed, and of the measures which were taken to support it, and overset him

He was told, that colonel Coote, major Carnac, Mr. Amyatt, and Mr Ellis, had written against him to the Company, that they had sworn together to effect the restitution of Jaffier Allee Cawn, and that Mr Fullerton* had been dispatched to England, to assist in the same design It was therefore my business to endeavor, by every means, to convince him of my friendship and resolution to support him in all his just rights, and in this I so far succeeded, as to gain his entire confidence in my attachment to him, and to preserve an influence over him, as long as he saw, that I had it in my power to befriend him In supporting him, I knew I supported an establishment, with which the interests of the Company were so connected, that they could not be separated without danger of involving both in ruin ; and I knew also, that he never could raise his power to an equality with ours, nor attempt to shake off his dependency on us, with the least probability of success. Besides, do any laws allow, that every stronger power may encroach upon the rights of his weaker neighbor, for fear that, at some future time, he should become able to dispute upon more

* One of the surgeons of Calcutta

equal terms ? But the supposition of such a design, in the Nabob, proceeded only from a consciousness of having done him such injuries, as might naturally move his resentment. Instead, therefore, of adding ruin to former injuries, we ought to have desisted from our encroachments, and by that easy and just method, have confirmed the friendship between us, a conduct the more indispensable, as we were bound to observe it, by the strongest ties of public treaty

To establish him, therefore, in the full authority over his own people, and allow him the just rights of his government, was to make him an useful ally instead of a burthen to us, which he must be without these, whilst, by shewing a steady zeal and attachment to his interests, we should insure the same attachment in him to ours, and make him a faithful one

This rule I laid down for my conduct, and, as far as it consisted with the interests of the Company to which it was subservient, I invariably pursued it, excepting where the violence of faction forced me into measures, which I could not prevent, and even then I kept the same principle in view, and renewed it when I could, with safety to the cause which I was defending, and I have now the conscious satisfaction of reflecting, that had the rest of the gentlemen, at the head of our affairs, conducted themselves by my example, we should, to this time, have enjoyed the acquisitions derived to us from Meer Cossim's advancement to the subahship, improved by all the benefits that a settled tranquility, and a flourishing commerce, could add to them, and have had every reason to rejoice in our friendship and connection with a man, whom we now regard as a vagabond, a murderer, and the worst of tyrants, rendered such by the despair to which our injustice has driven him

Whilst I labored to keep the Nabob firm to his engagements I was no less solicitous, on the other hand, of introducing a good understanding amongst ourselves. It is true, I neither attempted this by unbecoming solicitations, nor by consulting the personal interests of those whom I wished to see of the same opinion with myself; but resting on the inte-

grity of my own heart, I opposed every attack on the establishment, which I had been an instrument in raising, and withstood every assault upon my own character, with temper and forbearance, knowing, that to oppose their violence with equal violence, would but accelerate the ruin of the Company's affairs, which it was my aim to prevent I may add, that I am not in my own nature inclined to acts of severity, but rather to look upon the errors and passions of others, with the indulgence which I should expect to my own, and I yielded the more readily to this prevailing inclination, because I knew, that nothing tended so surely to the destruction of any state, even in the most flourishing circumstances, as divisions amongst those who rule it, and I hoped, that whilst I kept such a guard upon my own conduct, as to obviate every pretence of censure against myself, and avoided all disagreeable and personal altercations, the flame of contention would go out of itself, for want of fuel to keep it alive

Such were my hopes, but I knew not the spirits I had to deal with, and I found, too late, that the gentlest usage, lost all its effect with prejudices so deeply rooted, and with minds compelled, by mutual ties, to persevere in the cause in which they were once engaged

If my opinion be asked, what precautions are necessary to prevent fresh troubles, and a renewal of our disputes with the country government I answer, that either the rules agreed on with Meer Cossim must be adopted, or an entire stop put to the innovations which have taken place since the capture of Calcutta, and the private trade restrained within its ancient bounds

The reason is plain, great advantages accrued from these articles of trade, both to the country merchants who used to carry it on, and to the government by the customs they drew from it Both these are now cut off, and the advantages in a manner engrossed by the English, who say, they will pay no customs, and, to support this usurpation, our agents and gomastahs are armed with an authority, independent of the officers of the government

If we restrain the power of our agents and gomastahs, and acquiesce in the Nabob's officers exercising their proper autho-

rity, in deciding disputes where such dependents of ours are concerned, then they, for the most part, will abuse their authority, and totally obstruct that trade, impelled not only by the jealousy with which they regard this innovation of ours, and by their own interests, but by the complaints of the country merchants, who find themselves excluded, and the oppressions to which this trade is more peculiarly liable when under no controul

The Nabob's right to this authority in his own government, cannot in justice be disputed, and the less, as our own jurisdiction does not extend thither, nor have we either judges to determine disputes in those distant parts, or laws to determine them by, yet this right of the country government is superseded and I am afraid, must be, if it be resolved, that the privileges of our private trade extend so far, and it may not be improper to remark here, that it was upon this reasoning, I agreed in the consultation of the 1st of March, that our agents and gomastahs should not be subject to the actual controul of the country government, after having assured the Nabob in the regulations that they should, for the Council having resolved, that they would insist on a free trade in all articles, and to all places, there was no way of preserving it, but by superseding that right of the Nabob's government

The violences with which the Nabob's officers exercised their authority, the instant it was put into their hands, and the encouragement which the Nabob had given to it, made me less attentive to the natural rights of justice in this case, where I saw plainly, that on either side there would be great oppressions; and I less dreaded the effects of any complaints which the Nabob might make, than the dangerous consequences which they would produce, if we ourselves were the sufferers.

The present Nabob Meer Jaffier, is no less clamorous upon these subjects, than Meer Cossim was, and I am plainly of opinion, that upon the present system, no friendship can be preserved with any Nabob. The two governments clash too frequently to stand upon a friendly footing; and therefore, if it is not thought right to establish the regulations and restrictions before-mentioned, it is the highest degree of

absurdity, to pledge the national faith to a treaty, which it is not possible should subsist, and to bind ourselves to support the Nabob in the authority over his country, when we deny him the exercise of that authority for the protection of his own subjects, at the same time too, that we confessedly want the power to protect them ourselves

It has been asserted by Mess Johnstone and Hay in some of their minutes, and I believe by other members of the Board, that the oppressions of the gomastahs, so frequently complained of by the Nabob, had no existence. As an incontestible proof that such did, and actually do exist, it may not be improper to subjoin some extracts of letters I have received on the subject at different times, from the chiefs of the subordinate factories

The first, is an extract of a letter from Mr Cartier, chief at Dacca, dated the 8th of November, 1761, in answer to one I wrote him a few days before, to forbid the use of force in trade, and particularly the practice of obliging the inhabitants to purchase tobacco, whether they wanted it or not, and at an exorbitant advanced price This extract will serve at once to shew the countenance which these oppressions have met with, and the impossibility of carrying on the inland trade without the use of force, which must be productive of oppressions, unless we would reconcile it to the country government, by paying duties like other merchants

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Cartier to the Governor. Dated Nov 8, 1761

“A freedom of trade is too desirable not to be wished for, but difficult to be established While the country government are interested to assist those that pay a duty on importation, they will secretly use methods to prevent the sale of our goods, if left to their full liberty, or was I to undertake to sell below the common run of the market, the pykars and merchants would be intimidated from trading with me, unless permitted to do so, nor is it probable they would, when it is so opposite to the interest of the people in the government: so that an undue and ruinous influence must be exerted on one side, and nothing left to oppose it”

Extract of a Letter from Mr George Gray, Chief at Malda, to the Governor Dated January 7, 1764

“Since my arrival here, I have had an opportunity of seeing the villainous practices used by the Calcutta gomastahs in carrying on their business. The government have certainly too much reason to complain of their want of influence in their country, which is torn to pieces by a set of rascals, who in Calcutta walk about in rags, but when they are sent out on gomastahships, lord it over the country, imprisoning the reats and merchants, and writing and talking in the most insolent, domineering manner to the fougedars and officers”

Extract of a Letter from Mr Senior, Chief at Cossimbuzar, to the Governor Dated March 23, 1764

“It would amaze you, the number of complaints that daily come before me, of the extravagances committed by our agents and gomastahs, all over the country, but by punishing some of the immediate servants of the factory, and dismissing others, I hope in time to bring things on a proper footing”

I could produce many other proofs from the Company's records, of the reality of the oppressions the country people suffer from the English agents and gomastahs, employed in the inland trade, but I believe this is a point that will be now no longer disputed

The Nabob Meer Jaffier complains of it as much since his re-establishment, as he did in his first administration. In short, he repeatedly declared to the Governor and Council, after his return to Calcutta in 1764, that it was impossible for his government to subsist upon such a footing, and earnestly pressed for the entire abolition of it, notwithstanding the consent he was obliged to give, in his treaty of July 1763. The Council was so sensible of the justice of the Nabob's remonstrances, that we resolved to put an end to these innovations, and give up the inland trade entirely, reserving only the indulgence of sending falt and beetle-nut to Patna and Cossimbuzar, and this to be confined to the factories, and not permitted to be dispersed about the country. European agents were forbid to reside in the country, and the most

positive orders sent to the Chittagong, Dacca, and Luckypoor factories, to relinquish the salt works they had set up in prejudice of the country merchants, an act of justice which all the world now agreed in, altho' many of the members of the Board complained of it, as a grievous detraction from their rights, when I promised the same to Meer Cossim, in my letter of regulations* If the same consideration had been had for his rights, which is now had for those of Meer Jaffier, and without which no friendship can possibly subsist between the two governments, I am persuaded he would have proved a faithful ally

As soon as the war with Meer Cossim was ended, and the Nabob Meer Jaffier in full possession of his government, I thought myself now at liberty to leave the country, which I had before declared my resolution of doing, when there should be no longer any public call upon me for my stay, I accordingly acquainted the Board with my intention, in the following letter

Copy of the Governor's Letter to the Gentlemen of the Council
Fort William, December 19, 1763

GENTLEMEN,

"The unexpected and unfortunate events, with which the war with the late Nabob began, and which spread an alarm, that in some measure affected the settlement itself, occasioned my altering my intention of going to Europe last September, but our army being now masters of the whole province, and hostilities at an end, I think my Employers cannot disapprove of my prosecuting that intention this season, and that my friends and family might blame me, if I remained longer without urgent reasons, in a climate which has been found to affect me so frequently with dangerous disorders It is my intention, therefore, to take my leave of you the beginning of next month, and to proceed with commodore Tinker to Madras, where I shall embark immediately on board his Majesty's ship Panther for England.

I think it my duty to acquaint you at the same time, with what observations occur to me on the present state of the country Meer Jaffier being again in possession of the government, it is my wish he should be supported in it as long as he lives This was also my wish before, but I found it impossible, and now again, if some timely precautions are not taken, I am apprehensive that you may soon find yourselves under the same difficulties The Nabob's incapacity for business is universally acknowledged, he should endeavor to make up for that deficiency, by appointing men of experience and character to manage the different branches, but he seems rather to incline to throw himself into the hands of those who flatter his weakness, and take advantage of it We are assured that Nundcoomar has, at this time the entire disposal of the Nabob's will, and of all the affairs of the provinces, of which the consequence will be, that we shall continually be amused and perplexed with his arts and intrigues We shall be told of the schemes of the King, and the Morattas, and all the chiefs of the empire, and what weight and interest he has with them We shall be obliged to keep a large army constantly in the field, to guard the province against designs which never existed, by which our military expences will absorb the most part of overrevenues; and the Nabob will be led into an extravagant dissipation of his money to foreign powers, to indulge the* pride of his minister, and at length being unable to fulfil his engagements, and pay his own troops, will fall again to ruin

This danger should be provided against as soon as an opportunity offers, of advising with the Nabob in such manner, as not to Excite his jealousy or fear, and the same opportunity should also be taken of settling the succession, that

* There is before the Board a striking instance of Nundcoomar's intriguing disposition. The very first letters which came from the Vizir and his principal officers, are filled with nothing but the praises of Nundcoomar His titles and seals are received before the Nabob's own, and before any assurances are given the Nabob that he will have the sunnuds for the provinces, he is told, that he must give Nundcoomar such and such particular employments, the most honorable and valuable belonging to the government, and which the Nabob at his departure from Calcutta, promised to Roydoolub

there may be no confusion in case of his demise, as from his advanced age such an event may always be apprehended

Sensible as I am of the necessity of guarding against these dangers, it is with reluctance I mention them, lest it should be suggested, that I would promote any measures disagreeable to the Nabob, but as my duty to the Company has always had more weight with me than any other consideration, so it is that only, which, on this occasion, dictates to me

By some of the Nabob's letters, you have seen already with how much uneasiness he expresses himself upon the least complaint of the agents, or gomastahs, of our subordinate factories, interfering with his officers in any part of the country. Our influence is such, that it will, for the most part, over-rule the Nabob's, so that any dependent of ours may abuse that influence with impunity, if the greatest care is not taken, and, on all such occasions, the complaints that are made are attended with invidious exaggerations, in order to excite as much possible the jealousy of the government. In short, our authority has extended itself so very near the Nabob's, that they are frequently clashing, and without a very steady and moderate conduct on both sides, they cannot subsist upon their present footing, nor a friendship be maintained with this Nabob, or any other.

To put an end to this precarious and fluctuating state, it is likely the Company will resolve on an entire change of system, and either draw their own connections with the country government into narrower limits, and reduce the private trade to the footing it was on before the capture of Calcutta, or else extend them further, and render the country government fully and confessedly dependent on theirs. But it will require your greatest care, gentlemen, to keep the scale even, until the orders of the Company can arrive, and to prevent a temptation of those tragical events, of which we have lately been the unhappy witnesses."

In answer to this I received the following letter from the Board

Copy of a Letter from the Gentlemen of the Council to the Governor Dated December 19, 1763.

Sir,

“The letter which you laid before us at the Board this morning, having met with our serious consideration, we beg leave to offer you our sentiments thereon

Though the war against Cossim Allee Cawn is near brought to a conclusion, and we have a prospect of the country being shortly restored to its former tranquility, yet it will be a work of great difficulty to establish measures for rendering that tranquillity perfect and secure, and many resolutions will be found necessary to be taken, to prevent, if possible, the country and Company’s trade from being again exposed to the hazard and desolation of war, those which you have yourself instanced, are such as tend very essentially to this purpose, and will require the greatest steadiness and attention, to bring them to an happy issue. From a conviction therefore, Sir, of the material service you can be of, in forwarding warding so salutary a work, and wherein the well-being of the Company is so immediately concerned, we cannot but unanimously join in requesting, that you will postpone your intention of returning to Europe this season, and that you will continue in the Presidency of this settlement, until we shall have the honor to receive the Company’s orders, in regard to the future management of their affairs in these provinces. We are, with much esteem,

Sir,

Your most obedient
Humble Servants,
William Billers,
John Carnac,
Warren Hastings,
Randolph Marriott,
Hugh Watts,
A W Senior,
John Burdett ”

Upon this representation of the Council, I could not refuse to defer my departure, and accordingly replied to their letter in the following terms

Copy of a Letter from the Governor to the Gentlemen of the Council. Dated December 22, 1763.

"I have received the honor of your letter of the 19th, in which you are pleased to express your opinion, that my remaining in the government at this time is essential to the Company's service

As I think it my duty to prefer that consideration before all others, I have, in consequence of your representation, determined to stay till next season I shall hope, from your assistance, such relief as my uncertain state of health may require, and am happy in the conviction, that we shall carry on all our business with a perfect unanimity"

I should not have introduced a circumstance of so little consequence, and merely personal as this is, but that the reader might have expected such an explanation of the motives of my continuance in the chair, or possibly have attributed it to caprice, after my having, in so formal a manner, declared, and repeated my resolution, to hold it no longer than whilst the war lasted It remains now to say something of the Memorial itself

The plan upon which it is formed may be objected to, as attended with too much prolixity, and sometimes perhaps with a confusion of circumstances, and want of connection, owing to the frequent, and, in some places, very long quotations from the records of the government But I should rather hear it taxed with this inconvenience, than reproached with want of candor, as would have been the case, had I made the quotations partially, inserting those opinions which might support my arguments, and omitting what was urged on the other side of the question, of which I have been the more cautious, as some of the principal gentlemen, who differed from me, have themselves fallen in these unhappy troubles

I have likewise endeavored to avoid in the expression all passionate or indecent terms, in short, my view has been to shew the uprightness of my own intentions, with as little reproach as possible to others; and, in this light, I hope it will be accepted by the world

APPENDIX A
Supplementary Documents

1. *Farman of 1717* *Husb-ul-hukums*

That all goods and necessities which their factors of the Subahship, ports and round about, or carry away either by land or water, know they are custom free, that they buy and sell at their pleasure, take the accustomed 3,000 rupees and no more on any account

And if at any time or place their goods should be stolen, endeavour to find them punishing the thief and returning them to their due owner

And in their settling factories at any place their goods and necessities, buying and selling, let them be assisted according to justice.

That if merchant or weaver or others become debtors, they pay their factors due according to a just account, not suffering any one to hurt or injure the said factors

And for the custom on wood etc that no one molest their boats or those hired by them

That the copies under the chief qazi's seal be sufficient

That the towns already bought do remain in their possession according to former custom

and that the renting of the adjacent towns is granted, they being bought from the owners, & then permission given by the dewan of subah

If the silver coined at Madras be as good as that coined in the port of Surat, do not demand any discount

and whomsoever of the Company's servants being debtors want to run away that they be seized and delivered to the chief of the factory.

For that which is forbid phowdsari etc do not molest them for it.

Take particular care of all wrecks and goods so lost by storm belonging to them.

¹ For the Farman see text p 2-5 *ante*

(The *husb-ul-hukums* issued under the seal of Sayyid Abd Allah Khan covered all these privileges but they granted other privileges as quoted below)

It is commanded that a list be taken from under the seal of the chief of the factory and that according to it you give sunnud under your own seal, for which reason this *husb-ul-hukum* is issued, that you do pursuant to great command (take a list) from under the seal of the chief of the factory and according to which you give sunnuds under your own seals

You do according to former custom settle the coining of the Company's gold and silver in the mint of Curreamabad and in the season when other merchants' goods is coined, if it be not against the king's interest, let them have three days in the week-

That you do pursuant to the great command let them in any place, settle new factories according to the custom of their other factories

It is commanded that the farming of the towns bought formerly remain in their possession as heretofore, and that they have the liberty of farming the other towns petitioned for, if according to the former custom they buy them by the assent or the respective owners of them, then you are to give permission

II Papers Relating to Siraj-ud-Daulah

TREATY and AGREEMENT with SERAJAH DOWLA, 1757

Monsoor ul Mulck
Serajah Dowla Shah
Kuly Khan Behauder,
Hybut Jung,
Servant of
King Aalum Geer,
the Invincible

LIST OF DEMANDS

ARTICLE 1

That the Company be not molested upon account of such privileges as have been granted them by the King's Firmaund

and Husbulhookums, and the Firmaund and Husbulhookums in full force.

That the villages which were given to the Company by the Firmaund, but detained from them by the Soubah, be likewise allowed them, nor let any impediment or restriction be put upon the Zemindars.

ARTICLE 2

That all goods belonging to the English Company, and having their Dustuck, do pass freely by land or water, in Bengal, Behar and Orissa, without paying any duties or fees of any kind whatsoever, and that the Zemindars, Chokeydars, Guzerbauns, &c, offer them no kind of molestation upon this account

ARTICLE 3

That restitution be made the Company, of their factories and settlements at Calcutta, Cossimbazar, Dacca, &c, which have been taken from them.

That all money and effects taken from the English Company, their factors and dependents, at the several settlements and aurungs, be restored in the same condition That an equivalent in money be given for such goods as are damaged, plundered, or lost, which shall be left to the Nobob's justice to determine.

ARTICLE 4

That the Company be allowed to fortify Calcutta in such a manner as they shall esteem proper for their defence, without any hinderance or obstruction.

ARTICLE 5

That siccas be coined at Allenagur (Calcutta) in the same manner as at Moorshedabad, and that the money struck in Calcutta be of equal weight and fineness with that of Moorshedabad. There shall be no demand made for a deduction of Batta.

ARTICLE 6

That these proposals be ratified in the strongest manner, in the presence of God and his Prophet, and signed and sealed to by the Nabob, and some of his principal people

ARTICLE 7

On condition that an Agreement, under the Company's seal, and signed by the Company's Council, and sworn to according to their religion, be sent me, I agree to the Articles, which I have countersigned.

And Admiral Charles Watson and Colonel Clive promise, in behalf of the English Nation, and of the English Company, that from henceforth all hostilities shall cease in Bengal, and the English will always remain in peace and friendship with the Nabob, as long as these Articles are kept in force, and remain unviolated.

Aaz ul Mulck,
Morad ul Dowla,
Nowrish Ally Khan
Behauder,
Zahoor Jung,
a servant of
King Aalum Geer,
The Invincible

Meer, Jaffier
Khan Bahauder,
a servant of
King Aalum Geer,
the Invincible

Rajah Doolundram
Bahauder,
a servant of
King Aalum Geer,
the Invincible

*AGREEMENT OF THE COMPANY, signed by the
GOVERNOR AND COMMITTEE, the 9th of
February 1757 (19th Jamadee-ul-awal, 1170.)*

We, the East India Company, in the presence of his Excellency the Nabob Monsoor ul Mulk Serajah Dowla Shah Kuly Khan Behauder, Hybut Jung, Nazim of Bengal, Behar, and

Orissa, by the Hands and seal of the Council, and by firm agreement and solemn attestation, do declare, that the business of the Company's factories, within the jurisdiction of the Nabob, shall go on in its former course that we will never oppress or do violence to any persons without cause that we will never offer protection to any persons having accounts with the Government, any of the King's Talookdars or Zemindars, nor murderers nor robbers that we will never act contrary to the tenor of the Articles agreed to by the Nabob, that we will carry on our business as formerly, and will never, in any respect, deviate from this Agreement.

*PERWANNAS AND DUSTUCKS GIVING EFFECT TO
THE ABOVE TREATY*

PERWANNAH for DUSTUCKS from SERAJAH DOWLA,
dated the 9th Rajab Moon.

The English Company's goods have been carried backward and forward by land and water, always through the Provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, by the dustuck and seal of the said Company, by virtue of the King's Firmaund, which is also now confirmed by me Take care, on no pretence, to interrupt their carrying their goods backwards and forwards through all the chokeys whatsoever, and not to demand any kalbarra, manjor, &c, according to the King's Firmaund Let them pass and repass without receiving a single cowrie from any of their people, and interfere not with the English Company's Gomastahs on any account, but rather take care that through all your districts their business be not obstructed in any way

(Fifteen Perwannas of the same tenor and date were granted, under the seal of the Nabob Serajah Dowla, to the Rajahs and Zemindars)

*PERWANNAH under the seal of the NABOB MANSOOR
UL MULCK SERAJAH DOWLA BEHAUDER, HYBUT
JUNG, dated the 9th Rajeb (31st March 1757), in the 3rd Year
of the glorious Reign*

All goods belonging to the English Company, which, by virtue of the royal mandate, used to pass and repass with the

said Company's dustucks, by land or water, through the Provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, I have, at this time, granted a free currency to, in the same manner and with the same privileges as formerly, it is necessary that your Excellency write to the Officers at Dacca, Chittagong, Jugdea, Akbarnagur, Silhet, Rangamatty, Cheelmarre, Moorshedabad, and Purnea, that they suffer the same goods to pass up and down the rivers without any molestation or imposition of katbarra (a tax laid upon boats) or any other articles forbidden by the royal court, nor exact the smallest sum from them, nor any ways oppress the Gomastahs or dependents Let them be punctual in this

DUSTUCK under the seal of the NABOB SERAJAH DCWLA, &c, dated the 17th Jamadee Saun (9th March 1757), in the 3rd Year of the King's glorious Reign

To all Fouzdars, Zemindars, Chowkeydars, and Overseers of the way of the Provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa.

All goods belonging to the English Company, which, by virtue of the royal mandate, used to pass and repass through the foregoing provinces, by land and water, with the Company's dustucks, I have at this time granted a free currency to in the same manner as formerly, and with the confirmation of their former privileges Let all goods having the English Company's dustuck pass as before up and down the river, without any molestation or imposition of katbarra, or any other articles forbidden by the royal court; nor exact the smallest sum from them, nor oppress the Company's dependents.

In this be punctual, and act conformably to this writing

III Papers Relating to Mir Jafar
TREATY with JAFFIER ALLY KHAN

'I swear by God, and the Prophet of God, to abide, by the Terms of this Treaty whilst I have life.'

Meer Mahomed
Jaffier Khan Behauder,
servant of
King Aalum Geer

*TREATY made with the ADMIRAL and COLONEL CLIVE
(Sabut Jung Behauder), Governor DRAKE, and Mr Watts.¹*

ADDITIONAL ARTICLE

ARTICLE 13

On condition that Meer Jaffier Khan Behauder shall solemnly ratify, confirm by oath, and execute all the above Articles, which the underwritten, Gospels and before God, that we will assist Meer Jaffier Khan Behauder with all our force, to obtain the Soubahship of the Provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, and further, that we will assist him to the utmost against all his enemies whatever, as soon as he calls upon us for that end, provided that he, on his coming to be Nabob, shall fulfil the aforesaid Articles

SUNNUDS AND PERWANNAHS GIVING EFFECT TO THE TREATY

1 GENERAL SUNNUD, under the Seal of JAFFIER ALLY KHAN

To all Governors, Muttaseddees, present and future, all Naibs, Fouzdars Zemindars, Chowdrahs, Canongoos, &c, Servants of the Government, in the Provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa

Know that, by the Royal Firmaund and Husbulhookums, the English Company are pardoned (*maaff*) exempt from all duties, therefore I write

That whatever goods the Company's Gomastahs may bring, or carry to or from, their factories, the aurungs, or other places, by land or by water, with a dustuck from any of the Chiefs of their factories, you shall neither ask nor receive any sum, however trifling, for the same Know, they have full power to buy and sell, you are by no means to oppose it You are not to require from the Company's Gomastahs the Settee, Manghans, or any other of the Zemindar's impositions The

¹ For the clauses see text, pp. 6-8 *ante*

Company's Gomastahs shall buy and sell the Company's goods, without the intervention of delolls¹, unless the Gomastahs are satisfied to employ them. You are to assist them on all occasions wherever they buy or sell. Whoever acts contrary to these orders, the English have full power to punish them. If any of the Company's goods are stolen, you are to recover the very effects stolen, or make good their amount. Any merchants or others on whom the Company have any lawful demands, you are to see that the same be paid to their Gomastahs. Take care that no one wrong or oppress the Company's Gomastahs. You are not to require or stop their boats, on pretence of the katbarra, or other duties on boats, whether they be the Company's own boats or boats hired by their Gomastahs. You are to give credit to the copies of all the Sunnuds to the Company's debtors running from them, you are not to give them protection, or plead for them, but are to deliver them up to the Company's Gomastahs. The Fouzdarrykurch, &c, impositions of the Fouzdars, which are forbid by the King, you shall not demand of the English, their Gomastahs, or inhabitants. Whenever the English Company desire to settle a new factory, besides those they are already possessed of, in the Provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, you are to give them forty begahs of the King's land. If any of the English ships are driven by bad weather, or wrecked in any of the ports, or other places, you are to assist them all in your power, and see that the goods are restored to the Company, and you are not to require the chouttarry, &c, which the King has forbid.

A mint is established in Calcutta, coin siccas and gold mohurs, of equal weight and fineness with the siccas and gold mohurs of Moorshedabad. They shall pass in the King's treasury.

All that I have written must be done, do as I have written, nor ask a new Sunnud every year. The 27th of the moon Shevaul, and 4th of the King's Reign, being the 15th of the month of July 1757.

¹ Dalals or brokers

APPENDIX B

Biographical sketch of Vansittart¹

Henry Vansittart, the third son of Arthur Van Sittart of Shottesbrook, Berkshire, was born in his father's house at Ormond Street, London, on 3 June 1732. The family was of Dutch origin and derived its name from the town of Sittart in Limburg. Henry's grandfather, Peter Van Sittart (1651-1705), moved to London about 1670. Peter was a Governor of the Russian Company and a Director of the East India Company. His fifth son, Arthur (father of Henry), was also a Director of the Russian Company, and a man of great wealth.

Henry was educated at Reading Grammar School and at Winchester College. His father, alarmed at his extravagances, compelled him at the age of thirteen to enter the service of the East India Company on the Madras establishment. In the summer of 1745 he sailed for Fort St. David, where he was employed as a writer. In the winter of next year (1746-47) he took part in the defence of the place when the French made an abortive attack on it. Assiduous in the performance of his duties, he soon acquired proficiency in Persian, the language of diplomacy in eighteenth-century India. While at Fort St. David he made the acquaintance of Clive and a close friendship sprang up between them.

In 1750 Vansittart was promoted to the grade of factor. In the following year he visited England. There he dissipated, in gambling and riotous living, a considerable fortune which had amassed in India. Returning to India, he was employed in 1754 and 1755 in embassies to the French East India Company. His services earned for him promotion to the rank of a Junior Merchant. In 1756 he became a Senior Merchant, while acting as Secretary and Persian translator to the Secret Committee. In 1757 he took his seat in the Council and was appointed searcher in sea-gate. In February, 1757 he took part in the defence of Madras against the French under Lally.

On 8 November 1759, on the recommendation of Clive, Vansittart was appointed President of the Council and Gover-

¹ Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. XX, pp. 137-140.

nor of Fort William and the Company's settlements in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. But owing to the critical condition of affairs at Fort St George, where he was acting as Governor ad interim, he did not arrive in Bengal until July 1760. His appointment occasioned much discontent at Fort William, due, in part at least, to the fact that he was junior to all members of the Council there. A petition drawn up by J. Z. Holwell, the temporary Governor, on 29 December 1759 and signed by the members of the Council, remonstrated against his appointment. The Directors, however, upheld Vansittart, and in their reply dated 21 January 1761 removed the signatories from their posts.

Vansittart's version of the history of his Governorship is found in his *Narrative*. Chagrined at the manner in which his policy⁷ was thwarted by his colleagues, he resigned the Presidency on the conclusion of the war and left Calcutta in December 1764. But Indian events cast their shadow on London. He was vehemently assailed by his opponents in England before and after his arrival. His old friend Clive was unable to forgive him for the deposition of Mir Jafar, which he considered a reversal of his policy. The result of Clive's alienation was that Vansittart was supported in the India House by Clive's opponent, Lawrence Sulvan. Vansittart had already transmitted to London copies of the political correspondence during his administration. These were published by his friends under the title *Original Papers relative to disturbances in Bengal*¹. Finding on his arrival that the Court of Directors would not grant him an interview, he republished the papers with a connecting narrative under the title *A Narrative of the Transactions in Bengal from 1760 to 1764*². The rough draft of the *Narrative*, with corrections by Warren Hastings, is preserved in the British Museum.³

On 16 March 1768 Vansittart was returned to Parliament for the borough of Reading. The reports sent to England by Clive, who had been sent out to Bengal with extraordinary

¹ 2 Vols., London, 1764

² 3 Vols. London, 1766

³ Addl. Ms. 29211

powers, justified him in the eyes of the Company by exposing the corruption prevailing among their servants in Bengal. This was a curious vindication of his position, and he recovered his prestige in the India House. In 1769 he was elected a Director of the Company. On 14 June 1769 he was appointed, together with Luke Scrafton, a former official, and Francis Forde to proceed to India with the designation of Supervisor, and with authority to examine every department of administration. The three Supervisors sailed from Portsmouth in September 1769; they left Cape Town 29 December, and were never heard of again.

Vansittart was a good scholar and linguist, and was the author of several oriental translations. His son Henry afterwards transmitted some of his writings to the Asiatick Miscellany besides others of his own.

APPENDIX C

Governors and Members of the Board at Fort William

Governors

1760-63

Clive, Colonel Robert	23 June 1758—23 January 1760
Holwell, John Zephaniah	24 January 1760—26 July 1760
Vansittart, Henry	27 July 1760—2 December 1764

MEMBERS OF BOARD

Amyatt, Peter	1756-63 (Also a member of Select Committee)
"	
Batson, Stanlake	1759-64
Billers, William	1759-65
Burdett, John	1763-65
Carnac, Maj John	1760-67 (for military affairs) (Also a member of Select Committee)
Cartier, John	1761-72
Clive, Lt Col Robert	1757-60, 1765-67 (Also a member of Select Committee)
Coote Lt Col Eyre	1761-62 (for military affairs) (Also a member of Select Committee)
Ellis, William	1760-63 (Also a member of Select Committee)
Hastings, Warren	1761-64, 1772-85
Hay, William	1761-63
Holwell, Joseph Zephaniah	1752-60 (dismissed)
Johnstone, John	1761-65
McGwire, William	1759-63 (Dismissed but reinstated Also a member of the Select Committee)

Marriot, Randolph	1763-66
Playdell, Charles Stafford	1758-61, 1763-66 (Dismissed but reappointed)
Smith, Culling	1759-62
Smyth, Harry	1759-61
Sumner, William Brightwell	1757-61, 1765-66 (Dismissed but reinstated Also a member of the Select Committee)
Vansittart, Henry	1760-64 (Also a member of Select Committee)
Verelst, Harry	1759-69
Waller, Samuel	1760-61
Watts, Hugh	1762-66

NOTE

The years mentioned against the names do not necessarily cover the entire period of their office Besides these members, Major-General Stringer Lawrence used to sit in the Board when present in Bengal and Lt Col Caillaud had a seat in Coote's absence as Commander-in-Chief Thomas Adams was coopted as a member when war broke out with Mir Qasim. Captain James Barton and Luke Scrafton were appointed members by the Directors but Barton died in July 1759 while Scrafton left for Europe before 1760

APPENDIX D

NOTES ON PERSONS

Abdallee's scale Ahmad Shah Abdali, ruler of Afganistan (1747-1773), led several expeditions into India from 1748 till 1767

Adams, Thomas Major · an officer of the school of Clive joined army at an early age · Ensign in the 37th infantry, 25 June 1747 Captain 1756 transferred to the 84th infantry in 1762 succeeded to the command of the united forces of the Company and crown in Bengal defeated Mir Qasim performing splendid exploits during his four-month campaign commencing from 2 July 1763 fought four battles, the two most decisive being Gheria and Udhuanullah . pursued Mir Qasim as far as the boundary of Oudh handed over command to Captain Knox and died, worn out, on 16 January 1764 in Calcutta

Alumgheer · Mughal Emperor Aziz-ud-din Alamgir II . ascended Mughal throne in 1754 with the help of wazir Ghazi-ud-din Imad-ud-mulk put to death in 1759 by the Wazir's order.

Amyatt, Peter . A Bengal civilian : Chief of Patna factory and member of Council seniormost member of Council when Vansittart arrived as Governor from Madras had been superseded by Vansittart's appointment and therefore opposed all his measures resigned from the chiefship of Patna factory in August 1760.

Batson, Stanlake Chief of Cossimbazar factory and member of Council suspended from Council but restored in June 1763 escaped the capture of Cossimbazar by Mir Qasim's troop was withdrawn from Cossimbazar and sent with the Company's army Vansittart took serious exception to his improper mode of proceedings in Council on 12 April 1763.

Beerbhoom Raja Asad Zaman Khan, the Zamindar of Birbhum, was the most powerful and dangerous landholder in Bengal during the early days of Mir Qasim's reign His estate was very close to Murshidabad. Asad Zaman was also a constant source of trouble for Mir Jafar and threatened to attack Murshidabad more than once. He protested against Mir Jafar's deposition in his letter to Vansittart and made it an excuse for defying Mir Qasim's authority With the consent of Vansittart,

Mir Qusim despatched forces against Asad Zaman in early January 1761 under Muhammad Khan and Gurgin Khan Major Yorke and Major White also took the field Asad Zaman, defeated, submitted to the Nawab

Beni Bahadur Beni Bahadur was the Prime Minister of Shuja-ud-daulah He distinguished himself as a general in Shuja-ud-daulah's struggle against his cousin Muhammad Quli Khan, Deputy Governor of Allahabad, in 1759 and in the capture of Kora and Kara from the Marathas in the first half of 1761 In October 1763 Shitab Rai opened dialogue with him for recognising Mir Jafar as Nawab of Bengal In October 1764 he tried to persuade Mir Jafar to use his influence for a settlement between Shuja-ud-daulah and the English. Beni Bahadur formed the advance guard of the allied troops with Mir Qasim on the eve of the battle of Buxar After his defeat at Buxar, Shuja-ud-daulah invested Beni Bahadur with full authority to negotiate with the English and to bring Shah Alam to his side Beni Bahadur, who had been from the beginning in favour of friendship with the English, opened negotiations with Munro at Benares, but this conference proved futile He deserted Shuja-ud-daulah and joined Colonel Carnac on 9 March 1765 with all his troops, but left him on the 25th to join his master

Betea expedition Betia, a frontier district of Bihar, was occupied by Mir Qasim's troops in early March 1762 under Bahadur Ali Khan

Billers, William Chief of Luckipore, member of Council served as a volunteer during the siege of Calcutta and fled to Fulta with the Governor and others appointed member of Council by the Court of Directors (1761)

Bolis, William Born about 1740 was a merchant of Dutch extraction being in Calcutta in 1759, he was taken into the Company's service, indulged in private trade like other civil servants in 1764 was second in Council of Benares being censured by the court of Directors for his private trading under the Company's authority and recalled, he resigned in 1766, quarrelled with the Bengal authorities, was arrested in 1768 and deported to England as an interloper. in his *Consi-*

derations on Indian Affairs, 1772, attacked the Bengal Government died in Paris, 1808

Caddem Hosein Khan (Khadem Hussain Khan) Khadem Hussain was appointed governor of Purnea in 1757 after the dismissal of Hazy Ali Khan who rose in rebellion against the Nawab Khadem Hussain was very distrustful of the Nawab's son, Miran, and employed the three years of his government in accumulating huge resources and organising an army With the advent of Shah Alam, he came out of his palace with an army of 10,000 and lay encamped on the banks of the Ganges with the object of capturing Mir Jafar and his treasure Major Caillaud, however, effected an agreement between Khadem Hussain and the Nawab But taking advantage of Shah Alam's attack on Patna and Maratha incursions into Cuttack, he broke his agreement and set out for Patna to join Shah Alam On 16 June 1760 he was defeated by Captain Knox and Miran He retreated towards Betia He could not be pursued due to Miran's death on 3 July 1760

Caillaud, John Caillaud was born in 1724 He was a contemporary of Clive and Stringer Lawrence. In 1743 he joined Onslow's regiment (afterwards the King's 8th) In 1752 he applied to the Company for a commission Orme refers to him as having arrived in India in 1753 with a detachment of British soldiers and having shortly afterwards taken part in engagement against the French in Trichinopoly with Stringer Lawrence In 1758, just before the second unsuccessful siege of Madras by the French, he was sent to Tanjore to procure military aid from its Raja With the troops procured from Tanjore Caillaud greatly disturbed the French communications with Pondicherry In 1759 he temporarily held the command of the Company's troops in Madras and on 25 February 1760 was appointed, on the recommendation of Clive, to command the Company's troops in Bengal He took command of the Company's forces cooperating with Mir Jafar to protect Bihar from Shah Alam and defeated the latter at Sirsi on 22 February 1760 He assisted Vansittart in deposing Mir Jafar and setting up Mir Qasim in October 1760 In 1763 he obtained the rank of Brigadier-General and three years later became Commander-in-Chief, Madras. In 1766 he was sent to take possession of

the Northern Sircars and concluded a treaty with Nizam Ali of Hyderabad to pay an annual tribute of seven lakhs for the Sircars Caillaud resigned from the army in January 1767 and died in England on 26 December 1812 He was granted a special pension of £500 by the Company

Kamgar Cawn (Kamgar Khan) Zamindar of Narhat-Semai in Gaya district of Bihar was put under arrest by Mir Jafar for his rebellious conduct. assisted Shah Alam in his invasion of Bengal and Bihar to avenge his humiliation made an attempt on Murshidabad but was defeated by Col Champion was dismissed from Shah Alam's service in 1761 Mir Qasim also tried to subjugate him Kamgar supported Mir Qasim when war broke out with the English but retreated to his Zamindari after Mir Qasim's defeat at Udhuanullah and died in 1764

Carnac, John Born in 1716 entered the Company's service in 1758 as Captain from HM's 39th Regiment became Major on 11 October 1760 Brigadier General, May 1764 Colonel, May 1765 in 1765 took over command of the army at Patna from Col Caillaud in 1761 defeated Shah Alam and Jean Law, who was taken prisoner with his men repulsed Shuja-ud-daulah's attack on Patna in April 1764 and drove the Marathas across the Jumna in 1765 received Shah Alam and Shuja-ud-daulah and closed the war MP for Leominster, 1767 Member of Bombay Council, 1776-79 Member of Civil Committee with the army which signed the Convention of Wadgaon on 14 January 1779 and was dismissed from Company's service for his share in this convention died in Mangalore on 9 November 1800

Carstairs, Peter Captain, Bengal European Regiment Ensign 18 June 1756, Lieutenant 1757, Captain 29 September 1757 served as a volunteer during the siege of Calcutta and fled to Fulta wounded in the attack on Siraj-ud-daulah's camp on 5 February 1757 took part in the battle of Plassey, having voted for immediate action at the Preliminary Council of War resigned on 31st August 1758 owing to supersession by John Gowen returned and readmitted to service in October 1760 died in Hajipur, near Patna, of wounds (3 June 1763) received at the battle of Manjhi, 1 June 1763

Cartier, John Cartier came to India as a writer in the service of the Company. He was a factor and assistant at Dacca and was expelled in 1756. At the time of the fall of Calcutta he joined other fugitives at Fulta, he served as a volunteer under Clive in the recapture of Calcutta and was praised by the Court of Directors. In 1761 he became the head of the Dacca factory. While he was at Dacca, the Court of Directors felt that Cartier and his Council did not use their power to remedy the abuses of private trade by the Company's servants. The Council was directed by the Court of Directors to make a strict enquiry into the conduct of Cartier and his Council. Three years later he became a member of the Select Committee and came down to Calcutta. In 1769 Cartier decided to return to England but orders came from the Court of Directors appointing him Governor in succession to Verelst who resigned on 24 December 1769. Cartier held this office till 13 April 1772. He was eulogised by Burke for his administration in Bengal. Cartier died at Kent on 25 January 1802.

Champion, Alexander Was appointed Lieutenant in infantry on 20 September 1757. on 1 September 1758 became a Captain, served under Caillaud and Carnac in the campaigns of 1760-61 (in Bengal and defeated Kamgar Khan) appointed Major on 6 November 1763. was second in command to Hector Munro in the battle of Buxar. shortly afterwards placed in command of a detached force on Midnapur frontier assumed command of 1st Bengal European Regiment in August 1765. was Colonel in 1770. succeeded Sir Robert Barker as Commander-in-Chief of Bengal army on 18 January 1774 and held this post till 27 October 1774. led the English army against the Rohillas with Shuja-ud-daulah and defeated them at the battle of Miranpur Katra on 23 April 1774: returned to England in 1775 and died on 15 March 1793.

Chevalier An English merchant of Dacca. acted in a violent manner at Chilmari and Kurigram (in the Rangpur district), oppressed merchants of those places, and challenged the authority of the Wadadar of Baharband Pargana: made use of English name to carry on illicit inland trade: Mir Jafar expressed his resentment at the insolent behaviour of Chevalier

and requested Warren Hastings, the Resident at the Durbar, to deal with the situation. Mir Qusim also complained against him for oppressing the people by forcibly establishing new markets, factories and chaukies.

Coja Petrus (Khoja Petrus Arathoon): Petrus, popularly known as the Armenian Petrus of Clive, was an Armenian merchant-diplomat of Saidabad in Murshidabad district. He appeared on the scene after the siege of Calcutta by Siraj-ud-daulah. He supplied provisions to the English at Fulta for six months before arrival of Clive and Watson from Madras. He was employed as confidential agent by Clive to negotiate with Mir Jafar for overthrowing Siraj-ud-daulah. His service was again requisitioned for negotiating with Mir Qasim (who was his personal friend) for deposing Mir Jafar. But Petrus was not rewarded for his service to the cause of the Company. He addressed a long letter to the Court of Directors on 25 January 1759 enumerating the various services he had rendered. When war broke out with Mir Qasim in the second half of 1763 Petrus was kept as a hostage by Major Adams in his camp lest Ellis and English troops suffer at the hands of his brother, Gurgin Khan, the Commander-in-Chief of Mir Qasim.

Coja Serhud (Khoja Israel Serhud): Serhud was an Armenian merchant-diplomat of Calcutta. He was more successful as a political agent than as a merchant. Serhud appears on record in 1697 when he was deputed by the Company to the camp of Zabardast Khan, Mughal general sent to Bengal for suppressing the rebellion of Sobha Singh and Rahim Khan. The Company also approached him to proceed to the new Subahdar, Prince Azim-us-Shan, who soon became a close friend of Serhud. It was through his mediation that the Prince granted to the Company in July 1698 a letter patent, on payment of 16,000 rupees, allowing the company to purchase from the owner the right of renting three villages of Calcutta, Sutanati and Govindpur. After this Serhud dropped out of sight for sometime. In 1713 Serhud again came to notice as a diplomat when the Company was bent on sending a mission to Emperor Farruksiyar. On 5 June 1714 the Company's authorities resolved 'that cojah Surhaud, whose interest at Court has already had the good effect of procuring us the

husb-ul-hukum and several other useful orders from court, be sent to assist in suing for the king's firman and that he sit and vote in Council along with English gentlemen' Serhud was nominated second member of the English embassy which obtained from the Emperor the *Firman* and *husb-ul-hukums* of 1717

Coote, Eyre . General Coote entered the army at an early age In 1754 he sailed for India with the 39th Regiment which was the first English Regiment sent to India. Part of this Regiment was included in the force despatched from Madras against Siraj-ud-daulah He served under Clive in the recapture of Calcutta as also the capture of Chandernagore and commanded the 3rd division of the Company's army at the battle of Plassey He was a member of Clive's War Council on the eve of the battle of Plassey and Clive acted on his advice, among others, for immediate action against Siraj-ud-daulah On 20 January 1759 he was gazetted Lt. Colonel of a new regiment, numbered 84th, specially trained in England for service in India In October 1759 he assumed command of the Company's troops in Madras to fight the French under Lally He occupied Wandiwash, relieved Trichinopoly and besieged Lally in Pondicherry Coote returned to England in 1762 and was elected MP for Leicester in 1768 In 1769 he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of Madras but resigned and returned to England in October 1770 On 17 April 1777 he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of Bengal He succeeded General Clavering as member of the Governor-General's Council on 25 March 1777 When war broke out with Haider Ali, Hastings sent Coote to Madras Coote defeated Haider in a number of engagements and finally won a decisive victory at Porto Novo on 1 July 1781 But ill health compelled him to resign and return to Bengal He returned to Madras early in 1783 and died there on 26 April 1783 at the age of 57.

Elus, William Member of Council and Select Committee was in England when Vamittart became Governor : on his return to Bengal on 10 October 1760 applied to the Council for headship of Patna factory but his appeal was rejected by Council on 20 October : was appointed head of Patna factory

after M'Gwire's dismissal and assumed charge in middle of November 1761. His activities at Patna incensed Mir Qasim and he was censured by the Court of Directors attacked and occupied Patna on 25 June 1763 but was taken prisoner by Mir Qasim on 2 July 1763 . was butchered at Patna on 5 October by Mir Qasim's general Somru with 47 other persons

Fullerton, William Fullerton joined the medical service of the Company in 1744 On 3 July 1751 he was appointed second surgeon of Calcutta He survived the siege of Calcutta. In 1760 he was transferred to Bihar He distinguished himself in war against Shah Alam and at the battle of Mohsinpur he was the only surviving European officer He resigned his office and returned to England in March 1761 On his return to India he was appointed Surgeon of Patna Factory. He was taken prisoner with other English officers when Patna was captured by Mir Qasim He was the only man spared when all the rest perished in the Patna massacre Subsequently he fell into the Government's displeasure and resigned on 31 March 1766. He died on 22 October 1805

Goorgheen Cown (Gurgin Khan, Khoja Gregory) The Armenian Commander-in-Chief of Mir Qasim brother of Khoja Petrus began his career as a cloth merchant of Hughli and became a confidant of Mir Qasim joined Mir Qasim's army as Commandant of artillery and rose very soon to the office of Commander-in-Chief Gurgin organized an army of 15,000 cavalry and 25,000 infantry disciplined on the pattern of the Company's army, was killed by a common trooper of his force on 11 August 1763 at a place half-way between Patna and Mongyr probably under Mir Qasim's order

Gulston . A Persian translator accompanied Amyatt and Hay in their mission to Mir Qasim his services were specially requisitioned after the resignation of Vansittart.

Hastings, Warren Hastings was born on 6 December 1732 At the age of 17 he sailed for Calcutta in January 1750 to join a civil employment of the Company After three years stay at Calcutta he was sent to the Cossimbazar factory Hastings was deputed by Watts, Chief of the factory, to organise a sub-factory at some little distance from Cossimbazar. At the

end of 1757 Hastings returned to Cossimbazar and was appointed Resident at the Murshidabad Durbar. In 1761 he was appointed a member of the Council and discharged his duties till the final victory at Buxar but resigned his office and sailed for England in December 1764. He spent the next four years in England. At the end of 1768 he received a letter from the Company's authorities appointing him second on the Council in Madras. He left for Madras in March 1769 and spent two years there. At the close of 1771 he received news that the Directors had appointed him to the office of Governor of Bengal. In early February 1772 he left Madras for Calcutta and assumed charge of his office on 13 April 1772. In October 1774 he became Governor-General of Bengal under the Regulating Act and held this office till February 1785.

Holwell, John Zephaniah : Holwell was born on 17 September 1711. He came to Calcutta as surgeon's mate on an Indianman. He was the surgeon of *Prince of Orange* during 1733-34 and was employed as surgeon in the Company's ships to the Patna factory. From 1736 to 1748 he held different offices in Calcutta—surgeon in 1742, alderman and Mayor of Calcutta. On 1 August 1749 he was appointed second surgeon of Calcutta but resigned in April 1750 and returned to England. Holwell rejoined the Company's service as the 12th member of the Council in July 1752. He was the 7th member of the Council during the siege of Calcutta and took charge of the defence of Fort William after the flight of Drake and others. He survived the Black Hole and was the chief author of the story of Black Hole. The Nawab took him to Murshidabad; released on 17 July 1756, he joined the English ships at Fulta. Holwell went to England in February 1757 but joined the Council again in 1758. He succeeded Clive as temporary Governor on 28 January 1760 and held this office till 27 July 1760. He was dismissed from Council by an order of the Court of Directors dated 13 March 1761, but he had already resigned on 27 September 1760. Holwell left for England on 10 March 1761 and died on 5 November 1798. In retirement he wrote on historical, philosophical and social science subjects.

Ironsides, Gilbert : Cadet of 1758 : Second Lieutenant, 14 December 1758 : Lieutenant 19 September 1759 : Captain

13 October 1763 Major 1 May 1766 Lieutenant Colonel 2 April 1768 · Colonel 12 September 1774 : out of service in 1768

Jagat Seths The founder of the great banking house of Jagat Seths was Hiranand Saho who came to Patna from Nagar in Mewar His eldest son, Manikchand, went to Dacca to establish a banking house there. He then came to Murshidabad in the train of Murshid Quli Khan. In 1722 the Mughal Emperor conferred on his successor Fatehchand the title of Jagat Seth Fatehchand's successors, Mahtab Chand and Swarup Chand, played a vital role in Bengal politics . in the conspiracy against Siraj-ud-daulah and accession of Mir Jafar Mir Jafar used to borrow money from the Seths They were put under arrest by Mir Qasim during his war against the English Mahtab Chand and Swarup Chand were put to death. This event marked the rapid decline of this banking house, The assumption of Diwani by the Company, the decision of the Company to stand forth as the Diwan and the transfer of the treasury from Murshidabad to Calcutta hastened the decline of this house

Johnstone, John . Member of Council . arrived in Bengal in July 1751 and served as assistant at Dacca . served as a volunteer under Major Kilpatrick after siege of Calcutta . took part in the recapture of Calcutta and battle of Plassey . pursued Jean Law with a detachment of artillery after Plassey accompanied Forde's expedition to Golconda as commissary, wounded in battle, and sent alone to negotiate with Salabat Jang : stationed at Dacca factory as Councillor on return to Bengal : dismissed from Company's service in July 1764 but restored in December and sent to preside over Burdwan went to Murshidabad with Middleton and Gray in 1765 to determine Company's relations with Najm-ud-dualah

Knox, Randolph Appointed Captain on 1 September 1758 relieved Murshidabad from Shah Alam's attack during his second invasion and compelled him to retire from Bengal · defeated Khadem Hussain Khan on 16 June 1760 in 1761 placed in Midnapur to repel Maratha attacks . his services were eulogised by Court of Directors in 1762 . appointed Major on

2 August 1763 and placed second in command of a newly raised battalion under Major Carnac died in 1764

Law, Jean He arrived in India from France in 1742. Law was the Chief of the French factory at Saidabad, near Cossimbazar, when Siraj-ud-daulah ascended the throne (April 1756) After the capture of Chandernagore the English compelled the Nawab to dismiss Law from Murshidabad (April 1757) Law retreated towards Patna and Watts' effort to secure his voluntary surrender failed He was returning to Siraj-ud-daulah's assistance after Plassey but meanwhile the Nawab was killed Law continued his flight to Ghazipur and to Shuja-ud-daulah at Lucknow, he went to Delhi, Agra and Bundelkhand. He accompanied Shah Alam in his first two invasions of Bihar and attacked Patna in February 1760 He fought against Mir Qasim at Suan, near Bihar, on 15 January 1761 But he made a dramatic surrender to Carnac and Knox in the same year and was sent to Calcutta Law left India in 1762. In France he was made a Chevalier, Colonel, Commissary of the King, Commandant in the East Indies, Governor of Pondicherry (1763), and Chief of Chandernagore (June 1765).

Lushington, Henry Arrived in Bengal in 1755 served as a volunteer during the siege of Calcutta and survived the Black Hole praised by the Court of Directors for his conduct; was taken prisoner on 2 July 1763 by Mir Qasim after capture of Patna and butchered on 5 October 1763 along with Ellis, Howitt, Smith and others by Mir Qasim's general Somru.

M'Gwire, William Member of Council and Select Committee was pay master of Forde's expedition and wounded in battle in December 1758: appointed Chief of Patna factory on 21 August 1761 after Amyatt's resignation dismissed from Council by an order of Court of Directors dated 13 March 1761 but restored to Council by an order of 6 May 1761: on reinstatement demanded the chiefship of Patna but was refused: resigned from Company's service on 10 October and took passage to Europe.

Muhammad Reza Khan: Reza Khan was born in a Shia family of Shiraj in Iran in 1717. He was the third son of Saiyid Hadi Ali Khan, physician and courtier of Alivardi

Khan Reza Khan married the daughter of Rabia Begam, niece of Alivardi Khan. In 1756 Reza Khan was appointed Faujdar of Katwa by Siraj-ud-daulah. Mir Jafar made him Faujdar of Islamabad (Chittagong). Reza Khan left Islamabad for Calcutta in February 1761 when it came into the possession of the Company. Mir Jafar appointed him Deputy Governor of Dacca after his restoration in July 1763. Reza Khan held this office till January 1765. When Najm-ud-daulah ascended the throne (3 March 1765) Reza Khan was appointed to the office of the Naib Subah. He was made Naib Diwan for Bengal by the Company after the assumption of Diwani in 1765. In 1772 he was charged by Warren Hastings with misappropriation of revenue. He was brought to Calcutta for trial but was acquitted. Then he joined the party of General Clavering who obtained for him the posts of Deputy to Mubarak-ud-daulah and the Faujdar of Murshidabad. But he was dismissed in 1778 after Clavering's death. In 1780 he was restored to the office of Naib Nazim and continued to hold this office with decreasing power until the office itself was abolished by Lord Cornwallis on 1 January 1791. He died on 1 October 1791.

Muhammad Taqi Khan General of Mir Qasim : fought with remarkable gallantry against Company's forces under Major Adams at the battle of Katwa (19 July 1763) but was killed by a stray bullet.

Nanda Kumar Nanda Kumar was born in Birbhum district in 1705. In 1740 he was appointed revenue collector of Mahisadal and Hiji in Midnapur district. Five years later he was appointed collector of Satsika Pargana. He became Diwan of Hughli in 1752 under Faujdar Muhammad Yaf Beg Khan and held this office for three years. In 1756 he was again appointed to that office and after the dismissal of Umarulla, the Faujdar of Hughli, Siraj-ud-daulah appointed him to that office. After Plassey he became Munshi to Clive and an agent of Rai Durlabh. In August 1758 the Company employed him for collecting *tuncaw* in Burdwan, Nadia and Hughli. Mir Jafar appointed Nanda Kumar as his Diwan in July 1763. He attended Mir Jafar during the war against Mir Qasim. Emperor Shah Alam conferred upon Nanda Kumar the title of 'Maharaja' in 1764. The Company made him the collector for Burdwan,

Nadia and Hughli in place of Warren Hastings. In 1772 Nanda Kumar made complaints against the revenue administration of Muhammad Reza Khan, Naib Subah, and helped Hastings in prosecuting and deposing him. He secured for his son, Raja Gurudas, the post of Diwan of the Nawab's household. In March 1775 Nanda Kumar levelled serious charges against Hastings before the Council. In April 1775 Nanda Kumar was prosecuted with Joseph Fowke for conspiracy by Barwell. While this case was pending, he was committed before Justices Lamaistre and Hyde of the Supreme Court on a charge of forgery brought against him by the executor of an Indian bank. He was tried before Sir E. Impey and Justices Chambers, Lamaistre and Hyde from 8 to 16 June. He was found guilty, sentenced to death and executed on 5 August 1775.

Rai, Shitab : He was born at Delhi. In his early years he served Emperor Muhammad Shah. He played a prominent part in the defence of Patna when Shah Alam attacked it in February 1760. During the reign of Mir Qasim he migrated to Oudh from Bihar. He was employed in the service of Shuja-ud-daulah and acquired great influence with his minister Beni Bahadur. He obtained from Shah Alam formal recognition of Mir Jafar as Nawab of Bengal in 1764. Shah Alam appointed him Diwan of Bihar in perpetuity in 1763. Shitab Rai tried to effect a reconciliation between Shuja-ud-daulah and the English before and after Buxar. The Company appointed him Naib Diwan for Bihar after dismissal of Dhiraj Naram. Hastings suspended him in 1772 on charges of embezzlement and oppression, but he was acquitted. He was restored to his office as Roy Royan and Naib Nazim. He died in Patna in September 1773 and was succeeded by his son Kalyan Singh who was made a Maharaja.

Rajebullub (Rajballabh) : Rajballabh, according to family tradition, was born in 1707. He entered public service as a clerk in the Department of Admiralty in Dacca about 1734 and soon became Head Clerk and then Superintendent. In 1743 he was appointed Diwan of Dacca by Nawajish Muhammad Khan and became chief adviser to his wife, Ghaseti Begam (daughter of Nawab Aliwardi Khan) after his death. After

Ghaseti's fall Rajballabh lost his office Mir Jafar appointed him Deputy Governor of Dacca He fought against Shah Alam with Major Caranac in Jaunary 1761 Mir Qasim appointed him Deputy Governor of Bihar afetr Ramnarain's removal in August 1761 But he incurres Mir Qasim's wrath very soon and was thrown into prison He was drowned in the Ganges by Mir Qasim's order in July 1763

Ramnarain Ramnarain was appointed to the office of Deputy Governor of Bihar by Alivardi Khan and continued in this position during Siraj-ud-daulah's reign. After the battle of Plassey Major Coote was sent to wrest the government of Bihar from him, but he successfully convinced Clive that he was not treacherous to the cause of the Company and was allowed to remain in office Ramnarain was intensely disliked by Mir Jafar and his son Miran, but an accommodation was effected between them in February 1758 He took a prominent role in the defence of Patna from Shah Alam's attack and was defeated by the invader on 9 February 1760 Mir Qasim dismissed him from his office for his failure to submit accounts on 1 August 1761 Ramnarain tried to escape from the Nawab's clutches but failed Vansittart directed Ellis to deliver Ramnarain into Mir Qasim's hands In August 1763 he was drowned in the Ganges by Mir Qasim's order

Roy, Nobut was appointed Governor or Naib of Patna after Rajballabh's dismissal, replaced by Mir Muhammad Mahdi Khan in the beginning of 1763

Saddoc Allee Cawn, Chuta Nabob Miran, popularly known as 'Chuta Nawab', was the eldest son of Mir Jafar He stood by his father in the management of the affairs of the state from the conclusion of the secret agreement between Mir Jafar and the English before Plassey till his death on 3 July 1760 Mir Jafar conferred on Miran the title of Shahmat Jang after his accession In course of his campaign against Khadem Hussain Khan, Miran was struck dead by a lightning in his tent on 3 July 1760

Salar Jung Mirza Muhammad Ali Salar Jang, son of Mutman-ud-daulah and brother-in-law of Shuja-ud-daulah of Oudh

Shehzadda (Shahzadah) · Alī Gauhar was the eldest son of Emperor Alamgir II. The animosity of his father's Wazir compelled him (in May 1758) to flee from the imperial capital and seek refuge in exile. He was received by Shuja-ud-daulah of Oudh and Murshid Qalī Khan of Allahabad. From January 1759 to June 1761 he led three expeditions into Bengal and Bihar. But his attacks were repulsed by the Nawabs of Bengal with the help of the Company's troops. The Shahzadah crowned himself Emperor and assumed the title of Shah Alam II after the murder of his father in 1759. He fought the battle of Buxar as an ally of Mir Qasim and Shuja-ud-daulah but afterwards came to an agreement with the English. He obtained Kora and Allahabad. In 1765 he granted the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the Company on payment of a tribute of 26 lakhs per year. In 1771 he was installed as Emperor by Mahadji Sindia in Delhi and lost the English tribute. In 1788 the Rohilla Chief Ghulam Qadir seized Delhi and put out Shah Alam's eyes. Soon afterwards Sindhia again restored him to the throne and he became a protege of the House of Sindhia. After the Maratha War of 1803 he was taken under British protection. He lived as the Company's pensioner till his death on 10 November 1806.

Sheobhat (Shebut) Maratha general and agent of Janoji Bhonsle at Cuttack for collection of Chauth. He was dismissed from Cuttack by Mir Jafar at the instigation of Mirja Saleh, Deputy Governor of Cuttack. He made an incursion into Cuttack in April 1759 and ravaged Midnapur and Burdwan but retreated from the bounds of Bengal with the advance of English troops under Major Caillaud.

Shuja Dowla (Shuja-ud-daulah) Mirza Jalal-ud-din Haider, better known by the title of Shuja-ud-daulah, was born in Delhi in January 1732. He succeeded his father, Safdar Jang, to the throne of Oudh in 1753. He received Shah Alam when he fled from the imperial capital and supported his attempts on the Bengal Subah. He was nominated Wazir as early as 24 December 1759 when Shah Alam crowned himself Emperor. He took part in the third battle of Panipat (1761) as an ally of Abdali. He supported Mir Qasim after his breach with the English and fought for him the battle of

Buxar After the defeat at Buxar Shuja-ud-daulah fled to Rohilkhand and tried to obtain the Rohillas and Marathas as allies By the treaty of Allahabad (August 1765) Oudh was restored to him, But Kora and Allahabad were given to Shah Alam as a demesne land By the treaty of Benares (7 September 1773) Kora and Allahabad were restored to him for 50 lakhs and Hastings promised to help him in conquering Rohilkhand Rohilkhand was invaded and annexed to Oudh in April 1774 Shuja-ud-daulah died at Faizabad on 29 January 1775

Stubbert, Giles . Stubbert was enlisted in the ranks of H.C.S. under the patronage of Clive in 1756 He became a Lieutenant on 11 May 1757 and Captain on 1 May 1759 He raised a battalion of Native Infantry at Bankipur in 1761• He took part in the battle of Gheria and siege of Patna (6 November 1763) He was captain commanding of the 6th battalion at Buxar and of the left Wing army during the siege of Chunar (1765) He resigned from the Company's army in May 1767 owing to supersession by Majors Grant and Pemble and left for England in the beginning of March 1768 He addressed a petition to the Court of Directors on 15 February 1771 In October 1775 he was restored to the army as Colonel and soon became Colonel commanding of the newly formed cavalry brigade Brigadier General Stubbert (25 February 1777) was the provisional Commander-in-Chief of Bengal from 16 October 1777 till 25 March 1779 He again held the provincial command during absence of Sir Eyre Coote in Madras from 6 October 1780 till 27 April 1783 In 1780 he planned the reform of Bengal army. Stubbert was promoted to the rank of Major General in July 1783 and retired from the army as Lieutenant General in 1785 He died in Southampton in 1809

Sykes, Francis . A friend of Clive : arrived in Bengal in 1751 and served as an Assistant at Cossimbazar factory at the time of its occupation by Siraj-ud-daulah ; as Resident at Durbar, exercised the functions of the Diwan as collector of King's revenue for three years after the assumption of Diwani in 1765.

Tabby, William James Captain, Second battalion Native Infantry . Ensign (Madras) 7 February 1757, Lieutenant (Bengal) 1758, Captain 8 September 1759 . Sailed for Madras in October 1753, aged 14 . sailed from Madras for Bengal as a cadet under Major Kilpatrick on 28 July 1756 . served in Bengal under Clive, 1757 battle of Plassey Ensign in Captain Alexander Calender's company of Madras Infantry transferred to Bengal establishment in 1758 commanded second battalion of sepoys and was present when it was destroyed at Manjhi in October 1763.

Verelst, Henry . Chief of Chittagong, member of Council and Select Committee . arrived in Bengal about 1750 in the service of the Company . was taken prisoner by Siraj-ud-daulah's troops and released after battle of Plassey was placed in charge of Burdawn and Midnapur in 1765-66 succeeded Clive as Governor in January 1767 and held this office till December 1769 , introduced in 1767 the system of supervisorship . published in 1772 'A View of the Rise, Progress and Present State of the English Government in Bengal' died on 24 October 1785. ,

Watson, Charles . Watson joined the Navy at the age of 14 in 1728 and became Rear Admiral in 1748 He held the office of the Commander-in-Chief in East Indies from 1754-57 Watson accompanied Clive to Calcutta with the Madras troops after its fall. He played prominent role in the recapture of Calcutta, capture of Chandernagore and the secret negotiations with Mir Jafar before Plassey He was entrusted, along with Clive, with the task of distributing money to the English, Hindu, Muslim and other inhabitants of Calcutta which Mir Jafar agreed to pay. His name was forged by Clive with his tacit consent to deceive Omichand, the intermediary between Mir Jafar and Clive. His force assisted Clive at Plassey. On 26th July 1757 Mir Jafar sent him *Khilats* and other presents. Watson died on 16 August 1757

Watts, William . Second in Council and Chief of Cossimbazar in 1756 : surrendered to Siraj-ud-daulah when it was captured by him on 24 May 1756 : was taken prisoner and asked to accompany the Nawab in his march to Calcutta : hatched a conspiracy against Siraj-ud-daulah with Omichand,

Yar Latif Khan and others while acting as accredited agent at the Durbar fled from Murshidabad on 12 June 1757 and soon joined Clive. Watts received a reward of 2,40,000 from Mir Jafar appointed President of Council in 1758 in supersession of Roger Drake but almost at once handed over charge to Clive.

Wedderburn, Henry Settled in Bengal as a free mariner after 1740 fled to Fulta during the siege of Calcutta : appointed Master Attendant of Marine at Calcutta in 1758 but held his office for a short period served under Colonel Forde against the Dutch in 1759 after which returned to the sea as Captain of a trading vessel raised a company of volunteers when war broke out with Mir Qasim . left Calcutta with his company as Captain in charge of a fleet of store boats spent two years (1766-68) in England restored in 1769 to the office of Master Attendant, which he held till his death on 17 November 1777 in Calcutta

White, Martin Captain, Bengal Eurasian Regiment . Lieutenant, 30 December , Captain, 27 July 1759 sent in November 1760 to subdue Midnapure and in December against Asad Zaman Khan of Birbhum , took part in an action against the Raja of Burdwan on 29 December 1760 resigned from army on 11 September 1761 and died on 5 June 1777

Yorke, Martin Major, Infantry Captain, 14 December 1757, Major 1761 distinguished himself in the clash with Siraj-ud-daulah's troops on 5 February 1757, transferred to Bengal army as captain was one of the 11 signatories to the memorial of 28 August 1758 complaining of supersession by John Gowen took part in the storm of Masulipatam on 8 April 1759 and operations in Birbhum and Burdawn, November-December 1760 resigned on 23 December 1761

APPENDIX E

Notes on Places

<i>Amboa</i>	: in Hughli district
<i>Arrah</i>	: District Headquarters of Shahabad district in Bihar
<i>Azimabad</i>	: Patna
<i>Azimungunge</i>	in Hughli district
<i>Backergunge</i>	. district with headquarters at Barisal
<i>Ballasore</i>	. Headquarters of Balasore district in Orissa
<i>Bauglepoor</i> (Bhagalpur)	Chief town and administrative headquarters of Bhagalpur district in Bihar
<i>Betea</i> (Betia)	Largest town in the Champaran district, Bihar.
<i>Birrumpoor</i>	. Berhampore in Murshidabad district.
<i>Bissenpoor</i>	Bishnupur in Bankura district
<i>Boujepoor</i> (Bhojpur)	. a pargana lying in the north-west of Shahabad district, in the Buxar sub-division, Bihar
<i>Barbunna gate</i>	a small wicket between the western gate and the river side of Patna
<i>Buxar</i>	North-western sub-division of Shahabad district
<i>Buxbunder</i>	. in Hughli district
<i>Bykantpore</i>	in Jalpaiguri district.
<i>Carreemabad</i>	Murshidabad
<i>Chilmaree</i>	a village in the Kurigram sub-division of Rangpur district.
<i>Chintsura</i> (Chinsura)	Headquarters of Hughli district
<i>Chitpur</i>	in North and Central Calcutta.
<i>Cooregaun</i> (Kurigram)	. Headquarters of the sub-division of the same name in Rangpur district

- Cossimbazar* : an old town in the headquarters sub-division of Murshidabad district, situated on the east bank of the Bhagirathi.
- Curruckpoor* : Kharagpur in Mongyr district
- Culpee* (Kulpi) : a village in the Diamond Harbour sub-division of 24 Parganas, situated on the bank of the Hughli.
- Currunnassa* (Karamnasa) : a river which separated province of Bihar from Benares in the second half of the 18th century.
- Cutwa* (Katwa) : a sub-divisional town in Burdwan district
- Durbunghy* (Darbhanga) : Headquarters and principal town of Darbhanga district in Bihar.
- Gauzypoor* (Ghazipur) : in Uttar Pradesh.
- Gheerea* : a small town to the south of Suti in Murshidabad district.
- Gherettee* (Gaurhati) : a village adjoining Champdani in Hughli district
- Gowalparah* : Headquarters of the district of the same name, situated on the south bank of the Brahmaputra, in Assam
- Gyah* (Gaya) : Chief town of the district of the same name, situated on the western bank of the Phalgu, in Bihar
- Heerageel* (Hirajhil) : Siraj-ud-daulah's pleasure ground, Hirajhil (on diamond lake) was situated on the western bank of the Bhagirathi, opposite Jafarganj, in Murshidabad District
- Hooghly River* : the lower section of the Bhagirathi branch of the Ganges, from the Hughli point to the sea.
- Islamabad* : Chittagong

<i>Jalinghy</i> (Jalangi)	:	a village in the Lalbagh sub-division of Murshidabad district
<i>Jalinghy River</i>	.	a main distributory of Ganges delta, joining the Bhagirathi at Nabadwip to form Hughli river
<i>Jallasore</i>		a village in Balasore sub-division, situated on the left bank of the Suvarnarekha, in Orissa
<i>Jugdea</i>	.	in headquarters sub-division Noakhali district
<i>Kisnagur</i> (Krishnanagar)		District headquarters of Nadia district
<i>Luckypoor</i> (Lakshmipur)		a village in the headquarters sub-division of Noakhali district
<i>Magna</i> (Meghna)		Great estuary of the Bengal delta which conveys to the sea the main volume of water both of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra
<i>Muradbaug</i>	:	Palace standing on the west bank of the Bhagirathi in Murshidabad town Clive stayed here when he came here after battle of Plassey, Hastings resided here as Resident (1757-'60)
<i>Oodwa Nullah</i> (Udhuanullah)	:	in the Santal Parganas district, Bihar
<i>Pudda</i> (Padma)	.	the main stream of the Ganges in the lower part of its course between the off-take of the Bhagirathi and south-eastern corner of Dacca district, where it joins Meghna
<i>Radshay</i> (Rajshahi)	:	Headquarters of Rajshahi district.
<i>Rangamettee</i> (Rangamati)	:	in Chittagong district
<i>Saseram</i>	:	in Shahabad district, Bihar.
<i>Silhet</i>	:	District on the eastern frontier of Bengal, adjoining Cachar in Assam.

<i>Sirampoor</i>	a sub-divisional town in Hughli district
<i>Soane</i>	River rising near the sources of the Narmada and Mahanandi on the elevated plateau of central India, forming boundary between Patna and Shahabad districts
<i>Sundeeep</i>	Island off the coast of Noakhali district
<i>Taajepoor</i> (Tajpur)	Purnea district
<i>Tekarry</i>	Town in the headquarters sub-division of Gaya district in Bihar

APPENDIX F

Glossary

Amildar (Aumildar)	:	A collector of or contractor for the revenue A manager or a factor
Aumul nama	:	A written order or warrant to an Amil, a commission to take possession of land in the name of the Government, preferably <i>Amalnamah</i>
Arzdasht	:	A written petition or memorial
Arzee (Arzi)	:	Petition, representation, a memorial, whether oral or written.
Aurang	:	A place where articles of trade are manufactured and collected for whole-sale disposal of export. During the period of the Company's commerce it was applied to the factories for piece goods etc
Batta		Difference or rate of exchange, discount on uncurrent or short weight rupees, a charge imposed to make up for any probable deficiency in the value of coin. It also means extra allowance given to officers, army personnel and other Government servants when in the field or on special assignment.
Burgandass (Barkandaz)	:	A matchlock man, a foot soldier armed with a sword and shield, who acts as doorkeeper, watchmen, guard or escort.
Buxey (Bakshi)	:	Pay master of the Forces
Chowkey (Chauki)	:	A watch house, often the watch himself, also a station of police or of customs
Chubdar (Chobdar)	:	Frequent attendant of Indian nobles and previously of Anglo-Indian officials holding high office.

- Chukla (Chakla) . A large territorial division of a country, comprehending a number of Parganas, first introduced as a recognised local division in the reign of Mughal Emperor Shahjahan
- C'unam . Lime made of stone or shells
- C'offee Abyssinian
- Custba (Khutba) . A public prayer or discourse pronounced in mosques at the Friday service, in which the prince is prayed for.
- Cucheerees : A court of justice, a hall, a place where any public business is transacted.
- Dellol (Dalal) : A broker, a salesman.
- Dewan (Diwan) : Head financial minister whether of the state or of a province under Muslim Government. The title also denoted the head officer of any revenue or financial department, it was also applied to managers of Zamin-daries or to a person entrusted with the management of the finance of an industrial house of business or of any responsible individual. The office of Diwani, i.e. the right of collecting the whole revenues of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, was conferred upon the East India Company by Emperor Shah Alam II in 1765
- Dewanconna . The court or office of the Dewan; a (Diwan-Khana) court of civil or revenue jurisdiction
- Droga (Darogha) : The chief officer in various departments of Government, but in later times it meant specially head of a police, custom or excise station

Dustuck (Dastak)	A passport, permit In the early days of company's administration it meant a document, a permit under their broad seal authorising the free transit of certain goods and their exemption from custom duties in favour of the company's traders
Firmaun (Farman)	: A mandate, an order, a command, or a grant of the Emperor.
Fougedar (Faujdar)	An officer of the Mughal Government in all cities, who was invested with the charge of police, a jurisdiction in all criminal matters, a military Governor, chief of a body of troops
Gentoos	: Hindus, natives of India.
Golah	: A granary, a store house, a place where grain or salt was stored and sold wholesale.
Gomastah	: An agent, a representative, a confidential factor, an officer employed by Zamindars to collect their rents, by bankers to receive money, and by merchants for purchase of goods from countryside
Hasb-ul-Hukum	: "according to command", an order signed by the Vizier of the Mughal Emperor,
Hircarra (Harkara)	A messenger, an emissary, a courtier.
Izaradars (Ijaradar)	. A farmer of any item of public revenue, whether from land, custom or any other source; the renter of a village or estate at a stipulated rate.

- Jugheer (Jagir) : A tenure common under Mughal Government, in which public revenues of a given tract of land were made over to a servant of the state, generally for military services, together with powers enabling him to collect and appropriate such revenues.
- Jagheerदार (Jagirdar) : The holder of a Jagir.
- Jemmatdar
(Zimmaradar) : A trustee, a person in charge, applies to a Zamindar who is authorised to collect, on behalf of Government, the payments of properties in the vicinity of his own
- Kelladar (Kiladar) . The Governor or commandant of a fort
- Kistbundee
(Kistibandi) : Settlement of the instalments of the revenue both as to time and amount, any document relating to fixed periodical payments of the revenue or of a debt
- Malguzar . A person who pays the revenue assessed on an estate or village on his own behalf or as the representative of others. He may be sole or joint proprietor or a holder under a proprietor or the state, he may pay the revenue to a proprietor or Zamindar or to officers of the Government
- Meer-Moonshee
(Mir-Munshi) : Chief Secretary.
- Molunghee (Malangi) A salt maker
- Moonshee (Munshi) : A writer, a Secretary for Persian and Hindustani.

Muggadooties (Mugadhuti)	:	Broad silk cloth made from a kind of moth, called Muga Assam is specially known for manufacture of this silk
Muttasuddies (Mutasaddi)		A writer, a clerk , a general name for all officers employed in maintaining the accounts of the Government
Nazim		A Governor, a Viceroy of a province charged with administration of criminal law and police
Neubut (Niabat)	.	Deputyship, Viceregency , office of the Deputy Governor
Nezzeranna (Nazrauna)		A gift, a present, specially from an inferior to a superior , also applies to sums paid to government on appointment or succession to office or to a Jagir
Omrah (Amrah, Umrah)		The nobles of an Indian mohammedan court collectively.
Peon	:	A courier, a messenger.
Pergunnah (Pargana)		The largest sub-division of a province or district comprising many villages , the actual extent varies but the distinction is permanent
Perwanah (Parwana)		An order, a warrant, from a man in power to a dependant
Peshcush (Peshkush)	.	Tax, tribute, a fine or present to the ruling power on receiving an appointment or assignment of revenue or on a renewal of grant

Pykar (Paikar)	Agents through whose hands products passed from manufacturers or cultivator's storehouse to public merchant or exporter.
Kahdars	Collector of tolls or transit duties
Rissaladars (Risaladars)	A native officer commanding a troop of irregular horse
Royrayan (Rai-ryan)	Prince, but applied as a title to civil functionaries of high rank, it was the title borne by the financial minister and treasurer of the Nawab of Bengal and was assigned by the British Government to the Chief Native revenue officer whom they appointed in 1772, on abolishing the office of Naib Dewan
Shahbunder (Shahbandar)	: A port or harbour master, a custom master, an officer who regulates the port duties and charges, in the revenue accounts of the Mohammedan governments of Bengal it designated specially Dacca and the customs levied there
Shroff (Sarraf, Saraf)	. A money-changer, a banker.
Sicca (Sikka)	A stamped coin, a new coin, specially the silver currency of the Emperors of Delhi, adopted by other Indian Princes and eventually by the English East India Company
Sircar (Sarkar)	The Government, the state, the supreme authority or administration
Subaship	The office of the Provincial Governor or Viceroy under the Mughals

Sunnud (Sanad)	A grant, a charter conveying to an individual emoluments, titles, privileges, offices under the seal of the ruling authority
Tahsildar	An Indian collector of revenue, an officer collecting the revenue from a given tract under a Zamindar or the European collector.
Tannadar (Thanadar)	A petty police officer, an officer in charge of a thana
Telingas	: People of Telengana as they were called by Mahommedans
Tuncaw (Tunca)	An assignment of land or its revenue for any specific disbursements or purpose of Government
Vackeel	: A representative
Wadadar	: One who is bound by engagement, a contractor, a farmer of the revenue.
Zenana	: Family apartment in the palace of a Mahommedan ruler or nobleman
Zilladar	: The officer in charge of a Zila (a division, a district)

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